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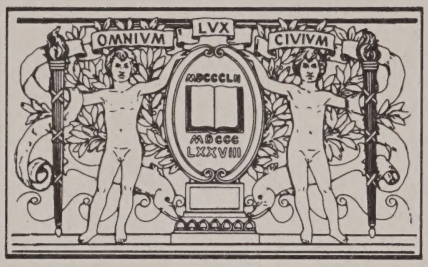

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. XCII.

JULY, 1836.

ART. I. — 1. *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, from its Exploration and Settlement by the Whites, to the Close of the Northwestern Campaign, in* 1813 *; with an Introduction, exhibiting the Settlement of Western Virginia from the first Passage of the Whites over the Mountains of Virginia in* 1736, *to the Treaty of Camp Charlotte, near Chilicothe, Ohio, in* 1774. By MANN BUTLER. Second Edition ; revised and enlarged by the Author. Cincinnati ; published by J. A. James and Co. Louisville ; by the Author. 1836.

2. *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the West.* By JAMES HALL. In Two Volumes. Philadelphia ; Harrison Hall, 62 Walnut Street. 1835.

Two works on the important subject of Western History. Both of them are valuable, and we hail them as useful additions to the scanty library which contains our historical records. They are useful, however, in different ways. Mr. Butler's work contains the fruit of much patient research among family records, and public and domestic archives ; and is a storehouse of facts and documents, far the most complete which has yet been given us upon western annals. It is the most thorough book on the subject. It is, what it professes to be, a history. The work of Judge Hall is written in his usual easy and grace-

ful style ; it is calculated to interest readers who would not venture upon a regular history ; without being very profound, it has an air of philosophy, well adapted to a parlour fireside ; without much accuracy, it rambles over the whole ground, so as to satisfy an easy curiosity. It is the most entertaining book on the subject. It is, what it professes to be, a collection of sketches.

Judge Hall is a popular writer. He is known to the public by various essays and tales, which have appeared from time to time in periodicals. He is also the Editor of "The Western Magazine." A year or two since he published a novel, called the "Harpe's Head." He professes to be a western man ; the scene of his stories is generally in the west ; his incidents are taken from western life ; but of the western character he knows little, and of the western spirit he possesses nothing. He wants the intellectual *openness*, which would enable him to catch the spirit of society. His mind is shut up in its own ways of thinking and feeling, and his writings, in consequence, give no true reflection of western character. In this respect, he is the exact antithesis of Timothy Flint, whose writings, though sometimes inaccurate in detail, are always charged full with a western spirit. Flint's "Ten Years' Residence" is one of our few genuine national works. It could have been written nowhere but in the Western Valley. It could have been written by no one, whose mind had not been moulded by a constant contact with western scenery and people. Judge Hall's books might all have been composed by one who had never been beyond the atmosphere of London, but who had heard a few anecdotes and read a few works about the western world. Judge Hall should not have been so positive in asserting in the Preface to the book before us, "that the works which have professed to treat of the whole western region have been failures." He will have added to his already well-earned fame, when he shall have produced such a "failure" as Mr. Flint's "Ten Years' Residence in the Mississippi Valley."

Judge Hall is not an accurate writer. In the work before us (Vol. 1. p. 247), he informs us that Sir William Johnson purchased of the Six Nations, in 1768, their claim to the lands on the *northwest* side of the Ohio to the Great Miami. This does not appear on the treaty. Page 251 represents two grants from the Cherokees to Henderson and his company ; whereas

it appears there was only one, the other being a grant to the Crown in 1770. On page 31 (Vol. II.) he alters the date of the purchase of Louisiana, from 1803 to 1795, probably confounding it with the Spanish treaty of 1795. On page 36, he comes to the conclusion, that there was nothing treasonable in the Spanish conspiracy on a dispassionate consideration of "the whole matter." But in this dispassionate consideration, he has wholly omitted the most treasonable features, saying nothing of the proposal made through Power in 1797 to withdraw from the Federal Union, and to form a government "wholly unconnected with that of the Atlantic States"; nothing of the one hundred thousand dollars offered to Sebastian as a bribe to bring about this; and nothing of the concealment of the whole matter, by all concerned. All this looks a little treasonable. On page 119 he calls Kaskaskia a garrisoned town, when the fort was unoccupied, and the town defended only by militia; and, on page 124, he tells us that the capture of Vincennes in 1779 led to the settlement of Louisville in 1778. These are small matters; but Judge Hall should pluck the beam out of his own eye, before he undertakes to be severe on "careless writers."

Judge Hall, in attempting to make out a theory which characterizes the intercourse of the Americans with the Indians as habitually cruel and unfaithful, has brought an accusation against the Pilgrims of New England so grossly inaccurate, that we cannot let it pass unnoticed. After praising them for various qualities, he goes on to say, that "the perversion of public opinion which could lead such men, themselves the victims of oppression, and the assertors of liberal principles, *to treat the savages as brutes*, must have been wide spread and deeply seated; yet such was certainly their conduct."

The Italics are ours. But this charge filled us, on reading it, with surprise. We tried to recall the events in New England annals, which might justify such a sweeping assertion. Was it John Eliot who treated the Indians like brutes in his labors among them for their conversion, — labors, the like of which, for intensity of love, have not been seen since the apostolic times? Or was that touching visit of Edward Winslow to the sick Sachem Massasoit, and his tender nursing of him, "treating him like a brute?" It has always seemed to us more like the parable of the good Samaritan. But the author acknowledges, himself, the unquestioned fact, that for forty years the

New-Englanders lived in peace with all the Indians but the Pequots. They could hardly, one would think, have lived thus, if they were in the habit of treating them like brutes. He tells us, "there were several periods at which they (the Indians) could with ease have exterminated all the colonists." That they did not, he brings as a proof of their peaceable and friendly disposition. But does he really think that the Indians, in New-England, or elsewhere, have ever been of so extremely forgiving and pacific a temper as to spare those who treated them like brutes, when they had them wholly in their power?

To prove the ingratitude of the English for this Indian kindness, the war with the Pequots and its consequences are produced. Either Judge Hall is himself very ignorant of the early Indian history of New England, or he writes for those whom he believes ignorant of it. His argument stands thus. The Narragansets and Massachusetts tribes, neighbours of the Plymouth and Bay colonies, were friendly and kind; therefore, it was base ingratitude for the Pilgrims to go to war with the Pequots on the Connecticut, who were the deadly enemies of all of them. In the same way it might be reasoned; The French were very kind to us in the Revolutionary war; therefore it was base ingratitude to go to war with their enemies, the English, in 1812. We would not undertake to acquit the Pilgrims of all taint of the sternness and intolerance which belonged to their age. No New England historian ever does so. It was only last autumn, that in the presence of thousands, assembled to do honor to the remains of a body of whites, waylaid and massacred in King Philip's war by Philip's Indians, that the orator, standing in the defile where they fell beneath bullet and tomahawk, entered into a noble defence of the Indians who slew them. And of those listening thousands, whose heart did not beat, and whose eye did not fill, at the thrilling statement of the bitter sufferings which drove the Indian to desperation? The sympathy was as complete as Judge Hall himself could desire. But for all this, the Indians were *not* treated like brutes, nor with base ingratitude.

With these qualifying remarks, we recommend the "Sketches" to our readers as a work full of entertaining anecdote and description.

Mr. Butler's style is not so good as Judge Hall's. It frequently wants perspicuity; the sentences are sometimes badly constructed; superlatives are somewhat too frequent; the met-

aphors are sometimes in bad taste ; and the whole seems written in a hurry. This last appearance may explain all the rest, for there are parts, to which none of our objections apply, and which prove that Mr. Butler has the power of writing with smoothness, elegance, and force. But what shall we say to a sentence like this ? (p. 206.) " The most distinguished man in this body, and who may emphatically be called the author of the first Constitution of Kentucky, was George Nicholas, the most eminent lawyer of his time in Kentucky, whether his learning or his powers of mind be regarded, and the father of the present Judge Nicholas." We should have called this the worst possible construction of a sentence, did not the same volume supply a worse one ; for which, however, not Mr. Butler, but Humphrey Marshall is accountable. On page 121 we read, in a description of a battle which reminds us both of Homer and Knickerbocker ; " And thus both sides firmly stood, or bravely fell, for more than one hour ; upwards of one fourth of the combatants had fallen never more to rise, on either side, and several others were wounded." We take the following to be the worst metaphor in the book. " There was one man who had the firmness, amidst the general delusion, to turn a deaf ear to the syren song of peace and farming, which was so artfully sung by Colonel Burr." " The syren song of peace and farming " means the pretence of Burr, that he was not going to fight, but to cultivate the Washita lands.

In the higher qualities of an historian, however, Mr. Butler is deserving of all praise. In fairness, earnestness, and fidelity, he excels, as far as he falls behind in expression and outward dress. He writes, it seems to us, in a highly candid and impartial spirit. His book in this respect compares advantageously with the former history of Kentucky by Humphrey Marshall, which, though written with great force and in a picturesque style, is obnoxious to a charge of political partisanship, which, it may be owned, was hard to be escaped by one, who undertook to describe scenes, " quorum pars magna fuit." Marshall was a stern Federalist of the strictest sect. Mr. Butler inclines more to the Jefferson school, though an enlarged experience has taught him to qualify very much the maxims and notions of the " Monticello sage," which once were looked upon as containing all things necessary for political and social salvation. But, though candid, Mr. Butler is not indifferent. He is thoroughly in earnest, and treats his sub-

ject with enthusiasm. It is evidently a labor of love with him. And in this respect he is right. A cold, skeptical spirit, which seeks to explain away all that is noble and lofty in human achievements, is far from being the true historical spirit, though too often mistaken for it. It is only by sympathizing with the character of a people, by entering into the feelings which moved them, by giving ourselves up to the influences which impressed and swayed them, that we can rightly understand their history. Thus alone can we seize the great leading principles, the ruling ideas, which determine the course and destinies of a nation. Without this, a writer may give us effects, but the causes will be hidden from him. He can narrate facts, but he cannot give us principles. He can tell what a people *did*, but not what they *were*. He may be a good annalist, he cannot be a good historian.

But perhaps the most important requisite of a good historian in the present age of our country, and particularly of the Western country, is fidelity of research. The early records, the family traditions, even printed journals and the official accounts of legislative proceedings, are daily perishing for want of a little care and attention. Documents, which a century hence would be invaluable, are lost through carelessness and indifference. The best service which an historian can perform is to save such documents from this fate. How much is New England history indebted to Thomas Prince, for his "Chronology," which when first published could not find subscribers for the second volume, but which now is the only source of knowledge with regard to a large portion of the New England annals. Here again, Mr. Butler deserves our gratitude for the efforts he has made, and their success in procuring much new information. This is the chief worth of his book. The second edition is a great improvement on the first in this respect. The work was before incomplete, without beginning or end. It now contains the outline, at least, of every thing which we could wish. It has, in addition to the contents of the first edition, an Introduction in seventy-two pages, two more chapters at the end, and a large number of important documents, omitted in the former Appendix. The Introduction gives an account of early discoveries by the French and others in the Mississippi Valley, and the settlements of Western Virginia. This appears to us a more suitable opening than Rafinesque's "Ancient Annals of Kentucky," prefixed to

Marshall's History. That worthy antiquary, whose motto is "Nunquam otiosus," has given us an account of the inhabitants of Kentucky from the time of Adam, with a minute detail of the rise and fall of various dynasties, of invasions, revolutions, emigrations, through successive periods, *down* to the discovery of Columbus. Former historians, we know, always adopted this plan; but of late years we are satisfied that as firm a foundation can be obtained by digging down a few feet, as if we went to the centre of the earth. And the only writer of modern times who has adopted Rafinesque's plan is, to the best of our recollection, the worthy author of "The History of New York." The first book of that renowned work is occupied with different cosmogonies and theories of the universe, deduced from the traditions of China, India, Egypt, Chaldea, and other equally authentic sources.

Mr. Butler has taken Marshall's History as the basis of his own. This work, which we noticed in a former Number, must always be considered the original fountain of Kentucky history. Mr. Marshall has been an actor in many scenes which he describes, and has heard descriptions of others from the lips of those engaged in them. Mr. Butler's chief additions to this work, consist in the before-named Introduction, an account of Indian treaties by which the soil of Kentucky was ceded to the whites, notices of Henderson's proprietary government, and a minute and interesting account of Gen. Clark's Illinois campaigns. In addition to this, he has diligently consulted original sources to confirm, explain, and rectify all the other portions of the history.

The first chapter of the History is devoted to an examination of the Indian title to Kentucky. Mr. Butler has brought to light a treaty, concluded at Fort Stanwix in the State of New York, in 1768, with the Six Nations, by the agency of that extraordinary man, Sir William Johnson. By this treaty, that powerful confederacy, who had extended their conquests west to the Mississippi, and south to the Tennessee River, relinquished to the English a large portion of the present State of Kentucky. The probability seems to be, that, though they had control of the territory at and after that time, till its occupation by the English, it was not taken possession of by any one Indian tribe, but was hunted over by all. Johnson was one of the few Englishmen who could manage a successful diplomacy with the Indians; probably because he united cour-

teousness with firmness, and to independence and courage a respect for the feelings and opinions of the red man. To these qualities of Johnson it appears that the people of Kentucky owe a fair Indian title to their land. Such a title is little valued now, and still less was it considered in those days of the early emigrants.

> "For why? Because the good old rule
> Sufficed for them, the simple plan,
> That those shall take, who have the power,
> And those shall keep, who can."

Yet we believe the days will come, when the people of every State in the Union will be proud to treasure up memorials, that their fathers were not unjust to the red man.

In parliamentary proceedings it is sometimes permitted to the Speaker to descend from his seat and take part in the discussion. Even so the Reviewer, who was originally a kind of presiding officer in the republican assembly of authors, placed apart to see that the rules of good writing were observed and to call to order those who infringed them, has of late plunged, himself, into the debate; somewhat to the neglect, indeed, of his peculiar vocation. Having performed our duty as critics, we would use this privilege also. We would turn from the book to its subject, from the historian to the history. And the interesting point to us, in Western history, is the light which it throws upon Western character, so far as that character is now developed.

It is beginning to be generally understood that the Western people, and in particular the inhabitants of Kentucky, possess the germs of a very original and strongly-marked character. Various traits of mind and disposition are ascribed to them by travellers, journalists, and other writers. Among these are usually mentioned activity of intellect, versatility of talent, ease of manner, an independence of character which runs into the extreme of recklessness, and a freedom which often degenerates into lawlessness. Warm hospitality, ardent friendship, excitable feelings connect them with the South; enterprise, self-reliance, and readiness of talent, remind us of New England. To be sure, this character is yet in an unformed state; its ingredients are fermenting together; but intelligent observers can distinguish plainly very strong and individual traits, which point at a high degree of future nationality.

But, in order to understand a work of art or nature, it always becomes necessary to look at the history of its formation. Would you comprehend the complicated machinery of a cotton factory, or gain insight into the action of a steam-engine, study them first in their simplest forms. See how inconveniences suggested alteration, and improvements grew out of necessities. The character of the adult is learned in the history of his boyhood, for "the child is father of the man." And thus national character can only be understood out of national history. Taking our stand on this ground, we will pass in review some of the striking events in the history of Kentucky.

We have not to go far back to find the commencement of this history. Those now alive, who have reached the age of seventy years, were born before the first white man entered Kentucky. For the English have never displayed the same love of discovery as the Spaniards and French, either in North or South America. Wherever they have fixed themselves, they remain. A love of adventure, an eager curiosity, a desire of change, or some like motive had carried the French all over the continent, while the English colonists continued quietly within their own limits. The French Missionaries coasted along the Lakes and descended the Mississippi, a whole century before the Virginians began to cross the Alleghany ridge, to get a glimpse of the noble inheritance which had remained undisturbed for centuries, waiting their coming.

It was not till the year 1767, only eight years before the breaking out of the revolutionary war, that John Finley of North Carolina descended into Kentucky for the purpose of hunting and trading. The feelings of wonder and delight experienced by this early pioneer in passing through the rich lands, which were filled with deer, buffaloes, and every kind of game, and covered with the majestic growth of centuries, soon communicated themselves to others. Like the spies who returned from Palestine, they declared, "The land, which we passed through to search it, is an exceeding good land." They compared it to parks and gardens, or a succession of farms, stocked with cattle and full of birds tame as farm-yard poultry. Instigated by these descriptions, in 1769 Daniel Boone, a man much distinguished for bravery and skill, entered

Kentucky. And now commenced a series of enterprise, romantic adventure, chivalric daring, and patient endurance, not surpassed in the history of modern times. Nothing in the tales of knight-errantry, in the "romans de longues haleines," which occupied the leisure of pages and squires in old baronial days, or in the Waverley novels and their "tail" of romances of the second class, which amuse modern gentlemen and ladies, nothing in these works of imagination can exceed the realities of early Kentucky history. From 1769 till Wayne's victory on the Maumee in 1794, a period of twenty-five years, including the whole revolutionary war, the people of Kentucky were engaged in Indian warfare, for life and home. Surrounded by an enemy far outnumbering them, deadly in hatred, of ferocious cruelty, wielding the same rifle with themselves, and as skilful in its use, they took possession of the country, felled the forest, built towns, laid out roads, and changed the wilderness into a garden. No man could open his cabin door in the morning, without danger of receiving a rifle bullet from a lurking Indian; no woman could go out to milk the cows without risk of having a scalping-knife at her forehead before she returned. Many a man returned from hunting, only to find a smoking ruin where he had left a happy home with wife and children. But did this constant danger create a constant anxiety? Did they live in terror? Fightings were without; were fears within? By no means. If you talk with the survivors of those days they will tell you; "We soon came to think ourselves as good men as the Indians. We believed we were as strong as they, as good marksmen, as quick of sight, and as likely to see them, as they were to see us; so there was no use in being afraid of them." The danger produced a constant watchfulness, an active intelligence, a prompt decision; traits still strongly apparent in the Kentucky character. By the same causes, other, more amiable and social qualities were developed. While every man was forced to depend on himself and trust to his own courage, coolness, and skill, every man felt that he depended on his neighbour for help in cases where his own powers could no longer avail him. And no man could decline making an effort for another, when he knew that he might need a like aid before the sun went down. Hence we have frequent examples of one man risking his life to save that of

another, and of desperate exertions made for the common safety of the dwellers in fort or stockade.

As an example of such generous exertions we extract the following anecdote, which has been frequently told, but is here given, by Mr. Butler, in the words of an actor.

"On the 7th of July, 1776, the Indians took out of a canoe which was in the river, within sight of Boonesborough, Miss Betsey Calloway, her sister Frances, and a daughter of Daniel Boone. The last two were about thirteen or fourteen years of age, and the other grown. The affair happened late in the afternoon, and the spoilers left the canoe on the opposite side of the river from us, which prevented our getting over for some time to pursue them. Next morning by day-light we were on the track; but found they had totally prevented our following them by walking some distance apart through the thickest cane they could find. We observed their course, and on which side they had left their sign, and travelled upwards of thirty miles. We then imagined they would be less cautious in travelling, and made a turn in order to cross their trace, and had gone but a few miles before we found their tracks in a buffalo path; we pursued and overtook them on going about ten miles, just as they were kindling a fire to cook. Our study had been more to get the prisoners without giving the Indians time to murder them after they discovered us, than to kill them. We discovered each other nearly at the same time. Four of us fired, and all rushed on them, which prevented their carrying any thing away except one shot gun without any ammunition. Mr. Boone and myself had a pretty fair shot just as they began to move off. I am well convinced I shot one through, and the one he shot dropped his gun; mine had none. The place was very thick with cane, and being so much elated on recovering the three little broken-hearted girls, prevented our making any further search. We sent them off without their moccasons, and not one of them so much as a knife or a tomahawk." — Butler's *History*, p. 32.

The three most distinguished men among the early settlers were James Harrod, Daniel Boone, and Benjamin Logan. Of the last-mentioned gentleman we insert the following anecdote. His fort was besieged by a large party of Indians in 1777. The garrison consisted of only fifteen men.

"The Indians made their attack on the fort with more than their usual secrecy. While the women, guarded by a party of the men, were milking the cows outside of the fort, they were suddenly fired upon by a large body of Indians, till then concealed

in the thick cane which stood about the cabins. By this fire, one man was killed, and two others wounded, one mortally; the residue, with the women, got into the fort, when, having reached the protection of its walls, one of the wounded men was discovered, left alive on the ground. Captain Logan, distressed for his situation, and keenly alive to the anguish of his family, who could see him from the fort, weltering in his blood, endeavoured in vain, for some time, to raise a party for his rescue. The garrison was, however, so small, and the danger so appalling, that he met only objection and refusal; until John Martin, stimulated by his Captain, proceeded with him to the fort gate. At this instant the wounded man appeared to raise himself on his hands and knees, as if able to help himself, and Martin withdrew, deterred by the obvious hazard. Logan, incapable of abandoning a man under his command, was only nerved to new and more vigorous exertions to relieve the wounded man, who by that time, exhausted by his previous efforts, after crawling a few paces, had fallen to the ground. The generous and gallant Captain took him in his arms amid a shower of bullets, many of which struck the palisades about his head; and brought him into the fort to his despairing family." — *Ibid.* p. 91.

After reading such anecdotes as this, can we wonder at the strong family attachments now existing in Kentucky? The remembrance of such hours of common danger and mutual sacrifice, and generous disregard of self, must have sunk deep into the hearts of those earnest men. "He saved my life at the risk of his own. He helped me bring back my wife from the Indians. He shot the man who was about to dash out my infant's brains." Here was a foundation for friendships, which nothing could root up. "Whispering tongues can poison truth;" but no tongues could do away such evidences of true friendship as these. No subsequent coldness, no after injury could efface their remembrance. They must have been treasured up in the deepest cells of the heart with a sacred gratitude, a religious care. And hence, while Indian warfare developed all the stronger and self-relying faculties, it cultivated also all the sympathies, the confiding trust, the generous affections, which to the present hour are marked on the heart of that people's character.

But besides producing independence and generosity, Indian warfare tended especially to quicken the intellect, making it wakeful to perceive danger and prompt to decide on a way

of meeting it. The whole of the existence of the settlers was a game, which to play, required constant watchfulness and skill, and of which life was the stake. This necessarily gave an activity of intellect and an interest to every thing done or attempted, which, in a safer community, could not be manifested. Life was crowded with action. Every new necessity prompted to new invention. All was animation, vigilance, interest. And such to this hour continues the intellect of Kentucky.

One other element, however, is to be taken into the account. The richness of the soil, and the plentifulness of game, took off the burden of low and narrowing care, and produced a certain freedom of spirit, which is not equally to be looked for in those regions where the whole stress of industry will but barely support life. Around the first settlers of New England, for instance, the horrors of famine were added to the terrors of the Indian yell and tomahawk. A sterner principle was there necessary ; a willingness to endure cold and hunger, no less than dare the attack of the red foe. Such was not the case in Kentucky. Had it been so, the settlement would not have been effected at least for a half century later ; for the motive which induced the enterprise would have been wanting.

The adventures of General George Rogers Clark are given to the public, for the first time, in full detail, in the third, fourth, and fifth chapters of Butler's History. We shall present an abstract of them, both as illustrating the energy of western character, and because we believe they will be new to many of our readers. George Rogers Clark was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, in 1753. In 1775 he first entered Kentucky. He had already been engaged under Lord Dunmore in conflict with the Indians, and now wandered through the scattered settlements, making himself acquainted with the people, and interesting them by his intelligent mind and manly spirit. He is said to have received a command over the Kentucky troops at that time. Returning to Virginia in the fall, he came back to Kentucky in the spring of 1776. Though so young a man, he had inspired so much confidence in the community as to induce them to call a meeting at Harrod's town for the purpose of sending agents to Virginia, to negotiate with that government for assistance, or, if not successful in this, to offer bounties of land for help in men and means from the citizens, and to establish an independent

government. For a mere boy, as we should call him, to form a plan like this, and then to induce a sagacious community to follow it, certainly demonstrates no small powers of reflection and character. This convention met in the absence of Clark, and chose him and another person members of the Assembly of Virginia. They immediately departed through the wilderness to the seat of government. After suffering great hardships they reached Virginia, and found the Assembly adjourned. Clark then went on by himself to Patrick Henry, the Governor, and received from him a letter to the Executive Council. He asked of them five hundred pounds of gunpowder to defend Kentucky. This was refused. The Council offered to lend it to them as friends, but, as they were yet not joined to the State, they could do no more for them. But this young man was not of a temper to yield to opposition lightly. He reflected within himself, and determined to go back to Kentucky and establish there an independent State. With this view, he returned to the council their order, informed them he had no means of conveying the powder through a hostile country, expressed his sorrow that Virginia was unwilling to assist her children, but concluded that they must seek help *elsewhere*, and should no doubt find it. The consequence of this letter was an order for the powder to be delivered at Fort Pitt, for the use of the inhabitants of Kentucky. After this, before leaving Virginia, he succeeded in procuring Kentucky to be erected into a distinct county of that State, and from this time he was established in the affections of the people as their chief counsellor. Hereafter he was to appear as their general and commander.

We pass over the various difficulties which occurred in getting this ammunition conveyed into Kentucky, in order to come to Clark's greatest enterprise. This was the expedition, projected, prepared, and executed by him against the British posts of Kaskaskia and St. Vincent's. The plan, it appears, originated with him ; and is proof in itself of much military talent. Nothing could have been conceived better suited to intimidate the savages and protect the whole frontier of Kentucky, than an effective blow aimed at those posts from whence the Indians derived ammunition, arms, and clothing. It was bold, but yet practicable. The great distance, and the difficulty of transporting soldiers, which seemed at first objections, in fact insured its success, by lulling suspicion, and

giving the final blow an overwhelming character. All this Clark perceived, but, communicating his ideas to no one, he left Kentucky in October, 1777, for Virginia. He laid his plans before Patrick Henry, the Virginia Governor, who, after minutely examining them, and consulting with several gentlemen, at last entered warmly into the project. On the 2d of January, 1778, he received two sets of instructions, one public, directing him to proceed to Kentucky for its defence, and the other secret, ordering an attack on the British post of Kaskaskia. The troops were to be raised west of the mountains, in order not to distract any of the force necessary for the great revolutionary struggle. He descended the river on the 4th of February, from Pittsburg, to the Falls of the Ohio, and there fortified a post on Corn Island, just opposite the present town of Louisville. Here Clark discovered to his troops their real destination to Kaskaskia; and, with the exception of one company who shamefully deserted, all testified satisfaction. The post of St. Vincent's, though nearer, was better fortified, and more difficult to be taken, and Clark's whole available force was now but four companies. On the 24th of June, 1778, the sun being in a total eclipse, the boats passed the Falls. At the mouth of the Tennessee they met a party of hunters, lately from Kaskaskia, who communicated much valuable information with respect to the place. They learned from them, that its defences were such, that, except they could surprise it, their chance of success was small; but, succeeding in this, they would have little difficulty. They were also told, that the French inhabitants of the place entertained great fear of the Americans, being taught by the British to look on them as more barbarous and cruel than the savages. Colonel Clark saw, that by wisely managing this prejudice, and the information he had received on the river, of the treaty between France and the United States, he might be able to secure the assistance of the French; without this he could have little hope of ultimate success. After a difficult march they reached the town on the evening of July 4th, 1778. It was completely surprised, taken possession of, the inhabitants disarmed, and the British Governor secured without a drop of blood being shed. The French submitted to the "Bostonais," as they called all Americans at that time, without any resistance.

But, although the town was taken, the work was hardly

begun. The object was to act on the minds of the inhabitants. For this purpose, not force, but judgment and tact were necessary. And the account which Mr. Butler has given of this transaction, taken from original and unquestionable sources, appears to us of such exceeding interest, that we shall proceed to describe it for our readers' entertainment.

Let us imagine then the situation of this ancient place, which contained about two hundred and fifty houses, and had stood for a century and a half in the midst of a blooming prairie, its simple and peaceful French inhabitants dealing only with the Indians, and the present generation of them almost ignorant of any other race. Taught to regard the Americans as monsters of cruelty, they found their town suddenly fallen into their hands. Gloom and fear dwelt visibly on the faces of all. To increase this feeling, Clark commanded all intercourse among the inhabitants, and between them and the soldiers, to cease. For a slight offence against this rule, he commanded several French officers to be put in irons. At last the priest of the village, accompanied by five or six of the oldest inhabitants, came to request permission for the citizens to meet in the church, to take leave of each other. Their property was in the hands of the conquerors, but they hoped they should not be separated from their wives and children, and that some small quantity of provisions and clothes would be allowed them. Clark, seeing that the fears of the people were wound up to the highest point, now determined to let the reaction, which he was aiming at, take place. "For what do you take us, gentlemen;" said he, "for savages? We do not make war on innocence, or helplessness, or women, or children. It was to defend our families, that we took up arms against the British, not for plunder. The French King has now joined us, and the war must soon cease. The people of Kaskaskia, however, may take which side they wish. Neither their property nor families shall suffer." The village was immediately filled with demonstrations of extravagant delight, and as had been expected the inhabitants sided at once with the Americans. A party of them, accompanied by some of Clark's soldiers, went to Cahokia, another post opposite to the present site of St. Louis, and persuaded the French of that place to a like submission and alliance.

All this was very good, but yet was not enough. The post of St. Vincent's lay no great distance off between his present

position and Kentucky, and garrisoned by a force superior to any which Clark could possibly bring against it. Policy, therefore, and not force, must again be resorted to. And here unexpected aid was afforded by the French Priest of Kaskaskia, who was also the spiritual father of the French at St. Vincent's. Always a friend to the Americans, and grateful for the religious toleration showed by Clark, he volunteered to bring over the inhabitants of St. Vincent's to the cause of the Americans without any fighting. Hardly believing it possible, Clark dismissed him on this embassy. The British governor was absent, and M. Gibault succeeded entirely. In two or three days after his arrival, the inhabitants threw off the British government, and, assembling in a body in the church, took the oath of allegiance to Virginia. A commandant was chosen, and the American flag displayed over the fort, to the astonishment of the Indians. The savages were told by their French friends, "that their old Father, the King of France, was come to life again, and was mad with them for fighting for the English; that if they did not wish the land to be bloody with war, they must make peace with the Americans."

Though Clark had effected so much, having taken two important posts from the British, and having won the favor of the French, there was yet another influence to be propitiated, more important and more hostile than either. The business, now more difficult than any thing he had yet accomplished, was to awe or persuade the Indians of the Wabash into an alliance with the Americans. And in this affair he displayed as much sagacity and perseverance as in his previous exploits. The French have invariably succeeded in winning the friendship of the Indians. The English almost as invariably have failed. By an attentive study of the Indian character, Clark had learned to combine the dignity and firmness which awe, with that respectful and ceremonious behaviour which pleases the pride and vanity of the savage. In the treaties held by him at Cahokia and on the Wabash, was displayed the correctness of this view of the Indian. We will extract from Butler a speech of Clark's, in which he explained and simplified to the understanding of the Indians the causes of the war between the United States and England.

"The Big Knife is very much like the red people; they don't know how to make blankets, and powder, and cloth; they buy

these things from the English, from whom they are sprung. They live by making corn, hunting, and trade, as you and your neighbours the French do. But, the Big Knife daily getting more numerous, like the trees in the woods, the land became poor and hunting scarce; and having but little to trade with, the women began to cry at seeing their children naked, and tried to learn how to make clothes for themselves; soon made blankets for their husbands and children; and the men learned to make guns and powder. In this way we did not want to buy so much from the English; they then got mad with us, and sent strong garrisons through our country (as you see they have done among you on the Lakes, and among the French); they would not let our women spin, nor our men make powder, nor let us trade with any body else. The English said we should buy every thing of them, and since we had got saucy, we should give two bucks for a blanket, which we used to get for one; we should do as they pleased, and they killed some of our people to make the rest fear them.

"This is the truth, and the real cause of war between the English and us; which did not take place for some years after this treatment. But our women became cold and hungry, and continued to cry; our young men got lost for want of counsel to put them in the right path. The whole land was dark; the old men held down their heads for shame, because they could not see the sun; and thus there was mourning for many years over the land. At last the Great Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a great council-fire, that never goes out, at a place called Philadelphia; he then stuck down a post, and put a war tomahawk by it, and went away. The sun immediately broke out, the sky was blue again, and the old men held up their heads, and assembled at the fire; they took up the hatchet, sharpened it, and put it into the hands of our young men, ordering them to strike the English, as long as they could find one on this side the great waters. The young men immediately struck the war-post, and blood was shed; in this way the war began, and the English were driven from one place to another, until they got weak, and then they hired you red people to fight for them. The Great Spirit got angry at this, and caused your old father, the French King, and other great nations to join the Big Knife, and fight with them against all their enemies. So the English have become like a deer in the woods; and you may see, that it is the Great Spirit that has caused your waters to be troubled, because you have fought for the people he is mad with. If your women and children should now cry, you must blame yourselves for it, and not the Big Knife. You can now judge who is in the right; I have already told you who I am; here is a bloody belt

and a white one, take which you please. Behave like men, and don't let your being surrounded by the Big Knife cause you to take up one belt with your hands, while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path, you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends, the English; we will then try like warriors, who can put the most stumblingblocks in each other's way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. If, on the other hand, you take the path of peace, and be received as brothers to the Big Knife with their friends, the French, — should you then listen to bad birds that may be flying through the land, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men; but as creatures with two tongues, that ought to be destroyed." — *Ibid.* p. 68.

We also extract an incident which occurred during these negotiations, which Mr. Butler justly regards as of a romantic character. It also is a good specimen of the author's happiest manner.

"A party of Indians, composed of stragglers from various tribes, by the name of Meadow Indians, had accompanied the other tribes, and had been promised a great reward if they would kill Colonel Clark. For this purpose they had pitched their camp about a hundred yards from Clark's quarters, and about the same distance in front of the fort, on the same side of Cahokia creek with the one occupied by the Americans. This creek was about knee-deep at the time, and a plot was formed by some of the Indians to pass the creek after night, fire their guns in the direction of the Indians on the other side of the creek, and then fly to Clark's quarters, where they were to seek admission under pretence of fleeing from their enemies, and put Colonel Clark and the garrison to death. About one o'clock in the morning, while Colonel Clark was still awake with the multiplied cares of his extraordinary situation, the attempt was made; and the flying party, having discharged their guns so as to throw suspicion upon the other Indians, came running to the American camp for protection, as they said, from their enemies, who had attacked them from across the creek. This, the guard, who proved to be in greater force than was anticipated, prevented by presenting their pieces at the fugitives, who were compelled to return to their own camp. The whole town and garrison were now immediately under arms, and these Indians, whom the guard had recognised by moonlight, were sent for, and on being examined, they declared it was their enemies, who had fired upon them from across the creek, and that they had sought shelter among the Americans. Some of the French gentlemen, who knew these

Indians better than the new conquerors, called for a light, and discovered their moccasons and leggins to be quite wet and muddy, from having passed the creek over to the friendly camps. This discovery quite confounded the assassins; and, as there were a great many Indians of other tribes in the town, Clark thought the opportunity favorable to convince them of the closest union between the Americans and the French; he therefore surrendered the culprits to the French, to do what they pleased with them. Secret instructions were, however, given, that the chiefs ought to be sent to the guard-house in irons; these directions were immediately executed.

"In this manacled condition they were brought every day into council, but not suffered to speak until all the other business was transacted, when Colonel Clark ordered their irons to be taken off, and told them every body said they ought to die for their treacherous attempt upon his life, amidst the sacred deliberations of a council. He had determined to inflict death upon them for their base attempt, and they themselves must be sensible that they had justly forfeited their lives; but, on considering the meanness of watching a bear and catching him asleep, he had found out they were not warriors, only old women and too mean to be punished by the Big Knife. 'But, as you ought to be punished,' said he, 'for putting on breech-cloth like men, they shall be taken away from you, plenty of provisions shall be given you for your journey home, as women don't know how to hunt, and during your stay you shall be treated in every respect as squaws.' Then without taking any further notice of these offenders, Colonel Clark turned off and began to converse with other persons. This treatment appeared to agitate the offending Indians to their very hearts. In a short time one of their chiefs arose with a pipe and belt of peace, which he offered to Clark, and made a speech; but he would not suffer it to be interpreted, and a sword lying on the table, he took it and indignantly broke the pipe which had been laid before him, declaring the Big Knife never treated with women. The offending tribe then appeared busy in conversation among themselves; when suddenly two of their young men advanced into the middle of the floor, sat down, and flung their blankets over their heads, to the astonishment of the whole assembly, when two chiefs arose, and, with a pipe of peace, stood by the side of these victims, and offered their lives to Colonel Clark, as an atonement for the offence of the tribe. They hoped this sacrifice would appease the Big Knife, and they again offered the pipe. Clark would not yet admit a reconciliation with them, but directed them in a milder tone than before to be seated, for he would have nothing to say to them. After keeping them

some time longer in suspense, Colonel Clark, deeply affected by the magnanimity of these rude sons of the forest, ordered the young men to rise and uncover themselves, said he was glad to find there were men in all nations, and through them granted peace to their tribe." — *Ibid.* p. 72.

By means of such cautious management Clark succeeded in undermining the British influence among the Indian tribes from the Mississippi to the Lakes, and impressing them with a respect for the Americans hitherto unknown. One military exploit remained for him to perform, as the crowning glory of this singular campaign. He had for some time been anxious with respect to St. Vincent's, in which he had been unable to post any American troops, though it had been put under the command of one of his captains. And on the 29th of January, 1779, he received news that Governor Hamilton had marched a force against it from Detroit, and had reduced it again under the power of the British. Had he continued his march to Kaskaskia, with his four hundred Indians brought from Detroit, he would probably have overpowered the small force of Clark. But, as winter was advanced, he thought this impracticable, and let his Indians scatter themselves, intending to re-assemble his forces in the spring, and march on Kaskaskia, where he was to be joined by seven hundred Indians from the north and south. With this force, beside his own and some artillery, he intended to sweep Kentucky as far as Fort Pitt, and entertained no doubt of success. But when opposed to an enemy like Clark, his delay was fatal. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, that officer immediately resolved on marching against St. Vincent's, — "for," said he, "I knew if I did not take him, he would take me." He despatched a boat with forty-six men and the artillery found at Kaskaskia up the Wabash river, to wait below the town for further orders. He then commenced his march with one hundred and seventy men, of whom two French companies made a part, across the drowned lands of the Wabash, for St. Vincent's. This was in the month of February, and the march carried them through places where the water was two and three feet deep for miles, and in some places up to their armpits. To keep up the spirits and courage of the troops under such exhausting hardships required great exertion on the part of their commander. In about a fortnight they reached St. Vincent's. After a contest of one or two days between the cannon of the fort and Clark's rifles, the latter had such a decided superiority that

the post was surrendered, with seventy-nine British soldiers prisoners of war, and considerable stores. The rifle had the whole honor of reducing their strong fort, for the artillery had not arrived. The peremptory and commanding manners of Clark, conveying the impression that his power was much greater than it was, had a large share in this result. Indeed, in perusing the accounts of his decided and inflexible conduct in negotiation, and remembering the stern, unmoved expression of brow, eye, cheek, and mouth in the portraits of him, which are common in Kentucky, we gain from the simple record and the caricature of the unskilful artist the idea of a man, before whose look few could stand unmoved. Such was this Kentuckian, and such were other Kentuckians. These were the events which were passing on the frontier, while the Revolutionary war was raging on the Atlantic coast.

We pass over some years and come to another period of Kentucky history. The country has become more populous ; the danger from Indians has almost gone by ; the forest is felled.

> "The wars are all over,
> The sword it hangs idle,
> The steed bites the bridle
> And stands in the stall.
> We drink — but what 's drinking?
> A mere pause from thinking ;
> No bugle awakes us with life-and-death call."

The activity of mind, the love of excitement, the restless, adventurous spirit remains, while the field on which it was exercised is removed. It must display itself in another way ; it must find some other channel of action. And thus Kentucky becomes the theatre of the most daring political schemes. Accustomed to act on a wide scale, these people cannot sit down contented with the natural proceeds of a rich soil, and the natural comforts of a temperate climate. Not satisfied, like the inhabitants of other States and sections, with the local prosperity of their own little villages and counties, they contemplate the interests of the whole Valley and the destinies of the coming age. They find themselves on navigable streams, which bind together tens of thousands of miles of country.*

* The endless ramifications of the mammoth River of the West has made more specific terms necessary in speaking of its tributaries. In New England we have only *brooks* and *rivers*. But in the West we hear of a *branch*, of a *run*, of a *fork*, of a *creek*, of a river which empties into the Ohio, which falls into the Mississippi.

Distance vanishes. Those who live a hundred miles from them are their neighbours. They immediately take a broad view of their inheritance and its value, and only one thing is necessary to make their wilderness the garden of the earth. *The navigation of the Mississippi* is absolutely necessary to them. They fix their hearts on it. They must, they will, possess a free trade upon its broad bosom. The most ignorant boatman, the poorest farmer, understands its importance. An enthusiastic and lightly moved people are excited against the government by what they consider its neglect of their rights and delay in attending to their petitions. Jay's proposition to Congress to cede the navigation of the river to Spain for twenty years, roused a violent feeling of indignation against himself and his party. Disorganizers and ambitious men took advantage of this state of feeling, and hence arose what has been known as the *Spanish conspiracy.*

The ascertained facts in relation to the Spanish conspiracy, as stated by Butler, are these. In the year 1788, under the old confederation, John Brown, the Representative to Congress from the district of Kentucky, had certain private conferences with Don Gardequoi, the Spanish minister. In consequence of which he writes letters to the President of the convention held at Danville, and to Judge Muter, in which he informs them that if Kentucky will separate from the Union and establish an independent government, Spain is ready to give to them the free navigation of the Mississippi. At this very time, Kentucky was petitioning Congress through the mouth of this very John Brown, to be admitted into the Union as an independent State. After this, at another convention at Danville, General Wilkinson, a leading man in Kentucky in those days, stands up, and proposes the establishment of an independent State, which should treat with Spain separately for the navigation of the Mississippi, *and find its way into the Union afterwards.* Thereupon the same John Brown gets up and tells the convention, as the Spanish organ in that body, that, if they can be unanimous in the adoption of Wilkinson's measure, Spain will grant them whatever they wish. But the people were not ripe for such a step, though their leaders evidently were so, and the convention parted without adopting any separating measure. The admission of Kentucky into the Union as an independent State terminated, for a season, these inclinations.

This was in 1778. In 1795, according to Mr. Butler's

division, began the second part of the affair. In that year, while negotiations are going forward in Madrid, to secure the much-desired navigation of the Mississippi, Governor Carondolet writes to Judge Sebastian, a judge of the Court of Appeals, and who it afterwards appeared was a hired and pensioned partisan of Spain, by one Power, informing him that the Spanish king was desirous of opening the Mississippi to the western States, and establishing a commercial treaty with them. Sebastian communicated this proposal to Innes, Judge of the United States Court, William Murray, and Colonel Nicholas, influential citizens of Kentucky, and by their advice goes to New Orleans, arranges the terms of the treaty, and is on the point of concluding it, when news arrives of the treaty between Spain and the United States at Madrid. This induces the Spanish governor, in opposition to the urgent entreaty of Judge Sebastian, to break off the negotiation.

In 1797 it recommences. Power comes from New Orleans with a proposition to Sebastian, Innes, Nicholas, and Murray, "to withdraw from the Federal Union, and form a government wholly unconnected with that of the United States." To aid in this, orders for one or two hundred thousand dollars on the royal treasury at New Orleans, were offered to those who would engage in this scheme, together with arms and equipments, twenty field-pieces, powder, ball, &c. After deliberation between Sebastian, Innes, and Nicholas, they conclude that the proposition is dangerous, and ought to be rejected. And so the affair terminated.

None of the gentlemen concerned in these negotiations seemed to have felt their obligation to give information of these treasonable designs till the year 1806. In that year, an inquiry was ordered to be made into the conduct of Judge Sebastian by the Kentucky legislature. He had contrived to hold the office of Judge of Appeals to that day. Then the circumstances of his pension from Spain were revealed by the testimony of Judge Innes, who assigns reasons taken from party politics for not having done his duty in revealing the intrigues before. He was of the party opposed to John Adams's administration, he says ; he was suspected by him, and he might suffer, either from him, or from the people's thinking him to be courting favor with that administration. Miserable reasons for neglecting a public duty. Mr. Butler, however, thinks them sufficient, and calls the omission, by what we think

a somewhat badly chosen term, "a theoretical fault." This theoretical fault is usually known, we believe, by the harder name of misprision of treason.

From these facts, taken wholly from Mr. Butler, who is evidently disposed to shield the actors in them as far as possible from censure, it appears evident, that most of the leading men in Kentucky, through a long course of years, were in favor of separating from the Union, and establishing an independent government, and took every measure in their power to bring this about. Let us now turn to another similar attempt, made in the interval between the first and second Spanish negotiation, by the notorious Frenchman, Genet.

In the year 1793, in the midst of that democratic fever which raged through the land, and in which Kentucky largely shared, he sent four individuals into that State with the avowed purpose of organizing an expedition against New Orleans. Two of these men have the impudence to write to Governor Shelby from a place close to his own door, asking him whether he shall interfere with their operations. He gives them a cautious answer, in which he says he shall be compelled to do his duty. They however go on to raise two thousand men under French authority, to distribute French commissions, buy cannon, &c. They give G. R. Clark a commission of Major-General in the armies of France. The veteran is dazzled by this title, and yields. He issues proposals for raising an army. In the mean time the Secretary of State, General St. Clair, and General Wayne write to Governor Shelby, informing him of these proceedings and urging him to interfere. He writes an answer to the Secretary, full of doubts as to his constitutional right to prevent citizens from going on this expedition. In consequence President Washington issues a proclamation, admonishing all citizens of the United States to abstain from these measures. Soon after, Genet is superseded, and the attempt relinquished. Part of the letter of La Chaise on this occasion may be inserted as a curiosity.

"*To the Democratic Society of Lexington.*

"CITIZENS,

"Events unforeseen, the effects of causes which it is unnecessary here to develope, have stopped the march of two thousand brave Kentuckians, who, strong in their courage, in the

justice of their rights, their cause, the general assent of their fellow citizens, and convinced of the brotherly dispositions of the Louisianians, waited only for their orders to go, and, by the strength of their arms, take from the Spaniards, despotic usurpers, the empire of the Mississippi, ensure to their country the navigation of it, break the chains of the Americans, and their brethren the French, hoist up the flag of liberty in the name of the French Republic, and lay the foundation of the prosperity and happiness of two nations, destined by nature to be but one, the most happy in the universe." *

Here again we see distinguished citizens of Kentucky, such men as Shelby and Clark, underrating or overlooking the duties which they owed to the Federal government, in a mad sympathy with French Republicanism. Mr. Butler attempts to defend Governor Shelby for the course taken by him in this matter, and Judge Hall passes over it with his usual easy negligence. We have no desire to injure that governor's venerable name. He was in heart a patriot, but in head he greatly erred. He confesses, that he thought it a favorable opportunity, when the mind of Washington was alarmed by foreign intrigues, to gain for Kentucky, through his fear of losing it, privileges which could not otherwise be secured. We cannot hold this to be the part of a patriotic citizen of the United States. Butler laments the conduct of Clark, and does not seek to justify his hero. For him this only excuse can be proffered, that "he was a man of war from his youth," and not used to weighing the niceties of international law.

So it has ever been with the people of Kentucky. Easily led away by artful and insinuating demagogues, they have commonly seen their character, in time to draw back. The whole enthusiasm of the State went with Burr for a season, and enabled him quietly to defy the honest efforts of J. H. Daviess † to arrest his treasonable undertakings. A grand jury declared they found no testimony which could, in the smallest degree, criminate him ; this decision was received with shouts of joy by the spectators in the court ; and a public ball was given him in honor of his triumph.

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* Journal of the Kentucky Assembly, 1806. Proceedings on the trial of Judge Sebastian.

† Who was soon after turned out of office by Jefferson. He had called him a "milk-and-water President" in the streets of Frankfort.

All the traits of character we have attempted to delineate were displayed again in full activity during the last war. The "hunters of Kentucky" were in every battle, from Niagara to New Orleans. Those who fell with the generous Daviess at Tippacanoe; who fought by the side of their aged governor, Shelby, and charged with Johnson at the Thames; or who were in that desperate struggle where the sound of the musketry and battle-shouts were swallowed up in the deep roar of the cataract on whose verge they fought, — these all carried with them the native genius of their country.*

A genius deep, rich, strong, various, and full of promise. But as yet it is unbridled, undirected, and ungoverned. If its faults sometimes lean to virtue's side, its virtues as often hurry into faults. The activity of mind which should be employed on great and noble enterprises, wastes itself away in trifling amusements and indolent conviviality. For fear of using Puritanical restraint, the child is left to go his own way to destruction. Mothers encourage their children to fight with their companions, and praise their spirit when they display passion and anger. The death of those children, stabbed or shot in some wild fray, is too often the terrible result of such early lessons. Young ladies lavish their favor and approbation on the *chivalric*, and give their smiles to the lawless reprobate who glories in the murders he has committed on the *field of honor*. Over the corpse of their own chosen one, they may afterward bewail, with unavailing repentance, their guilty encouragement of those who break God's most sacred laws. Gray-haired men, judges, counsellors, and statesmen, to whom the country naturally looks for example, are known to spend days and nights at the gaming-table. What wonder that this vice should eat into the very heart of social virtue, and sweep into ruin the fairest promise of the land? What wonder if they are called to lay in a dishonored grave the son whom their own example has destroyed?

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* We are sorry to see, that Mr. Butler, in speaking of Hull's surrender of Detroit, applies as usual the words "dastardly" and "cowardly" to that old revolutionary soldier, without alluding to his "Letters on the Northwestern Campaign," and the singular facts there developed. It is the duty of the historian to do careful justice to the memories of those who have died heart-broken under the weight of public contumely, and the dark cloud of shame and dishonor. At all events, such epithets should not be applied, without so much as an allusion to a book, which caused a decided change of opinion through a great part of the Union.

Of force and impetus there is enough in the western character ; all that is lacking is direction. The ship has enough of headway, she only needs to be skilfully steered. Religious restraint is needed, moral principle is needed, wise guidance is needed. A deep reverence for truth, a profound respect for law, a ready submission to right, a loyal allegiance to duty, these will make the western character as perfect as humanity can ever hope to become.

Art. II. — *Georgii Washingtonii, Americæ Septentrionalis Civitatum Fœderatarum Præsidis Primi, Vita, Francisco Glass, A. M., Ohioensi, Litteris Latinis conscripta.* Neo-Eboracopoli ; typis fratrum Harperorum. 1835.

Francis Glass, the author of this life of Washington, was educated, as we are informed by the editor, Mr. Reynolds, in Philadelphia ; and spent the earlier part of his life in that city and vicinity, in literary pursuits. Afterwards, he resided some time in the interior of Pennsylvania, and then removed to Ohio ; where, in a secluded spot, oppressed with domestic discomfort, and surrounded by all the ills of poverty, he was employed in school-keeping ; teaching those, who, for the most part, were acquiring the simplest rudiments of an English education. Glass seems to have possessed much sensibility, a preparation not always the most effectual for contending against the ills of life ; but adversity did not entirely break his spirit. In circumstances the most unfavorable for mental effort, he continued to cherish the favorite studies of his youth ; and though removed from books and learned men, he was not beyond the reach of literary ambition. He early formed the plan, suggested, no doubt, by his occupation, of preparing a life of Washington in Latin, for the use of schools ; and in spite of numerous discouragements, and with few of the necessary helps for writing this language with a proper regard to authorities, especially in treating of modern transactions, he at length brought his contemplated work to a conclusion. To Mr. Reynolds, who had been his pupil, and who afterwards generously acted towards him the part of a patron, he de-

livered his manuscript with an urgent request, that it should be published. This was promised ; and accordingly, during the last year, under the care of Mr. Reynolds, the work appeared from the press. The author, in the mean time, had paid the debt of nature ; and was denied the pleasure of hearing, that his long-cherished performance was in the hands of the public.

The writing of a life of Washington, in the Latin language, though doubts have been expressed as to the necessity or use of such a work, and a preference strongly declared for the vernacular tongue, is a literary enterprise, which, so far from deserving censure, ought rather to be met with commendation. The time has been, and that not distant, when the language of Rome was selected by historians as the best adapted to give notoriety as well as durability to their performances, and even now, a faithful account of the exploits and character of the principal founder of our republic, exhibited in pure Latin, would be read by numbers, to whom the same story in English, would be either not at all, or only partially known. Among the numerous students in our country, who acquire some knowledge of the Latin, some may be excited to new zeal and assiduity, by having their attention called to the manner in which events of our history may be recorded in that language ; or, if such a work should be thought suited only to the taste and fancy of a few, and to be a mere curiosity in letters, neither its preparation nor publication can be justly a matter of reproach.

It is a mistake to suppose, as some have done, that there are any insuperable difficulties, in communicating a knowledge of modern improvements and events, in an ancient language so copious as the Latin. If we inquire, how our own language, for the last two or three centuries, has been accommodated to the progress of the arts and sciences, the changes of government, the extension of commerce, and to the numerous improvements in the intercourse of nations, as well as of the internal condition of so many countries, we shall find, that it has been done to a small extent by the introduction of new words. Old terms, employed before in cases somewhat analogous, have generally been adopted to supply the want. It is an excellence rather than a defect of language, that most words taken separately, are ambiguous, and are made definite by their adjuncts. These latter varying endlessly, a form of

speech even moderately copious, easily suits itself to any exigency. When the art of printing was invented in the fifteenth century, very few words were coined to express the new mechanical contrivances and new processes for multiplying the copies of books. Thus *type*, *press*, *proof*, to *compose*, to *print*, and most of the nomenclature of this novel mystery, will be found to be old words in new applications. No change was made in the idiom or structure of the language; the meanings only of certain words were extended to objects analogous to those which they formerly designated.

The same fact is seen in the vocabulary of fire-arms. The words *arms*, *powder*, *ball*, *shot*, *shell*, *mortar*, to *fire*, to *shoot*, and most others, were by their adjuncts made intelligible in their new use. A few novel terms were adopted, here, as in other cases, from foreign languages; but their number is comparatively small. In the later innumerable improvements in manufactures of various kinds, and even in the accession of new objects in the construction and use of steam-boats and rail-roads, the same adaptation of old words to new uses may be noticed. This principle likewise has been extended to the sciences, to subjects of national policy and government, and, indeed, to whatever is of recent origin, or which has in any way assumed the aspect of novelty. The various objects in these later inventions and improvements may all be made the topics of discourse in the language of Dryden and Addison, by the change of a few combinations, with the introduction of an inconsiderable number of new terms. The English language, in accommodating itself to its necessities, has not been varied in its idiom or construction. If changes have been made in these respects, they must be ascribed to other causes.

Those authors who first wrote in Latin on subjects where modern discoveries and improvements were to be described, followed the same modes of expression as had been adopted in the modern tongues. Thus, when speaking of the art of printing, a press was called *prelum*, and to *print* was expressed by the corresponding word *imprimere*. A similar accommodation of old words to new objects was adopted in the vocabulary of war, and wherever else a like change in the language was called for. The principal source of errors here has been, that novelties would be introduced, where the language already possessed the requisite forms of expression; and that writers,

succeeding each other, would not, in all cases, comply with the precedents, set them by their predecessors. Wherever in any art or science, or in any subject possessing novel qualities and relations, words and phrases had been selected to mark them with sufficient distinctness, for a succeeding writer to make another selection, though in itself equally correct, was a misfortune ; as the multiplication of terms and phrases on the same subject, or where there is no important difference in idea, has the direct effect to render language indefinite. But, notwithstanding some inconveniences arising from this disregard of authorities, the phraseology of modern Latin, on all the principal topics where changes have been made, is tolerably well settled ; and no one should write in the Latin language on any subject of recent date, without first making himself familiar with the proper authorities.

The Latin language has, indeed, been represented by some writers, as comparatively barren in expression. But Cicero, Cæsar, Tacitus, and Pliny, to say nothing of the poets, leave little to be desired. Ernesti seems hardly extravagant, when he says, in his preface to the familiar letters of Cicero, that there is no species of style which these epistles do not furnish, and no topic in the affairs of life, which is not there treated of in appropriate phraseology. It should be remembered, however, that the language of Rome has been peculiarly unfortunate. A large number of the productions of the most distinguished authors, who wrote the Latin in its purity, are irrecoverably lost. If the voluminous writings of Cato, Varro, and Lucceius, and the lost works of Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Cæsar, Tacitus, Pliny, and of the numerous orators mentioned by Cicero and Tacitus, had been preserved ; and if we now possessed the lost comedies of Plautus and Terence, and the innumerable dramatic works which appeared in Rome, from the time of Plautus to the commencement of the decline of the Latin language, no doubt the vocabulary as well as compass of expression would be enlarged. As it is, numerous modern authors, who have written in Latin, following, when necessary, the example of Cicero in his derivations from the Greek, have found no difficulty in expressing themselves with clearness on any subject.

Among those writers in modern times, who have employed the Latin language with the greatest success in historical com-

position, may be mentioned Paolo Emili, or, as he styles himself, Paulus Æmilius, an Italian ecclesiastic, of Verona, who was invited into France by Louis the Twelfth, to write the history of that country. This work, the labor of nearly thirty years, was brought down by Æmilius himself to the time of Charles the Eighth, including part of the reign of that monarch; and by his continuators to the accession of Henry the Fourth. Its language was polished with extraordinary care. Perhaps the attention of the author to classical purity was excessive; and from this cause, probably, his phraseology is sometimes general and indistinct, where, by a slight accommodation to the times of which he was writing, and without any real sacrifice of Latinity, his descriptions would have been more exact and graphic. This history of Æmilius, including within its range the rise of the French monarchy, the early transactions of the French in Italy and Germany, and their early contests with the English, the whole story of the crusades, and, in the continuation, the civil wars which preceded the elevation of the house of Bourbon to the throne, is made up of an endless variety of topics, which put to the severest trial the powers of the language. This work may not rank as high as some others, for a display of philosophical disquisition nor does it evince any uncommon extent of research; but as an exhibition of the great facts in a most interesting portion of modern history, in flowing and pure Latin, which was probably the great object of Æmilius, it will always be held in high estimation.

In the history of discovery, maritime adventures, foreign conquest and colonization, there are two writers, who are distinguished among others for exhibiting the Latin language to great advantage, Jerome Osorio and John Peter Maffei. The former was bishop of Silves in Portugal. He was invited by Cardinal Henry to write the history of his country during the reign of Emmanuel the Third. It was in this reign that the Portuguese discovered the Cape of Good Hope, and made their principal establishments in India. The history of Osorio, besides the details of discovery and conquest, contains an account of the wars carried on by Emmanuel with the Moors in Africa, and the transactions of Portugal with Spain and other European states. The author, though writing under the patronage of the court, speaks with great freedom of the outrageous cruelties practised towards the Jews; and by no

means spares Emmanuel himself. The following is a specimen of the manner, in which a Catholic bishop of the sixteenth century, writing in a country where the Inquisition was in full vigor, could speak of forcible conversions.

"Fuit quidem hoc nec ex lege, nec ex religione factum. Quid enim? Tu rebelles animos, nullâque ad id susceptâ religione constrictos, adigas ad credendum ea, quæ summâ contentione aspernantur et respuunt? Idque tibi assumas, ut libertatem voluntatis impedias, et vincula mentibus injicias? At id neque fieri potest, neque Christi sanctissimum numen approbat. Voluntarium enim sacrificium, non vi et malo coactum, ab hominibus expetit; neque vim mentibus inferri, sed voluntates ad studium veræ religionis allici et invitari jubet," etc. — *De Rebus Emm.*, Lib. 1.

The style of Osorio is, perhaps, copious to a fault. He is everywhere not only full, but overflowing; and, at times, may be thought too rhetorical for the simplicity of the historic muse. His narrative is suited, from the great variety of topics of which it treats, to excite a deep interest in the reader; and shows the Latin language to be fully adequate to the purposes of modern history.

Maffei was an Italian Jesuit, who, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, was invited by the Portuguese court, to write a general history of their Indian possessions. For this purpose, the archives of the government and the records of the Catholic missions were submitted to his inspection. The work which he produced is divided into sixteen books; commencing with the earliest discoveries of the Portuguese on the western coast of Africa, and terminating with the close of the reign of John the Third, sixty years after the passage of the Cape of Good Hope by De Gama. Cardinal Bentivoglio, in his Memoirs, speaks of his acquaintance and intimacy with Maffei, and describes him as a true representative of the polished Romans of the Augustan age. He considers Maffei as particularly eminent in historical description, exhibiting objects not only in the colors of the painter, but presenting their very images to the eye. There is an anecdote of Maffei, not however, as it seems, very well authenticated, that he obtained a dispensation from the Pope to perform his devotions in Greek, that the purity of his Latin might not be endangered by the barbarisms of the Breviary. This history, besides the civil and military transactions of the

Portuguese in India, contains a detailed account of the attempts of the missionaries to introduce the Catholic religion among the nations of western Africa, and of the apostolic labors of Xavier in India and Japan. There is likewise some account of China and its inhabitants. No historian has better understood how to combine, with a general narrative, the more alluring details of individual adventure ; and his work, uniting the highest excellences of style to the greatest variety of incident, retains throughout the undivided attention of the reader.

This history, however, is far from being perfect in all its parts. There is in it much less of philosophical reflection, than, from the subject, might be expected, and occasionally there are stories introduced, which are puerile and ridiculous, and which clearly betray the vocation of the author. Thus it is gravely related, that when the Portuguese crops, in a part of India, were in danger of being devoured by mice, a timely application of holy water caused these vermin to confine themselves to the fields of the native inhabitants ; and that a sea-monster, on which a Portuguese ship was nigh foundering, after witnessing the sign of the cross and other similar ceremonies, retired peaceably, and the ship escaped destruction. Such passages remind the reader of the prodigies of Livy. But it is as an author, who has been in the highest degree successful in adapting the Latin language to modern transactions, that Maffei is chiefly to be prized. It is difficult to select a passage, which will properly exhibit the characteristics of this writer. The following extract, however, may give some notion of his style and manner.

The Portuguese on the island of Ternate, one of the Moluccas, were destitute of provisions, and, to supply themselves, fell upon the summary mode of plundering the houses of the natives. A party of these marauders, in a village not far from the Portuguese head-quarters, had provoked the inhabitants to retaliate, and were severely beaten with rods. On their return, Menez, their commander, ordered Aroez, the native governor, to deliver up to him the chief of the village and two of the principal inhabitants. The latter he sent back to their homes, after having most barbarously cut off their hands, and the former he exposed with his arms tied behind his back, in the presence of both the Portuguese and the Indians, to be torn in pieces by famished mastiffs. This story is thus told by Maffei.

"Cum ..... inopia cresceret in singulos dies, Gomezium Arium ad conquirenda cibaria cum armatis aliquot insulam peragrare placuit. Haud longe ab urbe Ternate vicus est, Tabonam appellant. Eo progressi pauci ex Arii comitatu, quasi ad populandum non ad precandum venissent ; ita in ædes irrumpere, cibos efflagitare; si mora fieret, per vim egerere. Cum major quam pro numero et loco audacia esset, non tulere diutius insolentiam incolæ ; arreptisque quæ fors obtulerat telis, Lusitanos minis deterrere a rapinâ institerunt. Inde rixa cum jurgiis orta, et Arius, procul clamore suorum audito, ad opem ferendam et sedandum tumultum accurrit. Neque segnius ac majore cum manu affuit præses loci, vir egregie fortis; accensisque ad iracundiam animis, cum nihilominus in temerario incepto Lusitani perstarent, pauci a multo pluribus circumventi, multis acceptis plagis, quidam etiam armis exuti, in arcem ad Menesium revertuntur. Horum conspectu et vociferatione ostentantium vibices, et sese fustibus indignum in modum acceptos ab agresti plebe querentium, commotus haud satis cognitâ causâ Menesius, auctores ejusmodi facinoris ab Aroezio postulat. Graves additæ minæ, ni extemplo dedantur. Aroezius, licet malum id sibimet Lusitanos contraxisse non ignoraret, tamen urgente metu invitus obtemperat. Tabonâ citati præses et duo e primariis, Menesio sine morâ sistuntur ; e quibus ille duos præcisis manibus domum remisit. Præsidem vero, brachiis post tergum revinctis, in litore destitutum, ferocissimis duobus molossis objecit. Quorum impetum ac dentes, variâ corporis declinatione, aliquamdiu frustra evitare conatus, horrente supplicii fœditatem effusâ ex oppido multitudine, circumspectare primo cœpit fugam. Cum terrestres omnes exitus milite obsessos cerneret, in mare se, quod supererat unum, ad incertam spem salutis immisit. Neque canes, quippe jam inescati, ab insequendo abstitere. Pedibus tantum nanti pone cum adhærerent, dolore ac desperatione in rabiem actus, repente sese convertit; dentibusque, horribile dictu, certare cum belluis institit : atque ad extremum, unius aure mordicus apprehensâ, cum jam sanguis viresque deficerent, moribundus molossum una secum ad ima detraxit. Atrox et inhumanum id pœnæ genus haud immerito visum, eo magis quod Lusitano ex patriis institutis ac legibus gloriari licet, nullam gentium in homines damnatos mitiora exercere supplicia." — *Hist. Ind.*, Lib. x.

The last clause of this extract, containing a compliment to Portuguese humanity, seems to have been suggested by a remark of Livy on the horrid execution of the Alban Mettus ; and it may be doubted whether this salvo to the nation of Menez had any better foundation.

The Life of Ignatius Loyola, by the same author, is a specimen of Latin on a subject entirely modern, and which, for elegance and a strict adherence to classic authority, has rarely if ever been equalled. That Maffei should put forth all his strength in writing the history of the founder of his order, was to be expected ; and the narrative part of this work, from the skill with which it is constructed, no less than from the facts detailed, acquires and maintains the strongest hold on the attention of the reader. Cardinal Bentivoglio refers to the description of Venice in this Life by Maffei, as possessing uncommon beauty; and, indeed, to furnish in a few short sentences, a graphic sketch of so diversified a city, is no common achievement in any language. Ignatius, barefoot and in rags, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, having distributed among beggars the little money given him in charity for support on his travels, was approaching Venice. The plague was raging in many of the Italian cities ; and the admission of strangers into Venice was attended with unusual difficulties. But the future saint, without a passport, entered, as it should seem, almost by miracle, unquestioned and unnoticed.

"Sæviebat etiam tum locis aliquot fœda lues atque contagio; dispositique custodes aditus oppidorum assidue tuebantur. Ignatium vero ex ipso corporis habitu vel in summâ cœli temperie metuisses. Obsita erat squalore vestis, et horrida ; color exsanguis, cavum macie caput, conditi introrsum oculi, et inanes faucium sinus. Quocirca fiebat, non solum ut exclusus a diversoriis omnibus pernoctare sæpe cogeretur in publico, sed etiam ut pallore et macie peremptum rigentemque, prætereuntes aliquando nonnulli ceu monstrum quoddam aut triste simulacrum horrerent. Ipse vero linguæ imperitus, ignarus itinerum, cum præ defatigatione sæpe deficeret, ad Fossam tamen Clodiam, deo adjuvante, pervenit; quo ex emporio brevis et quotidianus Venetias trajectus est. . . . . Venetiarum urbis in recessu intimo sinus Adriatici ea regio ac situs est, ut leniter stagnantes ex alto aquæ illam ex omni parte circumluant. Ea inclitæ urbi et ad merces copiasque invehendas opportuna receptacula, et contra hostiles incursus munimenta firmissima sunt. Ex iis porro æstuariis, majores minoresque euripi totam urbem intercursantes, variis mæandris ac flexibus ita distinguunt, ut, quot in partes pedibus, in totidem fere mari aditus sit; egregio sane vel artis vel naturæ miraculo. Inde vicorum, insularum, ac pontium ingens numerus; ut qui diutius ibi versati non sunt, viarum locorumque, modo varietate modo similitudine sæpe

fallantur. Sed contra ejusmodi ambages, certum paratumque remedium est maxima multitudo cymbarum, quæ usquequaque dispersæ nominatim ad omnia et publica et privata loca quemlibet, haud ita magnâ mercede, trajiciant. Ignatius navi Patavinâ, ex iis quæ per Medoacum flumen assidue commeant, in areâ Marcianâ sub noctem expositus, cum neque vias ad publica xenodochia nosset, nec portitori conducendo suppeterent nummi, assuetus longo jam usu male cubare, sub porticu Procuratoriâ, quam appellant, intendentibus jam se tenebris, vacuum opificis cujusdam fulcrum elegit, in quo fessos artus utcunque reficeret," etc. — *Ign. Vit.*, Lib. I.

But the author in the Latin language, who, in modern times, has taken the widest range in treating of European politics, and of all subjects whether of war or peace, which fall within the province of the historian, is Thuanus. The place assigned this writer by some French critics, who would represent him as hardly inferior in any respect to the classic writers of antiquity, may be too high ; but any one, who will inquire, what faults have in fact been pointed out in his Latin, even by those who have been the most ready and eager to detect them, will be surprised to see the smallness of their amount. The Decades of Strada, containing a history of the Belgic revolt against Philip the Second of Spain, have been likewise highly commended for their Latin style. Bentivoglio has, indeed, censured the plan on which Strada has conducted his narrative, rather too severely perhaps, (as the digressions of which he complains add, in our judgment, greatly to the value and interest of the work,) but acknowledges his merits as a writer. In England, of those historians, who have adopted the Latin language, Buchanan and Camden are the most noted. But in every country of Europe, authors have written in this tongue ; and where learning has most flourished, they have acquired high reputation in all departments. The Italians have, perhaps, appeared best in Latin, both as poets and prose writers, though in Holland, France, England, and Germany, numbers contest with them the prize of pre-eminence. To go into detail on this subject, would carry us too far from the work, which we wish to notice more particularly in this article.

As to the life of Washington by Glass, the circumstances in which it was written, in a good degree disarm criticism. It is hard to point out faults, where the means of avoiding

them were so few ; and where there are so many proofs of a knowledge of the Latin language and a familiarity with its use, beyond what are ordinarily found among American scholars. Glass, if an opinion may be formed from this work, had not read the Latin classics very extensively ; but those which he had read, he had conned with much care. The formation of simple sentences had obviously received more of his attention, than the structure of periods and continued discourse. Hence, not unfrequently, where there is no transgression of the common rules of syntax, and where all the words are employed in their proper meaning, the form and complexion of the whole, is not entirely Latin. But in the use of words and of idioms the faults are numerous.

Names are Latinized in this Life with little uniformity. The termination *ius* seems to have been a favorite with the author. Thus we have Washingtonius, Clintonius, Hamiltonius, and Tryonius, but Hudson, Knowlton, Thomson, and others of the same ending in English, are made to undergo no change. Some are written both with and without a variation of termination. We find, for instance, Randolph and Randolphius, Franklin and Franklinius, Montgomery and Montgomerius, Bunker and Bunkerius. Fayette and La Fayette are both used. The Latin form of this last is, we believe, in the French writers, Fayeta. Dinwiddie, Duquesne, De Villier, Burgoyne, Schuyler, Leitch, Mifflin, Jay, Marshall, Bonaparte, are unvaried ; but we encounter Arnoldius, Kennebeckius, Braddockius, Hancockius, and a multitude besides, with *ius* added. Camden generally adds *us* to English names, though in this he is not uniform. He has Randolphus, Grindallus, Dracus, Coxus, Goodus, Hornus, Proudus, Redheadus, and Witheadus. As the connexion of the parts of a sentence in Latin, and its meaning, depend so much on the termination of words, this Latinizing of names is not only expedient, but often necessary. But the changes of termination to make English names Latin, should be conducted by some rule ; and where a Latin form has once been adopted, there seems to be no good reason for afterwards varying it.

The manner in which Glass often designates the generals, and other commanding officers in the American and British armies, is supported neither by ancient nor modern practice. Thus we read, Dux Gage, Dux Howe, Dux Prescotius, Dux Carletonius ; and when the same names again occur, the same phraseology is often repeated. On page 42, it is said, " Dux

Howe, cujus virtus hac pugnâ," etc.; and the same personage, when again introduced, page 55, has his title repeated. "Namque Dux Howe, quem Novum Eboracum tendere recta oportebat." *Dux* should here be omitted, and the name Howe, ought to have a Latin termination. We find nothing in Cæsar's Commentaries of "Dux Cæsar," or "Dux Pompeius." "Dux," when applied to a military leader in the classics, is generally in some oblique case or in a descriptive clause. The author perhaps was misled by the use of the word "rex" in the classic writers. But this appellation belonged so exclusively to the individual to whom it was at any time given, that it partook of the use of a proper name. An analogy between "rex" and "dux" will not hold. "Dux," in the modern Latin historians, is usually employed for "Duke," but not often, if ever, at the beginning of a sentence. Thus Æmilius; "Opes Tolosatis jam destinatæ erant genero Duci Alphonso." And "Comes in verba Ducis juravit; et Dux Panagio jurejurando se regi fratri obstrinxit." (Lib. VII.) The same writer, likewise, when once he has given a particular designation of a commander, if his name occurs again, introduces it without any addition, unless there is a necessity of distinguishing him from some one else; following, in this respect, the example of the classics. Speaking of the Venetian fleet, he says, "Tum forte Henricus Dandulus classi præerat;" afterwards the language is, "Dandulus miram virtutem præstitit." (Lib. VI.) Not "Henricus Dandulus," or "Dux Dandulus."

The names of fortifications of all kinds are not applied by Glass in strict accordance with any approved usage. Thus, page 77; "Sub hoc tempus, propugnaculum Washingtonium expugnatum, præsidiumque," etc.; and "Hoc propugnaculo capto, aggerem Lee, litore Cæsareæ situm," etc. It is the common, we believe uniform practice, of the best modern writers in Latin to put the name of a fort, citadel, or encampment, in the genitive case, or to make use of the adjective form.

The following example is from Strada. He is giving an account of orders issued by the Prince of Parma in battle.

"At ubi jam præsens tam multos hostium fossorumque super aggerem videt; suosque, undarum ritu, modo inferre modo navium tormentis obnoxios referre pedem; simulque audiit a Camillo a Monte tot primariorum cædem, *Georgiani castelli*

discrimen, et desperatam propemodum *Palatæ* defensionem; omissâ vel modicâ verborum cunctatione, ubi celeritate factorum opus esset, Montio mandat, quæ per viam tormenta subduxerat, ex *Divi Petri Divæque Barbaræ propugnaculis*, illico transferat in suum *Divi Jacobi castellum*, atque inde in naves indesinenter explodat; idem ut agat e *Crucis munitione*, præcipit Mandragonio." — *Dec. Sec.*, Lib. VI.

And in the same manner Æmilius.

"Jam turrim occupârat Francus, quæ *Angeli* dicebatur, quod ibi nuntii cœlestis signum situm erat."

And again.

"Ubi igitur accepit, *Angeli* turri potitos Francos, de se actum ratus," etc. — Lib. VI.

The eighty-third book of Thuanus, in which is described the siege of Antwerp in 1585, would have aided Glass very much in the use of military language.

Faults likewise in the selection of words and in construction are numerous. Thus, opening the book at the eighth chapter, we will note a few of what appear to be obvious errors. The first sentence is,

"Postquam sese Novo Eboraco Americani receperant, velitatio primam inter Britannorum aciem, nonnullasque copias Americanas, a præfectis Knowlton et Leitch ductas, facta est."

The word *velitatio* is here used, as throughout the volume, in the sense of a skirmish, a slight combat, or between small parties. This does not appear to have sufficient authority. Such contests were, indeed, carried on by the "velites" in the Roman army, and "velitatio" might seem, therefore, a proper word in this case. But, as it is not used by Livy and Cæsar, it must have been liable to objection. The language of Livy is, "levis pugna," "leve certamen," "fiunt parva prœlia." Hirtius says, "minutis prœliis dimicare." The younger Pliny calls a skirmish "pugnæ prælusio atque præcursio." "Velitatio" is used in the comedies of Plautus, and was probably thought to be a word too familiar for elevated historical narrative. The best modern writers follow the ancients in rejecting this use of the word. Æmilius says, "Levibus prœliis, quæ in summam universæ rei spem proficerent, Anglo fatigato," etc. (Lib. IX.) Similar examples occur in Maffei, but never, it is believed, "velitatio."

Another sentence of Glass on the same page is,

"Hæc victoria primùm ab Americanis, ex quo Washingtonius imperium sibi sumpserat, reportata."

"Reportare," in the active voice, when used in the sense here intended, governs the accusative, and the ablative with the preposition "ab". Thus Cicero, in his "Oration for the Manilian Law," says of the Roman generals, who preceded Pompey in the war with Mithridates, "Ita vestri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriæ, non victoriam, reportarent." To use this verb in the passive voice and "ab" with an agent, will hardly do, without authority. But Cicero says, "Nihil præter laudem bonis atque innocentibus, neque ex hostibus, neque *a sociis* est reportandum." (*De Leg.* III. 8.) The preposition "a" is here used in the same sense as before with the active verb. The word "sumpserat," in the above sentence, conveys a very different idea from what the author intended. "Sumere imperium" is to assume power on one's own authority. It is the language of royalty. C. Nepos, in his Life of Eumenes, speaking of the conduct of certain individuals on the death of that king, adds, "Iidem post hujus occasum statim regium ornatum nomenque sumpserunt." "Imperium accipere," "capere," "gerere," "habere," "cum imperio esse," is the language of Cicero, in cases like that under consideration.

On the next page (p. 76) is this sentence;

"Et denuò omnes obsecratus, ne causam decoram, quâ versabantur, dehonestent."

The construction rather requires, that the last word should be "dehonestarent."

The next sentence is,

"Howe, imperator Britannus, Washingtonii commeatus a civitatibus eois intercludere ope summâ nitebatur."

Here the author intended to say, that the British General Howe made strenuous efforts to intercept the supplies of Washington from the Eastern States; but he has failed in idiom. "Intercludere," in its ordinary use, governs the dative of the person and the accusative of the thing, or the accusative of the person and ablative of the thing; but here the person is in the genitive. "A," in the clause "a civitatibus eois," is an Anglicism. Cæsar, in a case very

similar, says of Ariovistus, "Postridie ejus diei præter castra Cæsaris suas copias transduxit, et millibus passuum II. ultra eum castra fecit ; eo consilio, uti frumento commeatuque, qui ex Sequanis et Æduis supportarentur, Cæsarem intercluderet." (*Bell. Gall.* Lib. I.) Cicero says, "Hisce . . . . . omnes aditus ad Syllam intercludere ;" where "his " is in the dative case. The next sentence begins in this manner ;

"Hujusce rei causâ, exercitus regius, non procul a comitatu Cestriensi, exponebatur."

The meaning seems to be, "For this purpose, a royal army was landed not far from the county of West Chester." The word "exponere," however, does not of itself mean *to land.* Where this idea is expressed by "exponere," in connexion with its use there is always an ellipsis. A ship, a boat, a sea, or navigable water of some kind, if not directly mentioned, is necessarily implied. But here the implication depends on a knowledge of the geography of the country, where the military operations in question were carrying on. "Exponere" is used with other ellipses, and with very different import; and perspicuity requires, that forms of expression so distinct in signification, should not be confounded.

On the next page is this sentence ;

"Nullum, præter hoc, præsidium insulâ Eboracensi erat Americanis, idque diutiùs tenere, vacuandi recipiendique rationi maxime contrarium fuit."

In a note, the latter part of this passage is thus translated ; "was especially repugnant to the plan of evacuating and retreating, adopted at that time by Washington." The verb *vacuare*, in the sense of evacuating a fortress, is never used in the classics ; and the verb *recipere*, in the sense of retreating, is used only where the reciprocal pronoun is expressed, or the construction requires it to be understood. It may be reasonably doubted, whether Cæsar, with all his military knowledge, could have ever conjectured the meaning of this passage. Besides, there is no need of novel phraseology in this case. Cæsar and Livy furnish numerous examples of appropriate phrases. The conjunction "at" is used by Glass with a frequency which has no parallel in the classic writers. In this eighth chapter, which consists of less than ten pages including the notes, it is found nine times ; as often as it occurs in the first four books of Cæsar's "Commentaries of the

Gallic War." This is an example of the unskilfulness before alluded to, with which sentences are often united.

But enough, perhaps, has been said of the faults of idiom and construction in the style of this book; as our object is not to exhibit a complete list of errors, but a few specimens only, from which an opinion can be formed of the whole. But, notwithstanding what has been said on this subject, we have no hesitation in declaring, that the author has furnished abundant evidence of his capacity, not only of acquiring and using an ancient language, but of constructing a narrative clear, succinct, and with the parts well proportioned to each other. He is often happy in the choice of words and phrases, and passages occur of terseness and strength; nor does the author seem to have been wanting in any thing to make this work a worthy companion of other modern histories in the same language, but a freer access to books and the advantages of a more correct and thorough criticism. We doubt, however, whether this Life of Washington can be used to advantage in schools; certainly not, without constant attention on the part of the instructer to point out its errors and defects.

The number of writers in America, who have adopted the Latin language, is small. The Latin has been taught in our colleges, and in many of our schools; but, though multitudes have made such progress in the language as to read it with ease and pleasure, few have employed it in writing; as the occasions for its use have been much less frequent here, than in Europe. The earliest literary performance in Latin, relating to this country, and which had its probable origin on this side of the Atlantic, is a descriptive poem written by William Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman, who came to New England in 1623, with Robert Gorges. The author resided at Plymouth about a year, and published this poem after his return to England. Some of the lines are elegant and harmonious.

We have now before us a copy of an oration pronounced at Harvard College at the Commencement, in 1648, by the Reverend Samuel Whitney of Lynn. Mr. Whitney was educated in England, at Emanuel College, Cambridge; and his oration is a specimen of the learning and taste of the first clergy who emigrated to New England. The language is such, no doubt, as was at that time common in the English Universities; but the performance is chiefly remarkable for the fiery zeal, with which the orator attacks the hierarchies of England and

Rome. In 1648, likewise, was published in London, the reply of the Reverend John Norton of Boston to certain queries from Holland, respecting the ecclesiastical polity of New England. This treatise was in good Latin; and is said by Dr. Cotton Mather to have been the first book written in that language in America. Inaugural and funeral orations, of greater or less merit, in the Latin language, pronounced at some of the earlier colleges, have been published; but the most remarkable specimen of American Latinity, is the "Pietas et Gratulatio," presented by the President and Fellows of Harvard College to George the Third, on his accession to the throne. The Universities of Europe have long been accustomed to compliment new sovereigns in this way; and Oxford and Cambridge, on this same occasion, presented poems to the King, not only in Latin and Greek, but in various Eastern languages. The President and Fellows of Harvard in their address say, "We have observed, that your Universities in England have been permitted to lay before your Majesty their poetical oblations; we have flattered ourselves, that we may be allowed to express the fullness of our hearts in the same manner." There are in this collection thirty-one poems of various merit. The first is attributed to President Holyoke, and the last to Governor Bernard. We will copy the latter as a favorable specimen of the volume.

"EPILOGUS.

"Isis et Camus placide fluentes,
Qua novem fastos celebrant sorores,
Deferunt Vatum pretiosa Regi
Dona Britanno.

"Audit hæc Flumen, prope Bostonenses
Quod Novanglorum studiis dicatas
Abluit sedes, eademque sperat
Munera ferre.

"Obstat huic Phœbus, chorus omnis obstat
Virginum; frustra officiosa pensum
Tentat insuetum indocilis ferire
Plectra juventus.

"Attamen, si quid studium placendi,
Si valet quidquam Pietas Fidesque
Civica, omnino rudis haud peribit
Gratia Musæ.

"Quin erit tempus, cupidi augurantur
Vana ni Vates, sua cum NOVANGLIS
Grandius quoddam meliusque carmen
Chorda sonabit.

"Dum regit mundum occiduum BRITANNUS,
Et suas artes, sua jura terris
Dat novis, nullis cohibenda metis
Regna capessens;

"Dum DEUS, pendens agitationes
Gentium, fluxo moderatur orbi,
Passus humanum genus hic perire,
Hic renovari."

Seven of these loyal effusions are ascribed to Stephen Sewall, at that time an undergraduate, and afterwards professor of Oriental literature. The same gentleman, in 1786, published a translation of the first book of Young's "Night Thoughts," in Latin hexameter verse. This version, styled by the author "Nocte cogitata," has lines not unworthy of the original.

An oration in Latin, pronounced in the College of William and Mary in Virginia 1782, by John Francis Coste, chief of the medical staff of the French army in the United States, is to be reckoned among the curiosities of its kind. The author at that time received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the College. His discourse is entitled, "De Antiquâ Medico-philosophiâ Orbi Novo adaptandâ." Of the same class of compositions are our countryman Dr. Waterhouse's "Dissertatio Medica de Sympathiâ," read at his graduation in Leyden in 1780, and the same gentleman's "Oratio Inauguralis in Academiâ Harvardianâ," in 1783.

Probably the most considerable essay in Latin composition, which has been made by a native of this country, is the hexameter version of the "Telemachus," by the Abbé Viel, published in Paris in 1808, and, in a second edition, in 1814. Etienne Bernard Alexandre Viel was born in New Orleans in the year 1736. He studied at Paris, and became a member of the Congregation of the Oratory. At the dissolution of that body by the new French government, he returned to Louisiana, and exercised the priestly function in the parish of Attakapas. In 1812 he returned to France, and died there in 1821. The first edition of his work was published during his absence in America, at the cost of six of his pupils, who accompanied it

with a dedication to the author. The second edition he, in turn, dedicated to them. At present we have not at hand a copy of the work, and are therefore unable to speak of it so fully as, from its great curiosity and value, we should desire, or to add any thing to the remarks which lie by us in a few memoranda. As the language of the Telemachus received its complexion, in a great measure, from the familiarity of its author with the poets of antiquity, the Abbé says, in his Advertisement, that in his version he has not dared to correct Virgil and Horace, but has adopted their phraseology, as being appropriate to his object. We think it may be said with safety, that he shows a perfect acquaintaince with the language of all the principal Latin poets, and has very happily imitated them. His versification is easy and spirited; and, in general, very correct. We have a copy, made when the volume was in our hands, of a short passage from the first book; it is the description of the prospect from the cave of Calypso.

"Stabat in acclivi Divæ domus: unde per omnem
Prospectus patet oceanum; modò fluctibus æquor
Stat placidum: modò saxa fremens latrantibus undis
Verberat, insanitque minax, et surgit aquæ mons:
Parte aliâ flumen spatiatur; et insula fundo
Plurima consurgit, quam circum frondibus ornant
Florentes tiliæ: superaddita populus ingens
Eminet ostentans caput ambitiosa sub auras.
Ipsi autem campis fusi circum undique fontes
Ludere amant; quorum vitreas hic præpete cursu
Volvit aquas, tardat sopitos ille canales:
Mille per ambages alter, per mille recursus
Ad caput ire loci captus dulcedine fingit:
Eminus aërei, nimbosa cacumina, montes
Mille situs pandunt varios, spectacula mille:
Vicinos colles, ceu pendula serta, coronat
Pampinus: uvarum raras sibi purpura frondes
Quærit, et ipsa suâ vitis sub mole laborat.
Exhilarant campos horti sub imagine lætâ
Immensæ ficus, oleæque, et Persica malus,
Cæteraque, arridens quæ plurima pullulat arbos."

Among the numerous poems, didactic, pastoral, and epic, in the Latin language, which appeared in Italy, after the revival of literature, there is one, which, from its relation to

America, and especially from the circumstance, that it was probably written in the new world, at least in part, may seem to deserve some notice here. It is an epic poem on the discovery of America, entitled "Columbus," written by Ubertino Carrara, an Italian Jesuit. This poem was first published, in 1715, at Rome. The author was a Neapolitan, and of noble descent; and was for many years professor of polite literature at Rome in the Jesuits' College. He is said, in the *Biographie Universelle*, to have continued in this station till his death; but this seems to be contradicted by a passage in the poem itself. Near the end of the last book of the Columbus, there are the following lines, which imply, that the poet had resided at least ten years in America.

"At me jam dudum defunctum finibus Indis,
Semiferina inter Caribum commercia, voces
Dedoctum Latias, et barbara verba sonantem,
Suadet amor quassam cursu revocare phaselum
Tybridis ad ripas; ubi, post duo lustra reversus,
Dulcibus expector vix agnoscendus amicis,
Fassus crine senem. Jam me gratissimus amnis
Accipit averso labentem gurgite; nosco
Reptatam geminis a Fundatoribus oram,
Altricisque Lupæ caveam; gradiorque sub umbrâ
Heliadum, quas digrediens arbusta reliqui."

Lib. XII. 941.

As the author died in 1715, the same year in which his poem was published, and as he had then just returned from America, it may be fairly inferred, that the poem was chiefly written, or greatly modified, on this side of the Atlantic. There are passages, likewise, which indicate familiarity with the scenery of the Canary Islands and the West Indies.

The "Columbus" is constructed according to the most approved rules of epic song. The unities are fully preserved; and the whole plan of the poem, including episodes and characters, would no doubt receive the sanction of the Stagyrite, except perhaps the introduction of the heathen mythology, in connexion with Christianity, which admits of no other defence than the practice of some of the predecessors of Carrara; particularly of Camoens in the "Lusiad." The author obviously meant to have authority for the arrangement of the principal parts of his poem. Like the "Æneid," it consists of twelve books; and the whole number of lines differs but little from

that of the epic of Virgil. Æneas arrives in Italy in the sixth book; and it is in the sixth book that Columbus first lands on the American shore. The "Æneid" terminates with the secure establishment of the Trojan exiles in Latium; the admission of America to all the rights of sisterhood with Europe, Asia, and Africa, is the closing scene of the "Columbus."

The annunciation of the subject of the poem is in simple language.

> "Primus ab Europâ, Solis qui viserit urnam,
> Perque prophanatum velis mare, maxima regna
> Regibus Hispanis, orbemque adjecerit orbi,
> Sit mihi materies operis." Lib. i. 1.

The poet calls to his aid the powerful goddess of Cyrrha, and addresses his patron, the librarian of the Vatican. Fame reports, that a ship of discovery is to sail from Cadiz; a multitude assemble at that place, and Columbus, who commands the expedition, having harangued them, cuts the fastenings with his sword, and sets sail. Beyond the Fortunate Islands, Discord, on a rock in the ocean, gives vent to her fears that parts of the world hitherto severed, were about to be brought into close union. She descends to the residence of Proteus, and inquires of that divinity, whether he is aware of the evils impending. He informs her, that the time for uniting the two worlds had arrived; but consoles her with the assurance, that the gold of the west, would occasion new contests; and that Pluto would favor the progress of the Spanish miners. The fleet is dispersed through the agency of Proteus; Discord joins in the fray; the Admiral's ship is separated from the rest, and broils are excited among the men. In this exigency, the goddess *Aretia* addresses the *Thunderer* in Olympus, prays for a more intimate union of different parts of the globe, and that aid may be afforded to Columbus, who is now on the verge of destruction. *Pater œtherius* replies, that his former promises are confirmed, and that to Europe, Asia, and Africa, there shall be added a fourth sister. He says, that the daughter of the chief of Cuba is dear to him beyond all others, that ere a lustrum is completed, *Auria* shall take the name of *America*. He then commands Aretia to rescue the fleet, and to prepare Columbus for impending dangers in India. Aretia descends with *Love* accompanying her. Love enters the hearts of all, and discords cease. The

fleet approaches Teneriffe, where Columbus had understood there was an arch erected to Janus, and a fearful gate, which being unopened, there would be no passage to India. On the arch was inscribed, —

"Janua pandetur nulli, quæ ducit ad Indos."

The goddess Aretia visits the spot and alters the inscription to —

"India pandetur, patriam cui Janua fecit."

As that part of the fleet which was separated from the Admiral approached the Island of Teneriffe, the men are regaled with the spicy breezes from the island. Discord, alarmed at the prospect, assumes the garb of the goddess of Fortune, and hastens to the temple of the divinity. She extols the powers of the priestess as superior to those of Circe; and adds, that a people, upon whom the power of Proteus had been in vain exerted, would soon approach the Island, and exhorts her to deceive them with such splendid forms of happiness, that they may believe themselves to have already reached the golden realms of India. The Spaniards land, and are at length entangled in the toils of the priestess of the temple of Fortune. They are invited to her mansion and regaled with a sumptuous feast. While they are at table, the priestess entertains them with the story of the planting of the vine in Teneriffe, and the Spaniards consider this Island as the residence of bliss, and that no other country need be sought.

Columbus, in the mean time, arrives at the Grand Canary, and, leaving his men, goes out to explore the country, with no other guard than his sword. He is met by the *Genius loci*, in the form of a nymph, who entertains him with legends of the island, and invites him to visit the wonders of the place. In their rambles, he sees, between two lofty mountains, the gate of Janus; and a voice was heard declaring, that he was the individual designated by the inscription. Use is here made of the double meaning of the word *Janua*, which signifies a *gate*, and *Genoa*, the native place of Columbus; all which has quite too much the nature of a conceit. As the gate is discovered, a loud roaring follows, and the doors open. A temple appears, the dome of which ascends to the sky. While Columbus is contemplating the splendors of the building, the goddess Aretia, veiling her radiance in part, advances, and declares herself to have been his guardian angel from childhood.

Columbus, filled with wonder, inquiries where he is, and the design of the magnificence surrounding them; and imagines himself to be either in heaven, or heaven's suburbs.

The poet now enters on a course of splendid description, in which he has some success. Without undertaking to follow him in detail, it will be sufficient to say, that Columbus finds himself in the palace of the Virtues; and, after having passed a hundred doors, as many staircases, and as many halls, he at length reaches the lofty summit of the edifice. Here is seen a spacious apartment, into which no earthly vapor ever enters; the residence of the holy sisters. Among other wonders, Columbus is furnished with arms for his voyage, particularly a shield, on which is embossed much of the future history of Spain, the discoveries of De Gama in the East, and a sketch of the New World. Columbus puts on the armor, and inquires what enemy is to be encountered. The goddess replies, that he would hereafter be attacked by cannibals, and that this shield would be needed. She likewise informs him of the situation of his companions, teaches him how to rescue them, and, before leaving him, brings to his view the daughter of the king of Cuba, hanging from a rock, and exposed to a sea-monster. This princess Columbus is to deliver; and Aretia engages, that the difference of language shall be no obstacle to his intercourse with the natives.

Columbus hastens to his companions, delivers those who were in thraldom to the Goddess of Fortune; and all are eager to sail for the Indies. A new ship having been built of fir from the grove of Fortune, the fleet again spreads its sails. During the passage, Columbus entertains his companions with a narrative of the wars in Granada, against the Moors. As the voyage, however, is long, the men become mutinous; but, by the discreet management of their commander, they are so far pacified, that they yield obedience, till land is seen, and the New World is discovered.

Superstition had anticipated her own downfall; and, in her rage inspired by despair, determined to destroy Auria, the daughter of the king of Cuba, the heiress of India. The ocean, through the influence of the fiend, had been thrown into violent commotion; and Arviragus, the father of Auria, was warned by an oracle, if he would still the waves, to expose his daughter on a rock, that she might be married to a monster of the deep. Great preparations were made for the

performance of this cruel act, and multitudes were assembled to witness the event. At this moment Columbus arrives at Cuba, from the place where he had first landed. The poet in his description of the residence of Arviragus, had in view, perhaps, the site of the modern city of Havana.

"Est in conspectu portus, quo nullus ad Indos
Divitior: sedet in clivo pulcherrima Cuba;
Et quia de miro cretæ candore penates
Crustantur, longe meret hinc argentea credi.
Inter utrumque latus colles, studiosaque forsan
Parthenopes simulacrum aliquod regionibus illis
Reddere, Pausilypum geminum natura locavit.
Addidit et concham spatiosi gurgitis, utque
Dormiat in clauso mitis tranquilliter unda,
In mare protendit tanquam duo brachia tellus
Vestita arboribus: credas hoc litore natas
Alnos Pyramidas nemorum, pinusque gigantas
In spem primarum ratium, sedemque libenter
Hanc colere, et primas hic expectare secures.
Pulchra loci facies, nec tempore pulchrior ullo,
Quam quo sub noctem scopulo pendebat in alto
Non nisi cum magno moritura Auria paratu;
Plebe, viris, pueris, et matribus omnia plena
Litora, prata, vias, turres, delubra, fenestras,
Pompa favillarum feriebat; ut ignea posset
Ignibus astrorum jam tunc contendere Cuba."

Lib. VII. 378.

Auria is of course rescued; but Androphagus, a neighbouring chief, resolves on fighting for her hand. A series of contests ensues; Androphagus is finally vanquished, and the union of Auria, under the name of America, with the Tuscan Americus is made sure.

This is a very general and imperfect outline of the "Columbus." The poem has a sufficient variety of incident, and the versification is smooth and melodious; but there are few passages, which reach the sublime. In one instance where sublimity is evidently the aim of the poet, his failure is most signal. It is where the fleet of Columbus is dispersed by Proteus, at the solicitation of Discord. As Æolus is so far distant that the ocean is undisturbed by winds, Proteus, blowing his shell, assembles his marine forces; and the breathing, spouting, and snorting, of so many huge animals, as were now

collected, were more terrible to the fleet, than a tempest. A scene so inherently ludicrous does not admit of relief from sounding hexameters. The conception belongs of right to the mock-heroic.

Many of the episodes are beautiful, and excite a strong interest in the reader. Traits of Indian character are happily introduced, and the customs of the aborigines occasionally described. In the eighth book the king Arviragus and Auria visit the Spanish ships, ask numerous questions, and receive satisfactory replies. Columbus entertains them with a brief narrative of his voyage, and puts their faith to a severe trial by broaching the doctrine of the existence of *Antipodes*. Columbus regales them with wine ; and a sumptuous entertainment is sent to the ships from the royal palace. Among other delicacies, a serpent of huge dimensions is served up entire.

" Ecce autem facies epuli nova; magnus in orbe
Gemmantis patinæ, manibusque ingentis Ephebi
Vix sustentandus, mensis apponitur anguis
Integer, et patriæ conditus aromate frugis.
Anguis erat, talem frons extima et esse monebat,
Crista, caput, squamæ, quæque extra porrigitur vas
Cauda, volubilium spirarum cærula tractu.
Terruit Hispanos colubri præsentia; nemo
Tangere sustimuit, credunt vix cernere tutum;
Dux anceps alio vultus num flecteret, hæsit."

Lib. VIII. 380.

To relieve the guests from their embarrassment, the beautiful and gentle Auria enters upon a full account of the animal, and describes its food and modes of life. Still further to inspire confidence, she takes herself the first slice ; Columbus follows, and the Spaniards, one and all,

" Accipiunt, mandunt, admiranturque, nec ore
Aut oculis tantum, gestu quoque gaudia fassi."

But enough of the epic of Carrara. If the preceding remarks appear desultory, it may be recollected, that they are united, though perhaps loosely, by the common bond of modern Latin.

ART. III. — 1. *First Annual Report of the Boston Academy of Music.* 1833. 8vo. pp. 11.
2. *Second Annual Report.* 1834. 8vo. pp. 23.
3. *Third Annual Report.* 1835. 8vo. pp. 24.

WE presume there is no doubt of the successful establishment among us, at length, of an institution for the cultivation of the higher branches of music, in which instruction shall be given regularly and abundantly. It is time for such an institution, for the prevalent ignorance has been, and indeed still continues lamentable ; yet an interest seems to be now awaking in the community which the Boston Academy should cherish, and the calls of which for better music than we have hitherto had, it should supply. We doubt not that judicious efforts will be perseveringly made. The tone of the Reports is resolute, and the performances at the Odeon, the past season, have been of a promising character. We are glad to perceive that premature efforts are not made to accomplish what cannot be done well; for, though the art is illimitably long, yet a slow progress is the most sure, and will ultimately be found the most rapid. The taste of the public, too, cannot be forced ; but must be carried gradually and easily along to the highest branches of the art, or it will fall back again to the rude and unformed state from which it is just emerging.

The progress of this taste and of a corresponding skill in other times and other countries, is a curious subject for inquiry ; for of all the fine arts music, though it may be the last to attain perfection, was probably the first to arrive at some degree of excellence. Nature abounds, to such an extent, in musical tones, and the physical organization of man affords so perfect an instrument, — it is, moreover, so strong an impulse of our constitution to express our emotions with the quick, rapid cry of joy, or the prolonged intonation of grief, that we are irresistibly led to the conclusion, that men must soon have followed in a path pointed out so clearly by nature. Our first mother doubtless soothed her first infant by a musical modulation ; and, however multiplied and various the tribes of her descendants, none have ever become so rude as not to possess some musical ideas, and some taste for those arrangements and combinations of sound which we call melody and harmony. Music must be cultivated, however, and some improve-

ment must be made upon the sounds which are the effect of mere natural impulse, something like system must be introduced, before it deserves the name of an art. It cannot be uninteresting to trace the progress of this art, in the various ages of the world, to the great and delightful results it is able to produce in this our day. It has, at all times and in all places, been an object of deep interest; and from the moment when the first sound issued from Memnon's statue, or "Miriam's tuneful voice" led the song of triumph, or "Timotheus' varied lays" surprised his delighted audience, down to the last night of the last new opera, from Jubal to Bellini, the whole interval has been filled with the triumphs of this beautiful art; the whole human race has felt its power, enjoyed its sweetness, and honored its professors. In vain has the satirist sneered, the moralist lamented, the severe reproved. Music is a necessity of our nature. It is impossible fully to express our emotions without its aid; and whether we exult in triumph, or humble ourselves in contrition, whether we enjoy God's bounties, or pray for his mercy, the service is incomplete, the expression is inadequate, unless music lend her various strain.

But interesting as this study might be, we are unhappily deprived of the means of pursuing it with regard to the earlier ages of refinement and cultivation. It is only since the revival of letters that the progress of the art can be traced satisfactorily. It has, indeed, been invented twice; and our opinion of what it was in the primitive ages of the world must be formed from the following sources only, namely, the analogy of nature, the effects produced by it, and the imperfect description of its character found in the authors of classic antiquity. No instruments have come down to us by which the tone of a single sound of their scale can be determined; and, in the absence of all positive knowledge on this subject, we are left to the presumption, that, as the natural scale of the human voice and the construction of the human ear were probably the same then as now, the instruments formed to harmonize with the one, and gratify the other, must have been of a kind analogous, at least, to those of a more modern date, if not absolutely identical with them; and that the art, so far as it was cultivated at all, was pursued in a manner somewhat similar to that of our own times.

The earliest music on record is the song of Moses and the Israelites after the passage of the Red sea, when Miriam took

a timbrel in her hand, and answered them. "And all the women went out after her with timbrels and dances." Here it may be observed, that the instrument, whatever it was, that is called *timbrel*, was used merely as an accompaniment to the voice, or, it may be, to the dance. And this is true of nearly all the instrumental music of those times called ancient. It was, for the most part, little more than an accompaniment to the voice, generally following it very exactly in its modulation and its time. Still the power of music could not have been slight or unimportant; for it is not merely, nor principally, by the pleasure it affords the ear, that it produces its effects; but by the natural expression of emotion or passion, thus appealing to and exciting feelings which may be of the most intense energy. Such effects may be produced by music of a simple character, as well as by that of a complicated and scientific kind. Expression can be given to the wild war-hoop of the Indian, as well as to the elaborate composition of the European; and expression never fails to excite a corresponding emotion in the breast of the auditor. In speaking and thinking, therefore, of the strange and astonishing effects ascribed to ancient music, which, after all due allowance for poetic exaggeration, will still remain very great, it should be constantly borne in mind, that these effects are due, not to scientific combinations of sound, but to natural, strong expression, which exercises its sympathetic power in proportion to its naturalness, rather than its abstract science. It is, indeed, the aim of all true science in music to give to those studied combinations which please the cultivated musical intellect, that various and true expression which is able to touch the heart of every hearer, whether skilled or not in the charming art. Nothing is so barren, so tedious, so utterly vexatious, as a long, labored, scientific piece of harmony, in which expression is either wanting or indistinct. It is addressed, not to a mixed audience, but to the scientific composer only, who alone can appreciate the great difficulties conquered, or the immense labor bestowed; and one might as well attempt to please an assembly by a dissertation on the differential calculus, intelligible to the mathematician only, as by such a musical composition.

This fact seems to have been lost sight of in the interminable discussions which have taken place respecting the musical attainments of the ancients. It has been inferred

from the extraordinary stories which have come down to us of its effects, that it must have been very elaborate, scientific, and skilfully complicated; and, on the other hand, it has been inferred, from the obvious, acknowledged simplicity of the instruments in use, and the seeming imperfection of the ancient scale, with the uncertainty respecting the means of combination of sounds then understood, that all those stories were mere fables, absolute inventions of the fathers of history and poetry. Neither inference is necessary; and if it be recollected that the effect of music does not depend upon its scientific arrangement, so much as on its expressive simplicity, the accounts of its effects, however wonderful, may be easily reconciled with the comparative rudeness of the instruments by the aid of which those effects were produced. It may be remarked, too, that one instrument was then in use, which, there is no reason to doubt, was as perfect as it is at the present moment; capable of producing the same thrilling tones, the same touching cadences, the same variety, strength, and delicacy of expression. That these powers should have lain dormant among people of luxurious tastes and intellectual refinement, is altogether incredible, whatever may have been the artificial divisions of the gamut, or however imperfect the means of recording the tones of the human voice.

There was a long period, however, in the history of the world, when luxury and refinement did not exist; and when, without doubt, music was in the same imperfect and rude state as the other arts of life. It is certain, that no very rich combinations of harmony could have been made by those who were acquainted with no other instrument than the timbrel, just mentioned, and the trumpet. Moses, who had been carefully trained in all the learning of the Egyptians, in which music was deemed worthy to hold a place, caused two silver trumpets to be made "for the calling of the assembly, and for the journeying of the camps;" and no other instrument of music is mentioned throughout the history of the Hebrew legislator. It would be rash to infer that nothing else was known, at this period, to the Egyptians; for the condition of the Israelites scarcely permitted them to give much attention to the superfluities of life, and, though it is impossible to fix the date of their invention, it is well known that several other instruments were in use among the ancient inhabitants of Egypt. The lyre, the pipe, the kettle-drum, and the sistrum

are reckoned by Burgh the only instruments of that people; but to these must be added the trumpet and timbrel, as it is scarcely probable that Moses invented them, and an instrument of two strings, somewhat resembling the mandolin in shape and size, described by Dr. Burney from a figure on an ancient obelisk. It is known, too, that the learned men of Egypt early made profound mathematical calculations respecting the proportions of sounds, a study implying some acquaintance with the vibrations of musical strings; but, as historians in those days were less careful than writers of a later time to fix the dates of events, it is impossible to speak with the desirable precision of the order of invention of musical instruments, as well as of many other things still more important. All we can do is to observe, that at certain periods progress in the art is perceptible, and the most thorough investigation could lead to nothing more than a conjecture as to the year or even the century of an invention.

From the time of Moses no mention of music is made, in the history of the Hebrews, till the reign of Saul; with the exceptions of the song of Deborah and Barak, which does not appear to have been accompanied by instruments; and the timbrel of the unhappy daughter of Jephthah, who went to meet her more unhappy father "with timbrels and with dances."* In the hands of David we first hear of the harp, and in the use which he made of it we find perhaps an early instance of the instrument being played independently, and not simply as an accompaniment to the voice and the poetry, which seem to have constituted a principal part of the charm of ancient music. We find, too, a striking resemblance in the effect produced by the minstrelsy of the Hebrew shepherd boy, and that of our own contemporary music; a resemblance which shows, that, if the human heart had the same feelings and affections then as now, the music which produces like effects cannot be very dissimilar in its character. "And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him."† How many a melancholy spirit has been cheered,

* The ram's-horns, used at the siege of Jericho, can scarcely be regarded as *musical* instruments.

† 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

how many a sorrowing heart has been soothed by the irresistible charm of music in later days. And it has often occurred to us that the moody gloom, which, like Saul's, amounts almost to madness, might be chased from the soul, and greatly alleviated, if not wholly cured, by the skill of the "cunning player," or the voice of the "well-instructed in song."

The musical taste and talent of David were not unemployed during his whole reign. He composed, and encouraged others to compose those Psalms, which from the day they were written have been held in the highest esteem, as the most beautiful specimens of devotional poetry existing in the literature of any people. The poets of antiquity were always musicians, and there is no reason to doubt that David himself prepared the music as well as the verse of his own sacred songs. Another very probable occupation may have been superintending the musical education of those who were training for the splendid service of the future temple; for it appears, that in his old age, when he had resigned the kingdom to Solomon, the number of the singers set apart for this service was two hundred and eighty-eight,* and the number of the Levites taught to play upon instruments made by David himself † was four thousand. This is the first Conservatorio of which we have a distinct record; and we cannot hold it in light esteem, when we observe that David himself prepared the poetry, the music, and the instruments, that it was constantly under the eye of the king, and that it was intended as an Academy for the education of those who were to officiate in the highest and most interesting service known to the nation, the service of the Temple. What those instruments were that were invented by David, or which were in use in his day, it is now in vain to inquire. Nothing is left, from which even a probable conjecture can be formed. All we know is, that they were of various sorts, of both wind and stringed instruments, the names of which have been translated, to be sure, into various languages, but, so far as we are concerned, might as well have been left in the original Hebrew.‡ The lute, the

* 1 Chron. xxv. 7.

† 1 Chron. xxiii. 5, and 2 Chron. vii. 6.

‡ Our English Bible says, "Jubal was the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ." Jubal's organs were probably not like that of York, or of Haarlem. But the French translators thought proper to call Jubal, the father of such as handle the violin and the organ; thus carrying the invention of the fiddle farther back than the painter who put one into the hands of Apollo.

pipe, the timbrel, the trumpet, the horn, are English words certainly, as well as the harp, the cymbal, the drum, and the organ, but they may, and probably do, stand for things very different in character from David's instruments ; while it would be difficult for a mere English scholar to give a definite idea of what is meant by a psaltery, a shawm, or a sackbut. Here are already twelve instruments, and it seems not improbable that others are intended by the words *neginoth*, *gittith*, *sheminith*, *&c.*, which occur in the titles of the Psalms, and which have been a sad stumblingblock to the learned commentators, who would have been satisfied, could they but have fallen upon an English name, with some degree of plausibility. At all events, we may feel some confidence in the assertion, that the accompaniment of instruments to Hebrew music possessed considerable richness. And, if we believe what is stated in the first Book of Chronicles,* that the singers "were employed in that work day and night," we can have little doubt of their accomplished skill.

The reign of Solomon was preëminent, in the history of the Jews, for every thing which elevated them in the relative rank of nations. Their subsequent intestine divisions, and subjugation to a foreign yoke, prevented them from retaining the taste for music, which had flourished in the days of their national prosperity ; and we hear no more of their skill in the art, or their fondness for its practice. The only other nation, whose music can be traced back to so high an antiquity as that of the Jews, is the Egyptian ; but, in ascending to so remote a date, we are lost in a cloud of uncertainty, which rapidly gathers into the night of total ignorance. It is but stating the truth to say, that the amount of our knowledge respecting it is, that the Egyptians had some kind of music, and some kinds of musical instruments, though what they were it is impossible to determine ; that music was much studied and held in honor among them, and that from them was derived much which was afterwards known and practised in Greece.

It is in the music of Greece and Italy, that we are naturally more interested than in that of any other of the people of antiquity, on several accounts. The Greeks were more refined in various ways, than any other nation, and we know more

* 1 Chron. ix. 33.

of their character, history, and habits. Their literature is more familiar to us ; and though all that we know of their music amounts to but little, yet even that little is unknown with respect to the music of all other civilized inhabitants of the ancient world. It is extremely difficult to rescue that which may seem probable, in relation to ancient music, from the almost unintelligible jargon by which it is covered up, by writers who have interpreted ancient authors according to a preconceived theory of their own, or who have undertaken to translate musical terms without either knowledge of the art, or respect for its theory, and have overlaid with a mass of perplexing erudition a subject already sufficiently involved in obscurity. We shall endeavour carefully to separate what is known and certain, from what is unknown or doubtful, and to distinguish, as clearly as may be practicable, between the probable and the improbable.

The first fact, which is undisputed on all hands, is the intimate connexion existing between the poetry in all its forms, the eloquence, and the music of the ancients. Their poets sang their own compositions, their orators were attended by musicians with instruments to give them the pitch of their voice, and their dramas were sung as well as acted. It has been asserted that they had no music unconnected with the voice, though one can scarcely imagine an assertion more entirely gratuitous. The mention of instrumental music is, to be sure, rare among the authors to whom we must recur for information on the subject ; but let us suppose for a moment an age of barbarism to supervene on the present state of the world, and all existing literature and art to be blotted out, and then recovered again as those of the Greeks have been. It would not be very difficult, one would think, to frame a theory with respect to modern music, which should exclude instruments, except as an accompaniment to the voice, if no writings of a professed musician should happen to be recovered from the common destruction. In works of general literature, music is rarely described in such a way as to give precise and accurate ideas of its character ; and, though the shapes assumed by literature in modern times are so much more various, though we have tours, letters, dictionaries, and a thousand other productions which the Greeks had not, yet we can easily conceive of an Australian antiquary, some two thousand years hence, asserting with the confidence to which his researches may entitle

him, that the instrumental music of the ancient Europeans, and their less cultivated descendants in America, was merely used as an accompaniment to the voice ; that part of their religious worship was the singing of psalms accompanied by the organ ; that in their social meetings the piano accompanied the song, and at their theatres the whole object of the orchestra, composed as it was of all the instruments then known, was to sustain the voice of the singer, and fill up the short pauses required by the meaning of the words ; indeed, that the only use that can be discovered of instrumental music independently of the voice, was to regulate the step of a procession or of a military corps. This sounds absurdly enough, and we should say that our Australian descendant might give us a little more credit for progress in the art, though he could not find any account of instrumental music in the Poems of Cowper, or the Essays of Johnson, the Dramas of Racine, or the History of Hume. Why is it not equally absurd to make such an assertion with regard to the ancient Greeks ? They were a people of at least as much ingenuity as any that have since existed ; they had a decided taste for music, and, if we may judge by the general accounts of its effects which have reached us, great skill in its execution ; they had instruments of many kinds, both wind and stringed, and yet they never could play unless some one sang. It is enough to state such a proposition ; reply is unnecessary. We know, too, that music was constantly practised by the people and profoundly examined by their philosophers. The best treatise of ancient music, that has come down to us, is by Euclid, in which he examines the relations of harmonic sounds ; and if we understood what he treats of without explanation, as familiar to all, we should probably arrive at some more just ideas of ancient music.

Another thing which is generally agreed on by writers on this subject is, that the Greeks had but two divisions of sound in regard to time, namely, a long and a short one, and that the latter was just half the length of the former. Brilliant music this would make ! The rudest inhabitant of Central Africa has a greater variety than this, and a better idea of musical rhythm. Just imagine Sappho whining out her lyrics in alternate longs and shorts, or Timotheus drawling before Alexander, "softly sweet, in Lydian measures." The softer the better, one would think, in such measure. But it cannot be imagined. It is utterly inconceivable, that the instincts of

nature should be tamed down to such miserable insipidity in a people of lively imagination, like the Greeks. We cannot but regard it as a piece of that pedantry, which will believe nothing but what is on record, and will insist on interpreting the record according to its own limited conceptions. We venture to take it for granted, without quoting authors to prove it, that the Greeks, as well as the Hebrews, as they had instruments, could play upon them without singing, and that their long sound was subdivided into more than two equal parts.

Another point upon which all must be agreed, as there is no room for uncertainty about it, is, that the ancients had nothing corresponding to the musical score or notation of modern times. They had a name and a sign, derived from their alphabet, for every note of the scale, and according to the most respectable conjectures (see Burney's History) their scale embraced three octaves, or twenty-two notes; they had three genera, the diatonic, the chromatic, and the enharmonic, and fifteen modes or keys, in all of which the name of each sound was different, so that, according to the computation of Burette, the names of their notes amounted to sixteen hundred and twenty. If this be true, the study must have been laborious indeed, and would require the three years, which Plato allowed the young to devote to it, to acquire its elements. There is much, also, which is mysterious, and indeed unintelligible, in the accounts that are given us of the genera and tones, or keys, of Grecian music; and it would be neither interesting nor profitable to attempt the hopeless task of explaining what so many scholars and musicians have failed to make clear. It is indeed manifest, that without a definite idea of the sound of a single note, or an accurate knowledge of a single interval of their scale, and with absolutely nothing to guide us as to their divisions of time, it can be but dreaming and trifling to think of proving any thing precise or satisfactory with regard to the musical composition of the Greeks. If proof be required that we really do know nothing important respecting it, we have a demonstration in the attempt of Meibomius, one of the most learned and thorough of all the commentators on ancient authors who touch upon music, to imitate the Grecian style of singing and playing. Queen Christina, of Sweden, to whom he had dedicated his elaborate work, desirous of obtaining a more accurate idea of the ancient music than she could do from

the book, directed him to have instruments made of Grecian construction, to accompany a song composed on Greek principles as he understood them, to which another professor was to add a Greek dance. When the hour of this concert arrived, and the performance began, it was accompanied by the irrepressible laughter of the assembled court; and the enraged Meibomius, after inflicting a box on the ear of the person whom he suspected of instigating the plot, quitted Stockholm for ever.* Is it possible to imagine, for a moment, that what excited mere laughter at Stockholm, could have been the delight of Athens two thousand years before? Could a people, of so strong a musical taste as the Greeks, have been so singularly rude in the practice of the art? Or is it more probable that Meibomius, and all who have copied him in his account of ancient music, have fallen into errors, and made assertions not warranted by the accuracy of their knowledge?

One of these assertions, which seems to us of doubtful character, is that the octave of the ancients was divided into two tetrachords; and that this was regarded as the principal division of the scale, instead of octaves. The word *tetrachord* means literally four strings, or an instrument of four strings, such as were some of the earliest harps or lyres used in Greece. The question is, How were these strings tuned? Did they consist, as would be naturally supposed, of the third, fifth, and octave of the tonic, or were they, according to this theory of the tetrachords, the first, *fourth*, fifth, and eighth, and the lyre thus divided into the two halves of an octave? It must be recollected that the ancient lyre was played with the hand, or struck with a plectrum, and that there were no finger-board and bow, like those of the violin, to regulate the sound of the strings. They must necessarily have given the sound to which they were tuned, like the strings of the modern harp. We must believe the ears of the Greeks, then, to have been differently constructed from our own, or to have been most extraordinarily obtuse, if they could have enjoyed the sounds which would have been produced by either the consecutive or simultaneous touching of these strings, "a combination," says

* Another version of this story is, that the Queen directed Meibomius to compose a mass according to his explanation of the Grecian music, and that its performance was prevented by the inextinguishable laughter of singers, players, and audience. — "*Discorso sulla Origine, Progresso, e Stato attuale della Musica Italiana* di Andrea Majer."

Majer, "enough to drive a dog mad." But on the other hand, what could be more natural or more pleasing than to tune them at intervals of thirds, thus forming the fundamental chord? It is worthy of remark, too, that the outside strings were considered as fixed, being the extremes of the octave; and the inside strings as movable, that is, they might be tuned higher or lower. This, on the supposition that the middle strings were the third and fifth, would give an opportunity for a change of key from major to minor, or the reverse, without affecting the outside strings; but it would be to little purpose, if they were tuned as the fourth and fifth. One would think the half of the octave must be as much fixed as the extremes.

It is extraordinary, if Meibomius, Martini, Burney, and others have interpreted the Greek system of music aright, that they should have imagined the ancients could have thought the fourth and fifth a chord with the first. This is manifestly impossible. It is a discord which the ear rejects with disgust and pain; and neither Timotheus, nor Philoxenus, nor Sappho, nor Apollo himself could make any thing else of it. Why should we insist, then, upon the Greek music being discordant, rather than imagine a few modern scholars to have fallen into error, especially when, from the scanty means of forming an opinion which are left, such an error is very fairly excusable? Still the language of the ancients respecting the tetrachords remains to be explained in some way; and if we may be allowed, without incurring the charge of temerity, to make a suggestion on this vexed subject, we should say the difficulty might, perhaps, be solved, by supposing them to have divided their notes by semitones instead of tones. It is obvious that the interval between major thirds is two tones, or *four* half-tones; and here we have at once a tetrachord of semi-tones, of which there would be three in every octave,* and the first notes of each tetrachord would be in harmony. Thus C, E, and G would accord with each other, and with the C which would complete the octave, and form the first note of the following tetrachord. We merely throw out this suggestion, without venturing to assert that it would solve the

* Suppose C to be the tonic, the first tetrachord would consist of C, C♯, D, D♯; the second of E, F, F♯, G; the third of G♯, A, A♯, B.

problem, but leaving it to others to justify or reject it. "Non nostrum tantas componere lites."

But the great subject of discussion among the literati, who have treated of ancient music, is whether or not the ancients understood counterpoint, or the arrangement of different parts or voices in such manner, that there should be melody in each, and harmony in the whole together. While some have contended, that this complicated art must have been understood, from the effects produced by music in ancient times, so far surpassing what it is able to do now, others again, not content with denying them the finished skill of modern composers, have even refused them any thing like harmony ; and have contended, that the voices and instruments, however numerous they might be, were all in unison. In the absence of all historical record on the subject, one would say that each of these extreme opinions was equally improbable. With regard to the argument from the effects, it has been somewhat ludicrously overstrained. People seem almost to have believed in sincerity, that Amphion built walls, Arion rode dolphins, and Orpheus made trees dance, by the mere power of harmony. Probably the influence of song upon the modern art of navigation is quite as powerful as it was upon the ancient art of masonry ; yet no one will contend that sailors are now-a-days very accomplished musicians. Nor can it be imagined, that these strange stories, though not taken literally, yet must be considered as poetical representations of wonderful effects. The results, stripped of their coloring, are no more extraordinary than are constantly produced now ; and indeed we are persuaded it must have been far less difficult for Timotheus to have stirred the excitable temper of an Alexander to vehement action, than for a modern songstress to have thrown the calm population of Boston into such a kind of ecstatic delirium, as many of us have witnessed, and some of us have experienced, the past winter. Let it be remembered, that the greatest effects in music are always produced by the human voice. Instruments and harmony and scientific combinations of tones are all very delightful ; but it is the song or the chorus which melts the heart with tenderness, or fills it with joy, or overawes it with sublimity. It is sympathy with emotion expressed, which we feel ; and, as the human voice can give greater depth and variety of expression than any other instrument what-

ever, it cannot fail, as long as human nature continues unchanged, to produce the most powerful effects in music.

And what was there to render ancient Greece less musical than modern Italy? Had they not the taste, the refinement, the quickness of perception, the climate, which seem suitable for the cultivation of the art in perfection? And shall we believe, that all this aptitude for music was lost, thrown away upon them, because a few students tell us they had no knowledge of harmony, and no other rhythmical divisions of sound than into one long and one short one? Those who think more highly of names than of nature will believe all this, hard as it may be to credit; but we think the dictates of nature are not to be set aside so easily. The musical ear must have fallen upon harmony by accident, if it could not attain it by study; and, as for their rhythmical divisions, to suppose they had but one long and one short sound, is denying the Greeks the musical instinct, of which, by general consent, they had a large share.

But this question need not be referred to nature alone for decision. There are some passages of ancient authors which would seem to be of difficult interpretation, if the ancients had no just ideas of harmony, but which are perfectly and at once intelligible, if such ideas be conceded. Take, for instance, the following language of Longinus; "For, as in music the principal note derives sweetness from those which are called chords,* so periphrasis," &c. (Chap. 28.) He could hardly have used language referring more plainly to harmonious sounds; and what can be made of those few words, unless his ear and those of his readers were accustomed to harmony?

There is also a passage of Tertullian, quoted by Majer, of which the following is a translation.

"Look at the prodigious richness of Archimedes. I speak of the hydraulic organ; so many members, so many parts, so many contrivances, so many passages and combinations of sound, so many changes of mode, a whole army of pipes, and all this one mass!"

Who could better describe the modern organ? Was Archimedes, then, ignorant of harmony? And those who

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* Παράφωνοι is a word which nobody translates, but which, if its etymology may be trusted, is equivalent to the Latin *consonus* and the English *chord*.

listened to his instrument, were they unacquainted with its effects ?

Consider for a moment the construction of the ancient theatrical chorus. It is well known that the Greek dramas were sung ; that they were in fact what we call operas ; and that the chorus was composed, as in modern times, of all the four parts into which the voice is divisible. Here is a description of it by Seneca. " Do you not see of how many voices the chorus consists ? Some are shrill, some deep, some intermediate. The tones of woman are joined to those of man ; instruments are added ; and individual voices are merged in the union of the whole." Had the man who wrote this sentence no conception of music, except that derived from melody ? The idea seems preposterous. It is not contended, that the ancients were familiar with counterpoint in all its modern extent and expansibility ; but it is impossible to believe, that their knowledge of music reached no farther than to the production of melody or unison, after a due consideration of the passages quoted. Nothing arrives at perfection suddenly ; and, though we are very much in the habit of thinking ourselves perfect, and that the science of musical composition has in our day reached its *ne plus ultra*, yet constant experience demonstrates a constant improvement ; and perhaps our children will express as much wonder and pity at our music, as we feel for the more imperfect attainments of our fathers. Indeed, if we consider for a single moment the number of changes that may be produced by a few notes, we shall be convinced that the varieties of musical composition are indeed infinite. In an octave there are twelve semitones, and upon any instrument, however simple, containing these twelve sounds, there may be produced four hundred and seventy-nine million, one thousand, six hundred changes. Multiply these by the number of octaves, and the number of instruments now in use, and we have a variety as inconceivable as it is inexhaustible. We are still far from perfection, then, and why should we suppose the ancients to have made no progress in an art, which we practise but incompletely ourselves, and the first elements of which are easily attained ?

Another point, which strikes us quite as strangely as this, and which runs through almost all writers on ancient music, is, that

the Greeks composed all their music in the minor mode.* One might as well imagine all their poetry was elegiac, all their orations funereal, and all their songs death-songs. The earliest music of all countries is generally, like the music of the nursery, of a plaintive character, and in a minor key ; but, whenever and wherever music has been cultivated as an art, it has never rested in that primitive and simple condition, so far as is really known ; and, in the actual state of our knowledge, or rather of our ignorance of ancient music, it seems to us the very height of presumption to assert, that the ingenious Greeks never got beyond the threshold of musical composition. If any thing can be said to be known of the Athenians, it is, that they were a lively, witty, imaginative race, more resembling the modern Parisians than any other people of the present day ; and it would be about as probable, that all French music should be minor, as that all Greek music was. It is a point which, of course, may be established by sufficient evidence ; but such evidence has not yet been presented to us.

Of the effect of music upon the character of a people, as well as on that of individuals, a striking example is referred to by Burney and others, the authority for which is no less than Polybius, the judicious and careful historian. The Arcadians were generally distinguished for their mild character and amiable virtues, whilst the inhabitants of Cynætha, one of the cities of Arcadia, were as remarkable for the ferocity and quarrelsome barbarity of their dispositions. This is ascribed by the historian to the neglect of the Arcadian institutions of music ; and it is a suggestion, which by no means deserves to be lightly regarded. It is not easy to limit the effect of constant causes ; and, if music had been the favorite entertainment of our own parent country, instead of bull-baitings, cock-fights, and sparring-matches, it is no very strained inference, that there might have been less of crime on the records of its courts, and less of harshness in the national manners. Certainly the kindred blood of Germany is favorably operated on by the prevailing fondness for music ; and it is not easy to believe, that one who is really devoted to so refined and refin-

* Gardiner in his "Music of Nature," page 461, says, in an incidental clause of a sentence, "the minor key, the only key known to the Greeks and Romans," &c., as if it were a thing universally admitted, and on which no doubt could rationally be suggested.

ing a pursuit, can be the victim of the coarser and more violent passions of our nature.

The unbounded variety of expression, of which music is susceptible, renders it easily applicable to all circumstances and situations where emotion of any kind is called forth ; and it is a necessary appendage to all public celebrations of events or ceremonies, in which any deep interest is felt. Its connexion with the religious observances from which human nature cannot refrain, has in all ages been most intimate, and must continue to be so as long as we seek to express in the strongest manner the deep emotions which are excited by religious subjects. The earliest recorded song is one of praise to Jehovah ; and, as we trace the history of music down through the periods of Greek and Roman cultivation, we find it always associated with religious rites. No sacrifice could be acceptable, no pomp could be imposing, if not accompanied by the beautiful or the sublime of musical intonation. Their dramas, too, were originally very much of the nature of religious services. Founded on some tale of their mythology, they were made the vehicles of such religious and moral instruction as the wisest of the ancients could convey ; and Livy informs us,* that the first introduction of theatrical representations into Rome was expressly for a religious purpose, namely, as a means of averting a pestilence which was attributed to the anger of the Gods.

Music has, from the earliest periods, been associated with the services of the Christian church. One of the first profane notices of the existence of such a sect is the letter of Pliny to Trajan, in which he says, "They assemble and sing hymns to Christ as a God." Even in those primitive times of simplicity and peril, when the cave and the forest were the Christians' only shelter, and the arch of heaven their only temple, even then rose the choral hymn ; the fulness of the heart could not be repressed, and, surrounded by the magnificent and the beautiful of creation, they adored their Creator in "music that whispered a heart-felt devotion in song and in prayer."

In after ages, when the persecuted religion, everywhere spoken against, became the favored and triumphant system, music accompanied its introduction into the basilica, the temple, and the church. It has been fancifully enough imagined

* Lib. vii. cap. 2.

that the style of chanting, which was in use at that period, was derived from some species of more ancient, Grecian or even Hebrew music, thus forming a connecting link between the remotest ages and our own time. It is not impossible ; but that is all that can be said in favor of a notion, which rests, like many others, advanced by the historians of music, on the imagination alone. The chanting of that era, as far as can be learned from the imperfect accounts of it transmitted to us, very probably resembled, in a great degree, that of the priests of the Roman church of the present day, with little variety of modulation, and little regularity of measure. Very much was left to the discretion of the singer, and the influence of tradition ; the time was absolutely so, as no time table had yet been invented.

In the progress of taste, the singing in the church became more ornamented ; and it is a curious instance of the uncompromising consistency of human nature, of the perpetual recurrence of the same prejudices and feelings, that complaints were from time to time made of the excessive ornament of music, which, to our ears, would probably be chargeable with any thing rather than too much grace. The *canto fermo* of the church was originally, in all probability, chanting in unison and with great simplicity. When ornaments were introduced, they must have been performed by a single voice, while the rest continued the original chant ; and thus the performance gradually became separated into two parts, of which one was the principal air, and the other a connected accompaniment. This was called *discant*, or double chant ; and, as music became more important in the church, performers were engaged for this service ; and they were employed to sing one part and to *organize* the other, or imitate the sound of the organ in firmness and continuity. At least this seems a sufficiently probable interpretation of a word which can hardly be exactly defined now. The invention of the organ was begun in the early ages of Christianity, though it may not be possible to fix its precise date.

In the reign of Charlemagne a national controversy arose, which, though then settled by royal authority, has been open ever since ; and will be finally put to rest when national rivalry shall cease. The singers of Charles's court attended him to Rome to celebrate the festival of Easter ; and a violent dispute arose between them and the Italian performers, as to the

taste and correctness of their execution of the music of St. Gregory. The king gave it against his own choir, and employed Italian masters to reinstruct them in the true Gregorian style, which, he said, they had manifestly corrupted. From this period, the close of the eighth century, to the beginning of the eleventh, there was no such rapid or sudden progress in the art of music as to mark any particular point of time as an era in its history. Still, progress was made in it, and facilities were gradually accumulating for its study and its practice. The chanting became double, that is, in two regular parts accompanying each other in harmony throughout; and the system of notation was improved by the introduction, at first, of a single line, red for the key of F, and yellow for the key of C, above and below which line the notes were ranged, according to the acute or grave character of their tone. This was already a decided improvement on the preceding system of placing a hieroglyphic over each syllable of the word to be sung, representing the name and sound of the note; but a variety of plans were at different times tried, such as drawing a line for each note, then using six lines for the notes of a hexachord, and afterwards reducing the number of lines to four, and using the spaces also, as in the modern system. The four lines and three spaces were just enough to give a place to each of the seven notes of the octave in the key of C, which was once the only key used in the church, the pure diatonic scale being the only one practised. Afterwards the key of F was introduced, and rendered necessary the use of the flat B, or B *molle*, as it was then called. This rich sound was the first accidental ever heard in a church.* The separation of the notes from the words, by placing them in a score, gave an opportunity for doing what must naturally have suggested itself to the composer, namely, writing the discant or double chant on two separate sets of lines, in which each note would correspond with one of the other part, and with the syllable on which it was to be sounded. This was doubtless the origin of *counterpoint*, *note against note*; and from this small beginning has arisen, in the course of ages, the complicated art of the modern harmonist. The earliest notes used were square,

* It is to be presumed, that those at least, who believe in the Hebrew or Grecian origin of the *canto fermo*, will not contend that ancient music was always in the minor mode.

or lozenge-shaped, without stems, and were easily and frequently changed in writing into mere points. Hence the word *counterpoint*. Stems were ere long added to some notes to mark a different duration, thus giving a hint of a more exact division of sounds by the time they occupied. Letters were also prefixed to the score, which were gradually corrupted into the clumsy clefs now in use. They were originally intended to mark the key F, or C, and not the voice by which the part was to be sung. Thus we see, that, previous to the commencement of the eleventh century, there was a beginning of many things which served to facilitate both the composition of music and the practice of singing, as lines, notes, accidentals, and clefs. The use of accidentals implies, of course, changes of key.

We say all this was begun before the eleventh century; for at that time appeared one of those distinguished men, who, effecting much for the progress of the science to which they devote themselves, acquire a renown even greater than their merits justify. This was Guido, the monk of Arezzo, who, in later times, has been held up to reverence as the inventor of counterpoint, and consequently the father of modern composition. From what has been said, it appears that this is rather more than he is entitled to. He doubtless contributed much to the improvement of musical composition in his day, but can scarcely be called the inventor of an art previously existing in its rudiments or simplest state. The praise to which he is entitled, and it is no small amount, is for having banished for ever the ancient names of the notes, and substituted for them six syllables that were found to predominate in the first verse of a hymn of St. John, *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*. When the sixteen hundred and twenty tremendous names of the ancient scale are recollected, such as *nete synemenon*, *parypate meson*, *hypate hypaton*, *proslambanomenos*, &c., names which could be of no use in singing, and which, if they were not Greek, we should call Gothic and barbarous, it will readily be conceived what an immense facility was afforded to the student of music by the ingenuity of Guido. The progress of his pupils in a few months was equal to that made in as many years under the old system, and he was repeatedly sent for by the Pope, to establish schools upon his plan at Rome. Such, however, was the seclusion of the monasteries, where alone, almost, music was then either taught or practised, so

infrequent were communications, and so toilsome was travelling, that even this vast improvement was long in making its way into general use. It was not till ages after Guido's time, that the octave was completed by the addition of the syllable *si*, and still later that the Italians substituted the more open and euphonious sound of *do*, for the contracted one of *ut*.

Great as are the obligations of music to Guido for giving simplicity to its arrangement and the method of instruction in it, yet it may be reasonably doubted if he contributed so much to the progress of the art as the inventor of the time-table, whoever he was. The regular subdivision of notes was not fairly and fully accomplished till the fourteenth century, three hundred years after the time of Guido, and it is uncertain by whom it was then achieved. Musical writers, according to Dr. Burney, have heretofore ascribed it to Jean de Muris; but Jean de Muris himself attributes it to Master Franco of Cologne, thus carrying the invention back to the middle or end of the eleventh century. The probability seems strong, that many contributed their efforts, at different periods, to the perfecting of that branch of the art, which yields to none in importance. It was the proper and accurate subdivision of notes, and the strict observance of time, which made music a really independent art. Before that was studied, singing must either have been guided by the intention of the composer, and handed down by tradition, or it must have been entirely *ad libitum*, and at the momentary pleasure of the performer; and if a number of vocal or instrumental performers were to execute a piece of music together, nothing but the most immense and laborious practice could have enabled them to keep within harmonious distance of each other. The difficulties of the art must have been immeasurably greater than at present, and will account for the great number of years that were thought necessary to attain reasonable skill even in its then imperfect condition, and for the very slow progress which was made in its improvement. Think, for a moment, what would be the effect of setting a piece of music before even a well-instructed choir at the present day, in the score of which no measures were marked, and in which but one kind of note, of unvaried form, was used for every tone introduced; a piece, in short, from which all marks of time were obliterated. It is very much to be feared that the skill of the choir would, for a time at least, be baffled, and that the piece, however simple,

would be rapidly converted into a specimen of "most admired disorder." This must be distinctly perceived, in order to attain an idea of the condition of music as an art, both in ancient times and in what are called the middle ages. The observance of time, if it does not itself constitute harmony, is certainly a necessary attendant on its existence; it is that, without which harmony cannot be created; and it must be marked, either by the distinctions of notes and rests, or by the direction of a leader, or by the undirected taste of the performer. In ancient days the time was indicated, very imperfectly of course, but still in some degree, by the length of the syllables to which the music was set, and by a leader who beat the time audibly. But in what way it was marked in the chanting of the church, in the first thousand years of Christianity, there are no means of determining. It was, perhaps, a thing of tradition altogether. No wonder, then, the progress of the art both of composition and of performance was slow. No wonder, where so much was left of necessity to the unguided improvisation of the singer or player, that bad judgment was more prevalent than good; and that the art was more and more corrupted from the simplicity which is the guide of correct taste.

Five centuries elapsed from the time of Guido, during which music was wandering in doubt, and obscurity, and weakness, without a guide on whom to rely, and without a definite object of pursuit. This long period was not, however, wholly lost. The caprices of even bad taste revealed some of the powers of song, as the freaks of alchymy developed some of the laws of nature. Rules of composition, and something like a regular system of notation, became of acknowledged authority; and in the fifteenth century the art of printing came powerfully to its aid, as it did to that of every other human pursuit. At length, in the sixteenth century, appeared one of those truly illustrious men, endowed with those great powers, with which the Almighty from time to time adorns our nature, for bringing beauty out of deformity, order out of confusion, and for stamping the impress of his fertile genius on his own and all succeeding ages. This was Johann Pierluigi of Palestrina. He was born at Præneste in 1529, a period when, though the rules of musical composition were beginning to be settled, yet the taste and invention displayed in it were not usually such as to excite admiration or pleasure.

So bad was the style of the music performed in the church, that Pope Marcellus the Second, in 1555, was about to issue an edict to abolish the use of it in the sacred office, when Palestrina besought him to hear a mass of a different character from the frivolous, florid music then in vogue, and to give the noble art still a place where it could be most effective. He obtained the permission he asked, and produced a mass, which, by its simplicity and dignity, completely conquered the strong and probably not unjust dislike the Pope had expressed for the more popular music of the day. This signal triumph, obtained by a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, not only saved music from the threatened banishment from its sacred home, but placed Palestrina at once at the head of the art, as the best composer, not only of his own, but of all preceding time. This position he never lost, and through all succeeding ages he must continue to be regarded as the successful reformer of a barbarous era, and the father and founder of a better school, which, from that day to this, has been considered as the school of true taste. His compositions were numerous, comprising nearly all descriptions of the serious style now in use. They are still extant, and are not unfrequently performed in Italy by those who have a just reverence for his genius and skill. They may not possess the flowing ease of some more modern productions, but they are of a kind which will never cease to produce a strong effect upon men's minds and hearts. It is a mistake to suppose that there is a particular style of music which is adapted to a particular period of the world. Music is a universal language, and what is able powerfully to affect one generation of men will not fail to affect another. There may be conceits and fancies in fashion at certain periods or places, which soon pass away, because they are not in good taste; but that which can interest and please in tone, imitation, or harmony, will never cease to interest and please. Palestrina had the merit and the glory of pointing out the true path in which music should walk, the true mode in which she must produce her effects; and from his day to the present there has been but one school of good music. Divided and subdivided as the schools have nominally been, correct taste is one and indivisible; and all must be conducted by her guidance, or they cease to be schools of music, and degenerate into academies of uproar. There is, in reality, little to distinguish the so-called different schools, but the different

degrees of attainment and genius of the authors who have been educated at different places. The obstacles which have obstructed the progress of some, and the facilities which have surrounded others, may, perhaps, be perceived ; but all aim at the same object by the same general means, and therefore belong to the same school. This deserves, in some respects, to be called the school of Palestrina. He pointed out the path in which music may go on for ever improving ; he taught men to explore that garden of inexhaustible fertility, in which the plants that he trained still live, and in which the successive brilliant productions of music will remain for ever fresh and fair. We do not mean that it is impossible to point out differences between the composers of one nation and those of another, or to deny that some are more successful in melody, and some in harmony ; but as we hold that both are necessary to the production of the best music, any defect in either must be counted as an imperfection in the author as a musical composer, to whichever school, as it is called, he may belong.

From the days of Palestrina until now, the musical taste and the musical productions of the civilized world have increased in an accelerating ratio. Invention has been applied, not only to the writing of music, but to the instruments by which it is to be performed, and the art of execution on those instruments ; so that each successive age has reached a point, both in composition and performance, which was either not thought of, or deemed unattainable, by its predecessor. Since his time, too, another style of music has been introduced, and become so much a favorite as almost to supplant the more venerable music of the church, which was the first to be brought to some degree of perfection, and was the foundation of all that has succeeded. Towards the close of the sixteenth century music began to appear in company with the dramas, which were then popular ; and, rude as the first essays probably were, and imperfect as the instrumental accompaniment certainly was, the effect produced upon the feelings of the audience was great beyond any thing known in those days, and was compared to that of the ancient Greek and Roman dramas.*

The *moralities* and *mysteries*, the title under which the drama first appeared in the middle ages, were frequently performed by strolling companies upon an ambulatory stage ;

* Burney, Vol. IV. p. 18.

and there is an interesting account in Della Valle, of the first secular musical drama in Rome, which we shall extract from Dr. Burney.*

"The music of my *cart*, or movable stage, composed by Quagliati, [his master,] in my own room, chiefly in the manner he found most agreeable to me, and performed in masks through the streets of Rome during the Carnival of 1606, was the first dramatic action, or representation in music, that had ever been heard in that city. Though no more than five voices, or five instruments, were employed, the exact number which an ambulant cart could contain, yet these afforded great variety; as, besides the dialogue of single voices, sometimes two, or three, and, at last, all the five sung together, which had an admirable effect. The music of this piece, as may be seen in the copies of it that were afterwards printed, though dramatic, was not all in simple recitative, which would have been tiresome, but ornamented with beautiful passages, and movements in measure, without deviating, however, from the true theatrical style; on which account it pleased extremely, as was manifest from the prodigious concourse of people it drew after it, who, so far from being tired, heard it performed five or six several times. There were some who even continued to follow our cart to ten or twelve places where it stopped, and who never quitted us as long as we remained in the street, which was from four o'clock in the evening till after midnight."

The scholar will remark the curious coincidence between the earliest dramatic representations of Greece and of Italy; and the musician will cease to wonder at the effects of ancient skill, when he reflects upon those of Della Valle's ambulatory *cart*. It may be observed, that here is an early mention of recitative, which seems to have been coeval with the secular drama, and which corresponds, in some degree, with what was originally called chanting in sacred music. It is the chanting of the theatre, with greater variety and expression than that of the church, but quite as far removed from the graceful regularity of the air or song.

During the succeeding century the opera gradually assumed its regular form, and became an established branch of public amusement. It was not, however, till perfected by the dramatic genius of Metastasio, that it assumed the high rank it has since maintained in theatrical literature. The last century

* Ibid. pp. 37, 38.

was, in all respects, the most interesting and important period, which has occurred in the history of music. New branches of the art were cultivated, while those previously known were vastly developed and improved, by the genius of the greatest composers the world has yet seen. It would be at once useless and uninteresting to insert, in this rapid sketch of the progress of music, the long list of the names of those who, with various success, have devoted themselves to its different departments. Nor will it be possible to assign to precise dates, or to particular individuals, the improvements in instruments and methods of performance, which have successively added to the power of music and the means at the disposal of the composer. We must remain satisfied with the general fact that each following age has had greater resources than its predecessor, and with the probability that succeeding times will go on improving, as long as man is endowed with ingenuity, and feels an interest in the illimitable, the divine art. It is impossible, however, even to think of music without instantly recollecting the names of those illustrious men of the last century, who are identified with its very existence, and who, if no other composers had ever written, would have sufficed to make the era glorious, and to furnish the highest pleasures of music to all after time. We refer, of course, to George Frederic Handel, Joseph Haydn, and John Chrysostom Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

George Frederic Handel, or, as he would be more properly called, Haendel, was born at Halle, in February, 1684. He was the son of a physician, who had determined to educate him to the profession of law, and by no means encouraged the early propensity he discovered for music. Such, however, was the strength of his passion for it, that, notwithstanding these circumstances, he had attained remarkable skill on the harpsichord at the age of seven years, without particular instruction, solely by the force of his own industry and young enthusiasm. At nine years of age he began to compose church music with full instrumental accompaniments, and soon surpassed his master, who was organist of the cathedral at Halle. In 1698 he went to Berlin, where the opera was flourishing under the direction of Frederic the Great, and where Handel soon distinguished himself by his knowledge and skill. He did not remain here, however, but going to Hamburg, where also an opera was established, he immediately became its director, and, before he was fifteen years old,

began his career as a composer of operas. His first piece, "Almeria," was performed thirty nights in succession; and two others were received with equal favor. After five years of study and success in Hamburg, he travelled to Italy, where he spent six years in improving himself, and delighting others by his operas and other musical compositions. Here he wrote the oratorio of the "Resurrection," and many sonatas and songs.

In 1710, after a short visit to his native country, he went to England, which was thenceforth to be his home, and which he never left but for a short period, till his death in 1759. For nearly fifty years spent there, he was constantly employed in writing operas, oratorios, and every species of music, and was director at the Haymarket and Covent Garden successively. He was often engaged in quarrels with those who envied his success, or could not yield to his very natural pride. One occasion is worth mentioning. In 1720 he produced an opera, which met with unprecedented success, and excited the jealousy of his rivals, at the head of whom was Buononcini. The dispute which arose was referred to a trial of skill for adjustment. Both were to compose an act of the same opera, and the possession of the theatre was to be the prize. Handel wrote the overture and the last act, and retained the theatre.

However unfavorable these controversies may have been to his personal comfort, or his reputation for mildness of character, the musical world will scarcely regret their occurrence; for it was to avoid any dependence upon jealous rivals that he turned his attention more to the composition of oratorios, and produced those magnificent works, which have ever since been the delight of all who have heard them, and in which beauty and sublimity are so happily mingled. The "Messiah" was one of his later works, and will easily be conceded to be one of the best musical productions extant. It belongs to the highest class of compositions; for much, that would be well adapted to a lighter style, would serve to degrade the elevated character of a sacred drama. Nothing is insignificant, nothing trifling, and there are numerous airs of unsurpassed beauty, numerous choruses and other passages of unequalled sublimity, and a power of adaptation and strength of expression, which belong to musical genius of the highest order only. The operas of Handel have been laid aside to make way for newer

productions in another, which we will not call a better style ; but we are inclined to believe, that, were they revived with the aid of the better instrumentation of the present day, they would be received at once as a novelty and as a class of productions of superior merit. The multiplicity of his works is very great, and proves the untiring industry of a long life, combined with the inexhaustible fertility of a beautiful imagination.

Of an entirely different character was the genius of the next of the great composers of the age. Haydn was the son of a wheelwright, and was born at Rohrau in Lower Austria, in 1732. He distinguished himself at the same early age as Handel by his passion for music ; and, with the aid of a neighbouring schoolmaster, acquired some knowledge both of singing and playing at the age of seven. From eight to eighteen he was one of the choir of St. Stephen's at Vienna ; and, after quitting that situation, he experienced for several years the ills of poverty and obscurity. At length an opera, composed in his twentieth year, procured for him at once reputation and comfort, as he was soon appointed director of the chapel of Prince Esterhazy. In this situation he had opportunity to devote himself to composition in such style as his own inclination dictated ; and the result was an abundance of productions, which have placed him in the foremost rank of skilful and scientific composers. As might be expected from his early education, his taste led him rather to the serious style of church music than to the gayer one suited to the theatre ; and the greater part of his vocal compositions are masses and oratorios. In these are exhibited, in the most striking manner, a solemn grace and dignity of expression, which never forsake this wonderfully grand master ; while he is occasionally carried, by the impetus of his sublime conceptions, to the utmost limit of expression and of the power of human sympathy. There are few things which give a more intense excitement to human feelings, and it may be doubted if even strong nerves could bear a more powerful stimulus than is produced by some of Haydn's music.

But, extraordinary as were his talents in the vocal department, they were, if possible, exceeded by his skill in the employment of instruments. The novelty, variety, beauty, and intensity of expression in his numerous compositions of this class, would, *à priori*, be quite incredible ; and nothing but

the actual hearing can convince one of the possibility of presenting such vivid pictures to the ear. It is not less delightful than astonishing, to witness this power of imitation. It is a combination of intellect and sensation, on the part of the hearer as well as the inventor, which is among the highest gratifications of earth ; and for how many a thrill of pleasure, pure, refined, and heart-felt, is not the world indebted to the sublime, the boundless genius of Haydn ! Of all musical writers who have yet lived, he is the greatest master of this art of imitation. He made instruments speak a new language, and under his hand "a new-created world" of music sprung into being.

Of Mozart it is difficult for the lovers of music to speak with that moderation, which is necessary to give weight to language. He so enchanted men's minds, so beguiled them of their affections, appealed so strongly to the tenderest sensibility, and produced so often specimens of the most lovely creations of genius, that one almost despairs of either doing justice to his memory, or making others sensible of his pre-eminent power. He was called, in his own time, the musical prodigy ; and well he might be, for from the age of three years to his death at that of thirty-six, he was constantly astonishing men either by his precocious ability, or by the wonderful beauty, the sweetness, the inexpressible charm of his exquisite music. In his fifth year he began to compose little pieces, which he would play to his father on the piano, and then write off in score. In his sixth year he wrote a concerto for the piano, in strict conformity with the rules of composition, and so difficult as to require no inexperienced hand to perform it. In this year he visited Vienna, in company with his father and sister, and played before the imperial court the most difficult pieces of the most eminent composers ; and so conscious was he of his own extraordinary powers, as to treat with entire disregard the commendations of any but those who were themselves skilful. He had hitherto played on the piano only ; but at Vienna he was presented with a little violin, on which he *taught himself* to play during the journey home to Salzburg, so well as to execute with entire precision the second part of a trio, to the infinite surprise of his father, who did not know of his acquisition. In his seventh year he was taken to Paris, and afterwards to London, where he passed a year and a half, and then went home

by way of Holland and the Rhine, everywhere exciting astonishment and delight by his early and beautiful talent. At twelve years old he again went to Vienna, and presided over the imperial orchestra at the performance of some of his own music. At thirteen he went to Italy; and at fourteen he wrote his first regular opera, for the theatre of Milan. This was so much admired as to be repeated more than twenty times. From this period till his death he produced in rapid succession operas, which were then and still continue to be the delight of the civilized world, besides a great variety of music of almost every kind, instrumental and vocal. The highest qualities of music are to be found in them all. There is no deficiency of variety, although they all bear marks of their paternity. With a single exception, the most prominent quality of them all is beauty, a gentle, feminine grace and delicacy, which, like the same traits in the female character, are wonderfully combined with spirit, dignity, and energy. The exception to which we refer is his Don Juan, in which there is a mixture of the gay and reckless character of the hero, with the horror of his fate, which gives it a style altogether unique. Sublimity is rather its characteristic than beauty. Approaching more nearly than was usual with Mozart to the direction of the genius of Haydn, it drew from the latter the opinion, that its author was the first of living composers. The Requiem too is marked quite as much by its rich and deeply flowing solemnity, as by the beauty of its strains, or the noble harmony of its composition.

In speaking of Mozart one must be excused for combining epithets which may seem exaggerated, but which, on examination, will be found not merely justified but required by his merits. He possessed all the highest powers of musical composition, whether in melody or harmony, expression or imitation; and never failed to exert them. He wrote nothing which was faulty, or even chargeable with mediocrity; nothing which was not animated by the very spirit of beauty. He was, indeed, a musical prodigy. His compositions form a striking climax to the musical history of the last century. Handel abounds in passages of singular beauty, — a sort of physical charm, yet by no means destitute of intelligence, — which pervades his works; Haydn commands our attention and engrosses all our faculties by his elevation, his power of expression, and his sustained dignity; Mozart captivates us

by all these qualities ; by the easy grace of his lighter strains, and the appropriate expression of those which are of a higher character. It seemed as if, in the case of musical composers, as in that of the poets,

> "The force of nature could no further go ;
> To make a third, she joined the other two."

The musical variety of nature is, however, inexhaustible ; and, since the time of Mozart, other genius has been exerted, not in vain, in her wide-extended dominion. Beethoven has shown us a wonderful scientific skill, and a dark imagination, lightened occasionally by a soft halo which shines the brighter by contrast ; and Weber has exhibited his wayward and beautiful fancy ; and Rossini yet lives to extend, if he pleases, his already vast empire over men's tastes. Rossini is the great enchanter of the present day ; and, if his genius be judged by the effect it has produced, it will scarcely be deemed inferior to that of either of the authors we have named. The enthusiasm of the public, in all Europe and America, which his operas first excited, has now continued undiminished for thirty years ; and so long as the most refined elegance, the most cheerful temperament, the most fertile invention shall continue to please, so long will Rossini continue to captivate. His music produces on the ear the same effect that is caused on the eye by the graceful air, the ease of manner, the animated expression of a beautiful woman ; and we cannot be surprised if we find in both a similar careless confidence in the power to please, the same frequent repetition of a successful manœuvre, the same heedlessness of established rules.

We have mentioned only a few of those whose talents have aided the progress of music, as it would be impossible to enumerate all within the limits of a volume ; and we have spoken of none who were natives of France or England, because, though multitudes have, in both countries, done honor to the science, yet none have reached the preëminence of those "bright particular stars" which have shone with such brilliant lustre. As for our own country, music cannot be said to have any history, and scarcely an existence here. Without a single native composer of instrumental music, and with only here and there one who ventures upon a song or an anthem, it becomes us to use a tone of modesty, which is unhappily too rare, with regard to our musical attainments, taste, and

skill. There is every thing to hope for a vigorous young country, where the luxuries of art are rapidly growing, under the protection of a still more rapidly accumulating wealth; but, as yet, all is the subject of hope, not of complacent recollection. It is probably within the memory of the youngest of our readers, that a change has taken place in the style of performing the music in our churches, indicative of the neglect into which it had previously fallen, rather than of the excellence it has yet attained. The formation of the Boston Handel and Haydn Society was the dawn of a spirit of improvement; but how long did it languish under the want of resources, and the neglect of the public. It is only within a very few years, that its success has been encouraging, and has corresponded with the effect which a good school should have upon the public. The recent establishment of the Academy is another proof of the increasing number of those, who so love the "concord of sweet sounds," as to be willing to devote their leisure to the acquisition of the art of producing them; its present state should, however, be regarded rather as the foundation of better things to come, than as a theme of self-satisfaction. They have begun a good thing in a good manner; but it would show a very limited conception of the value of music, to rest satisfied with the ability to give an occasional concert in a respectable style. This is but a humble branch of the art; and the attainment of the degree of skill necessary, ought, and we trust will be ere long, so common as to be no ground of boastful complacency. It must be recollected, that we are greatly behind the other civilized countries of the world in common musical proficiency; and, if we would compete with them at all, we must fix on something higher, as an object of pursuit, than has heretofore been attempted among us. We must look forward to the production of music of every kind; to training up a school, not merely of vocal, but instrumental performers, who shall be thoroughly taught in all that can be taught of music, and whose native talent shall be fostered and encouraged, till some among them shall be able to repay the care bestowed, by the display of new musical creations, acquiring for themselves, and their country, a name like that we are already claiming in the sister arts. The time when this shall be accomplished may not be near; and yet, if the public will afford the due support, it may not be so far distant as some might imagine.

It may, perhaps, have been observed, that five out of the six brilliant names we have mentioned, of the last and present century, are German. How does it happen, that a nation of kindred origin with our own parent stock, and with a language almost as unmusical as ours, should have produced such an uncommon proportion of musical genius of the highest order, while that of England has been certainly less brilliantly displayed? Is it not manifest that the national practice of giving the rudiments of a musical education at school must have contributed largely to the developement of the whole national talent for the art? This then should be pursued as the most important means of eliciting the now dormant taste and talent of our country. It will be found easy, pleasant, and profitable; and upon institutions like the Academy devolves the responsibility of urging the importance of the acquisition in terms commensurate with its value. Let it be presented to all who have charge of the education of youth, till they shall be satisfied that the elements of music are not the least important of those which may be taught in schools; and, if the system should not extend beyond our own city, its advantages would soon be so evident as to add another to the favorable distinctions of our already favored home.

Art. IV. — 1. *Narodne Serpske pjesme*, izdao Wuk Stef. Karadjich.

Servian Popular Songs, published by Vuk Stef. Karadjich. Vol. IV. Vienna. 1833.

2. *Piesnie Ludu palskiego i ruskiego w Galicyi*, zebrane parzez Waclawa z. Oleska.

Songs of the Polish and Russian People of Galicia, collected by Wenceslaus Olesky. Lemberg. 1833.

This is the age of utilitarianism. The Genius of poetry still lives indeed, for he is immortal; but the period of his living power is gone. His present dwelling is the study; the sphere of his operations the parlour; the scene, where his exhibitions are displayed in a dress of morocco and gold, is the centre-table of the rich and the genteel. *Popular poetry*, — we do not mean that divine gift, the dowry of a few blessed

individuals ; we mean that general productiveness, which pervades the mass of men as it pervades Nature, — popular poetry is, among all the nations of Europe, only a dying plant. Here and there a lonely relic is discovered among the rocks, preserved by the invigorating powers of the mountain air ; or a few sickly plants, half withered in their birth, grow up in some solitary valley, hidden from the intrusive genius of modern improvement and civilization, who makes his appearance with a brush in his hand, sweeping mercilessly away even the loveliest flowers which may be considered as impediments in his path. Twenty years hence, and a trace will not be left, except the dried specimens which the *amateur* lays between two sheets of paper, and the copies preserved in cabinets.

Among the nations of the Slavic race alone is the living flower still to be found, growing in its native luxuriance ; but even here, only among the Servians and Dalmatians in its full blossom and beauty. For centuries these treasures have been buried from the literary world. Addison, when he endeavoured to vindicate his admiration of the ballad of "Chevy-Chace," by the similarity of some of its passages with the epics of Virgil and Homer, had not the remotest idea, that the immortal blind bard had found his true and most worthy successors among the likewise blind poets of his next Hyperborean neighbours. The merit of having lifted at last the curtain from these scenes, belongs to Germany, chiefly to Herder. But only the few last years have allowed a more full and satisfactory view of them.

In laying before our readers a view of Slavic popular poetry, we must renounce at once any attempt at chronological order. Slavic popular poetry has yet no history. Not that a considerable portion of it is not very ancient. Many mysterious sounds, even from the grey ages of paganism, reach us, like the chimes of distant bells, unconnected and half lost in the air ; while, of many other songs and legends, the coloring reminds us strongly of their Asiatic home. But the wonderful tales they convey, have mostly been only confided to tradition ; especially there, where the fountain of poetry streamed, and streams still, in the richest profusion, namely, in Servia. Handed down from generation to generation, each has impressed its mark upon them. Tradition, that wonderful offspring of reality and imagination, affords no safer basis to the history of poetry, than to the history of nations themselves.

To dig out of dust and rubbish a few fragments of manuscripts, which enable us to cast one glance into the night of the past, has been reserved only for recent times. Future years will furnish richer materials; and to the inquirer, who shall resume this subject fifty years after us, it may be permitted to reduce them to historical order, while we must be contented to appreciate those, which are before our eyes, in a moral and poetical respect.

The Slavi, even when first mentioned in history, appear as a singing race. Procopius, relating the surprise of a Slavic camp by the Greeks, states that the former were not aware of the danger, having lulled themselves to sleep by singing.* Karamsin, in his history of the Russian Empire, narrates, on the authority of Byzantine writers, that the Greeks being at war with the Avars, about A. D. 590, took prisoners three Slavi, who were sent from the Baltic as ambassadors to the Chan of the Avars. These envoys carried, instead of weapons, a kind of guitar. They stated, that, having no iron in their country, they did not know how to manage swords and spears; and described singing and playing on the guitar as one of the principal occupations of their peaceful life.† The general prevalence of a musical ear and taste among all Slavic natives is indeed striking. "Where a Slavic woman is," says Schaffarik, "there is also song. House and yard, mountain and valley, meadow and forest, garden and vineyard, she fills them all with the sounds of her voice. Often, after a wearisome day spent in heat and sweat, hunger and thirst, she animates, on her way home, the silence of the evening twilight with her melodious songs. What spirit these popular songs breathe, the reader may learn from the collections already published. Without encountering contradiction, we may say, that among no other nation of Europe is natural poetry extant to such an extent, and in such purity, heartiness, and warmth of feeling, as among the Slavi." ‡

Although we recognise in the last sentence the voice of a Slavic enthusiast, we copy the whole of his remarks as perfectly true; and would only add, that we do not consider "heartiness and warmth of feeling" more a characteristic feature of Slavic than of Teutonic popular poetry. As for the

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* De Bello Gothico. Lib. III. c. 14. † Vol. I. p. 69.
‡ Geschichte der Slavischen Sprache und Literatur, p. 52.

purity and universality with which popular poetry is preserved among the Slavic nations, we strongly fear that the chief cause of these advantages lies in the barrenness of their literature, and in the utter ignorance of the common people, even of its elements.

Before we attempt to carry our reader more deeply into this subject, we must ask him to divest himself as much as possible of his personal and national feelings, views, and prejudices, and to suffer himself to be transported into a world foreign to his habitual course of ideas. Human feelings, it is true, are the same everywhere; but we have more of the artificial and factitious in us than we are aware of. And in many cases we hold, that it is not the worst part of us; for we are far from belonging to the class of advocates of mere nature. The reader, for instance, must not expect to find in all the immense treasure of Slavic love-songs, adapted to a variety of situations, a single trace of *romance*, that beautiful blossom of Christianity among the Teutonic races. The love expressed in the Slavic songs is the natural, heartfelt, overpowering sensation of the human breast, in all its different shades of tender affection and glowing sensuality; never elevating, but always natural, always unsophisticated, and much deeper, much purer in the female heart, than in that of man. In their heroic songs, also, the reader must not expect to meet with the chivalry of the more western nations. Weak vestiges of this kind of exaltation are, with a few exceptions, to be found among those Slavic nations only, who, by frequent intercourse with other races, adopted in part their feelings. The gigantic heroism of the Slavic Waywods and Boyars is not the bravery of honor; it is the valor of manly strength, the valor of the heroes of Homer. The Servian hero Marko Kralyewitch was regarded by Goethe as the personification of *absolute* heroism; but even Marko does not think it beneath him to flee, when he meets one stronger than himself. These are the dictates of nature, which only an artificial point of honor can overcome.

But, for the full enjoyment of Slavic popular poetry, we must exact still more from the reader. He must not only divest himself of his habitual ideas and views, but he must adopt foreign views and prejudices, in order to understand motives and actions; for the Oriental races are far from being more in a state of pure nature than ourselves. He will have to transport himself into a foreign clime, where the East and the

West, the North and the South blend, in wonderful amalgamation. The suppleness of Asia and the energy of Europe, the passive fatalism of the Turk and the active religion of the Christian, the revengeful spirit of the oppressed, and the child-like resignation of him who cheerfully submits, — all these seeming contradictions find an expressive organ in Slavic popular poetry. Even in respect to his moral feelings, the reader will frequently have to adopt a different standard of right and wrong. Actions, which a Scotch ballad sometimes shields by a seductive excuse, — as for instance in the case of "Lady Barnard and Little Musgrave," where we become half reconciled to the violation of conjugal faith by the tragic end of the transgressors, — are detestable crimes in the eyes of the Servian poet. On the other hand, he relates with applause, deeds of vengeance and violence, which all feelings of Christianity teach us to condemn; and even atrocious barbarities, which chill our blood, he narrates with perfect composure. This latter remark refers, in fact, chiefly to the ancient epics of the Servians. Much less of barbarism and wild revenge meets us in their modern productions, namely, the epic poems relating to the war of deliverance in the beginning of the present century; although their oppressors had given them ample cause for a merciless retaliation. In the shorter and more lyric songs, of which a rich treasure is the property of most Slavic nations, and in which their common descent is most strikingly manifested, there prevails a still purer morality, and the most tender feelings of the human breast are displayed.

It was on account of this decidedly exotic character of Slavic popular poetry, that, when the Servian popular songs were first published in German, Goethe considered it as an advantage, that the work of translation had fallen into the hands of a lady. Only a female mind, the great poet thought, was capable of the degree of accommodation requisite to clothe the "barbarian poems" in a dress, in which they could be relished by readers of nations foreign to their genius. Even the love-songs, although "of the highest beauty," he thought could only be enjoyed *en masse*. But this last remark applies in a certain measure to all popular poetry, for these little songs are like the warbling of the wood-birds; and a single voice would do little justice to the whole. The monotonous chirping of one little feathered singer is tedious or burthensome;

while we enjoy their full concert as the sweetest music of nature. One swallow does not make a summer. But the whole blissful sense of nature waking from her wintry sleep comes over you, when you hear the full, mixed chorus of the little songsters of the grove; and the monotonous cry of the cuckoo seems to belong just as much to the completeness of the concert, as the enchanting solo of the nightingale.

If we attempt to characterize Slavic popular poetry as a whole, we have chiefly to consider those shorter songs, which are common to all Slavic tribes, and which alone can be compared to the ballads of other nations. For, among the Slavi, only the Servians, including the Dalmatians and Croats, who speak the same language, — and indeed among all other modern nations they alone, — possess long popular epics, of a heroic character. What of this species of poetry still survives among the first, is only the echo of former times. The endlessly protracted "storie" of the Italians are, indeed, often longer than the Servian heroic tales; but in no other respect do they afford a point of comparison with them.

The Slavic popular songs have nothing, or very little, of the bold, dramatic character which animates the Scotch, German, and Scandinavian ballads. Even dialogues occur seldom, except in some narrative form; as for instance;

"To her brother thus the lady answered;"

or,

"And the bonny maiden asked her mother."

A division into epic and lyric ballads would also be difficult. A considerable portion, especially of the Russian and Servian songs, begin with a few narrative verses; although the chief part of the song is purely lyric. These introductory verses are frequently allegorical; and if we do not always find a connexion between them and the tale or song which follows, it is because one singer borrows these introductions from another, and adds an extemporaneous effusion of his own. These little allegories, however, frequently give a complete picture of the subject. They are, also, not always confined to the introduction, but spun out through the whole poem. The following Russian elegy on the death of a murdered youth, may illustrate our remarks. We translate as literally as possible. The Russian original, like the translation, has no rhymes;

"O thou field! thou clean and level field!
O thou plain, so far and wide around!
Level field, dressed up with every thing,
Every thing; with sky-blue flowrets small
Fresh green grass, and bushes thick with leaves.
But defaced by one thing, but by one!

"For in thy very middle stands a broom,
On the broom a young grey eagle sits,
And he butchers wild a raven black,
Sucks the raven's heart-blood glowing hot,
Drenches with it, too, the moistened earth.
Ah, black raven, youth so good and brave!
Thy destroyer is the eagle grey.

"Not a swallow 't is, that hovering clings,
Hovering clings to her warm little nest;
To the murdered son the mother clings!
And her tears fall like the rushing stream,
And his sister's like the flowing rill;
Like the dew the tears fall of his love:
When the sun shines, it dries up the dew." *

Servian songs begin also frequently with a series of questions, the answers to which form mostly a very happy introduction to the tale. For instance;

"What 's so white upon yon verdant forest?
Is it snow, or is it swans assembled?
Were it snow, it surely had been melted;
Were it swans, long since they had departed.
Lo! it is not swans, it is not snow, there,
'T is the tents of Aga, Hassan Aga," &c.†

In Russian songs, on the other hand, a form of expression frequently occurs, which we venture to call a negative antithesis. It is less clear than the Servian, but just as peculiar. A preceding question seems to be frequently supposed; as we have also seen in the piece adduced above. "It is not a swal-

* This song is among the few which Russian critics think as ancient as the sixteenth century. See Karamsin's *History of Russia*, Vol. X. p. 264.

† Bowring's translation.

low," the poet says, "that clings to her nest; it is a mother who clings to her son." In other songs we hear;

> "Not a *falcon* floateth through the air,
> Strays a *youth* along the river's brim," &c.

or,

> "Not a cuckoo in the forest cool doth sing,
> Not in the gardens sings a nightingale;
> In the prison dark a brave youth sighs,
> He sighs and pours out many parting tears."

The frequency of standing epithets, characteristic more or less of all popular poetry, is particularly observable among the Slavic nations. The translator will be troubled to find corresponding terms; but whatever he may select, it is essential always to employ the same; for instance, he must not translate the far-extended idea of *bjeloi*, white, alternately by *white*, *bright*, *snowy*, *fair*. In Slavic, not only things really white are called so, but every thing *laudable* and *beautiful* is called white; as, the *white* God, i. e., the *good* God; the *white* Tzar, i. e. the monarch of *white*, or great and powerful, Russia. In most cases the poet himself no longer thinks of the signification and original meaning of the word. Yards, walls, bodies, breasts, hands, &c. are invariably *white*; even the breast and the hand of the tawny Moor. The sea is seldom mentioned without the epithet *blue;* Russian heroes have *black* hair, but the head of the Servian hero is called *Rusja glava*, fair-haired, with a reddish shade. Russian youths, together with their steeds, are invariably *dobraè*, that is, good or brave; the heart is in the poetry of the same nation *retivoe*, cheerful, rash, light. The sun is in Servian *yarko*, bright; in Russian *krasnai*, which signifies fair and red. Doves are in both languages *grey*. How much the poets are accustomed to these epithets, and how heedlessly they use them, appears from a Servian tale, called "Hayknna's Wedding," a beautiful poem, and even much more elaborated than is common, where the breasts of a beautiful girl are compared to two grey doves. To remind our readers of the father of popular poetry, Homer, and of the like use by him of stereotype epithets, is unnecessary.

The Slavic popular ballads, like the Spanish, very seldom lay any claim to completeness. They do not pretend to give you a whole story, but only a *scene*. They are, for the most

part, little pictures of isolated situations, from which it is left to the imagination of the hearers to infer the whole. The narrative part is almost always descriptive, and, as such, eminently *plastic*. If the picture represented has not the dramatic vivacity of the ballads of the Teutonic nations, it has the distinctness, the prominent forms, and often the perfection of the best executed bas-reliefs of the ancients. Like these, the Slavic poems seldom represent wild passions or complicated actions; but, by preference, scenes of rest, and mostly scenes of domestic grief or joy. When we look at the celebrated Greek bas-relief which represents an affianced maiden the evening before her wedding, weeping, or bashfully hiding her fair face, while a servant girl washes her feet,* we cannot help being impressed with just the same feelings, which seize us when we hear or read one of the numerous Slavic songs devoted to similar scenes. To illustrate our remarks, and to make our readers understand exactly what we call the *plastic* character of Slavic popular songs, we insert here the following Servian love-scene. We add that it was one of Goethe's favorites, worthy, in his opinion, to be compared with the Canticles.† There is a melody in the language of this song, not to be imitated in any translation. We confess that Frederic Schlegel's definition of architecture, "frozen music," occurs to us when we read it in the original.

"'Cross the field a breeze it bore the roses,
Bore them far into the tent of Jovo;
In the tent were Jovo and Maria,
Jovo writing and Maria broidering.
Used has Jovo all his ink and paper,
Used Maria all her burnished gold-thread.
Thus accosted Jovo then Maria;
'O sweet love, my dearest soul, Maria,
Tell me, is my soul then dear unto thee?
Or my hand findst thou it hard to rest on?'
Then with gentle voice replied Maria;
'O, in faith, my heart and soul, my Jovo,

* The piece to which we allude was in the possession of the Cardinal Albani, at Rome; but has since been carried to England. A fine copy in plaster is in the Museum at Paris; from which numerous drawings have been taken, now scattered all over Europe.

† Kunst und Alterthum, Vol. II. p. 49.

Dearer is to me thy soul, O dearest,
Than my brothers, all the four together.
Softer is thy hand to me to rest on,
Than four cushions, softest of the soft ones.' "

The high antiquity of Slavic popular poetry is manifest among other things, in the frequent mythological features which occur. In the ballads of the Teutonic nations, we recollect very few instances of talking animals. As to those which talk in nursery tales, we are always sure to discover in them enchanted princes or princesses. In one Scotch ballad, "The Grey Goshawk," a horse speaks; and, in a few other instances, falcons and nightingales. In Spanish popular poetry we do not meet with a single similar example. In the songs of all the Slavic nations, conversing, thinking, sympathizing animals are very common. No one wonders at it. The giant Tugarin Dragonson's steed warns him of every danger. The great hero Marko's horse even weeps, when he feels that the death of his master approaches. Nay, life is breathed even into inanimate objects by the imagination of Slavic girls and youths. A Servian youth contracts a regular league of friendship and brotherhood with a bramble-bush, in order to induce it to catch his coy love's clothes, when she flees before his kisses. Even the stars and planets sympathize with human beings, and live in constant intercourse with them and their affairs. Stars become messengers; a proud maiden boasts to be more beautiful than the sun; the sun takes it ill, and is advised to burn her coal-black in revenge. The moon hides herself in the clouds when the great Tzar dies. One of the most interesting Servian tales, called "The Heritage," is the fruit of the moon and the morning star's gossipping with each other. It begins thus;

"To the morning star the moon spake chiding;
'Morning star, say where hast thou been wandering?
Where hast thou been wandering and where lingering,
Where hast thou three full white days been lingering?'

"To the moon the morning star has answered;
'I 've been wandering, I 've three days been lingering,
O'er the white walls of the fortress Belgrade,
Gazing there on strange events and wonders.' "

The events which the star had witnessed, it now proceeds to relate to the moon; and these make the subject of this beautiful tale.

After having touched upon these general features, did our limits permit, we should speak more at large of those mythological beings of a more distinct character, which belong to the individual Slavic races ; for example, the Vila of the Servians, the Russalki of the Malo-Russians, and the like ; at least so far as this belief is interwoven in their poetry, the only respect in which it concerns us here. But we must confine ourselves to a few brief remarks.

The strong and deeply-rooted superstitions of the Slavic nations, are partly manifest in their songs and tales ; they are full of foreboding dreams, and good or bad omens ; witchcraft of various kinds is practised ; and a certain Oriental fatalism seems to direct will and destiny. The connexion with the other world appears nevertheless much looser, than is the case with the Teutonic nations. There is no trace of spirits in Russian ballads ; although spectres appear occasionally in Russian nursery tales. In Servian, Bohemian, and Slovakian songs, it occurs frequently that the voices of the dead sound from their graves ; and thus a kind of soothing intercourse is kept up between the living and the departed. The superstition of a certain species of blood-sucking spectres, known to the novel-reading world under the name of *vampyres*, a superstition retained chiefly in Dalmatia, belongs also here. In modern Greek, such a spectre is called *Brukolacas*, in Servian *Wukodlak*. We do not however recollect the appearance of a vampyre in any genuine production of modern Greek or Servian poetry. It seems as if the sound sense of the common people had taught them, that this superstition is too shocking, too disgusting, to be admitted into poetry ; while the oversated palates of the fashionable reading-world crave the strongest and most stimulating food, and can only be satisfied by the most powerful excitement.

In the whole series of Slavic ballads and songs, which lie before our eyes, we meet with only one instance of the return of a deceased person to this world, in the like gloomy and mysterious way, in which the Christian nations of the North and West are wont to represent such an event. This is in the beautiful Servian tale, "Jelitza* and her Brothers." As it is too long to be inserted here entire, we must be satisfied with a sketch of it. Jelitza, the beloved sister of nine brothers, is married to a Ban on the other side of the sea.

* Pronounced *Yelitza*.

She departs reluctantly, and is consoled only by the promise of her brothers to visit her frequently. But "the plague of the Lord" destroys them all, and Jelitza, unvisited and apparently neglected by her brothers, pines away and sighs so bitterly from morning to evening, that the Lord in heaven takes pity on her. He summons two of his angels before him;

"Hasten down to earth, ye my two angels,
To the white grave, where Jovàn lies buried,
The lad Jovàn, Jelitza's youngest brother.
Into him, my angels, breathe your spirit,
Make for him a horse of his white grave-stone,
Knead a loaf from the black mould beneath him,
And the presents cut out of his grave-shroud.
Thus equip him for his promised visit!"

The angels do as they are bidden. Jelitza receives her brother with delight, and asks of him a thousand questions, to which he gives evasive answers. After three days are past, he must away; but she insists on accompanying him home. Nothing can deter her. When they come to the church-yard, the lad Jovàn's home, he leaves her under a pretext and goes back into his grave. She waits long, and at last follows him. When she sees the nine fresh graves, a painful presentiment seizes her. She hurries to the house of her mother. When she knocks at the door, the aged mother, half distracted, thinks it is "the plague of the Lord," which, after having carried off her nine sons, comes for her. The mother and daughter die in each other's arms.*

This simple and affecting tale affords, then, the only instance, in Slavic popular poetry, of a regular apparition; but even here that apparition has, as our readers have seen, a character very different from that of a Scotch or German ghost. The same ballad exists also in modern Greek; although in a shape perhaps not equal in power and beauty to the Servian. †

* The whole of this tale is translated in Bowring's little volume of "Servian Popular Poetry."

† The Greek ballad is entitled "The Journey by Night," and begins thus;

Μάννα, μὲ τοὺς ἐννεά σου νιοὺς, καὶ μὲ τὴν μιά σου κόρη.

'O mother, thou, with thy nine sons, and with thine only daughter.'

A Russian ballad also begins very similarly;

"At Kiev, in that famous town,
Resided a rich widow;
Nine sons the widow of Kiev had,
The tenth was a daughter dear."—

The story however is essentially different.

But the very circumstance that its subject is so isolated among the Slavic nations, who are so ready to seize other poetical ideas and to mould them in various ways, leads us to believe, that the Servian poet must have heard somehow or other the Greek ballad, or a similar one ; and that the subject of the Servian ballad, although this is familiar to all classes, was originally a stranger in Servia. Nowhere indeed, in the whole range of Slavic popular poetry, do we meet with that mysterious gloom, with those enigmatical contradictions, which are peculiar to the world of spirits of the Teutonic north, and which we think find their best explanation in the antithesis between the principles of Christianity, and the ruins of paganism on which it was built.

It is true, that, wherever Christianity has been carried, similar contradictions must have necessarily taken place ; but the mind of the Slavic nations, so far as it is manifest in their poetry, seems never to have been perplexed by these contradictions. History shows, that the Slavic nations, with the exception of those tribes, who were excited to headstrong opposition by the cruelty and imprudence of their German converters, received Christianity with childlike submission ; in most cases principally because their superiors adopted it. Wladimir the Great, to whom the Gospel and the Koran were offered at the same time, was long undecided which to choose, and was at last induced to embrace the former, because "his Russians could not live without the pleasure of drinking."* The wooden idols, it is true, were solemnly destroyed ; but numerous fragments of their altars were suffered to remain undisturbed at the foot of the cross ; and the passion-flower grew up in the midst of the wild broom, the branches of which, tied together, the Tshuvash considers, even at the present day, as his tutelary spirit or Erich. † No struggle seems ever to have taken place, to reconcile these contradictory elements ; while the more philosophical spirit of the Teutonic nations and their genius for meditation and reflection,

* This remarkable fact is mentioned by all Russian historians, on the good authority of the ancient annalist Nestor.

† "The Tshuvashes have a Penate, which they call Erich. This Erich is nothing but a bundle of broom, *cytisus*, tied together in the middle with the inner bark of the linden. It consists of fifteen branches of equal size,

could not be so easily satisfied. The character of the world of spirits is the reflex of this struggle. The foggy veil which covers their forms, the mysterious riddles in which their existence is wrapped, the anxious pensiveness which forms a part of their character, all are the results of these fruitless and mostly unconscious endeavours to amalgamate opposing elements. We cannot approach the region of their mysterious existence without an awful shuddering; while the few fairies, which Slavic poetry and superstition present us, strike us by the distinctness and freshness of their forms, and give us the unmingled impression either of the ludicrous or of the wild and fantastic.

It remains to speak of the moral character of Slavic popular poetry. If, in respect to its decency, we may judge from the printed collections, we must be struck with the purity of manners among the Slavic nations, and the unpollutedness of their imagination. Hacquet, speaking of the Slovenzi or Vindes, the Slavic inhabitants of Carniola, states that the songs with which they accompany their dances are often indecent. * But there is little dependence to be placed on judgments of this description. Sometimes expressions and ideas are rashly called indecent, which only differ from the conventional forms of decency without really violating its laws. Hacquet moreover only half understood those songs of the Slovenzi. We will at least not condemn them without having seen them. Among the Russian songs, there are some of a certain wanton and equivocal character, displaying with perfect *naïveté* a scarcely half-veiled sensuality. The boldness, with which these songs are sung in chorus by young peasant women, has often excited the astonishment of foreigners. The number of ballads of this description is, however, as far as we are informed, not considerable; and the character of Russian love-ballads in general is pure and chaste. As for the Servians, they

about four feet long; above is a piece of tin attached to it. Each house has such an Erich, which usually stands in a corner of the entry. Nobody ventures to touch it. When it becomes dry, a new Erich is tied together, and the old one placed in running water with great reverence." See *Stimmen des Russ. Volks*, von P. v. Goetze, Stuttg. 1828, page 17. — The Tshuvashes, however, are not a Slavic, but a Finnish race, living under the Russian dominion.

* Dobrovsky's Slavin, 1834, page 113.

have in fact a great multitude of songs of a very marked levity and frivolity ; and Goethe, when these first appeared in the German version of Gerhardt, could not help finding it remarkable, that two nations, one half-barbarous, the other the most practised of all, (*die durchgeübteste*, meaning the French) "should meet together on the step of frivolous lyric poetry."* But these Servian songs are pure in comparison with many Grub-Street ballads and German *Zotenlieder*. The spirit of roguery and joviality, which prevails in them all, proves that they are more the overflowings of wild and unrestrained youth, than the fruits of dissoluteness of manners. They are often coarse, but never vulgar ; they are indelicate, but they are not impudent. At any rate, we never meet in them that confounding of virtuous and vicious feelings, which has so often struck us painfully even in the best Scotch and German ballads. We refer the reader here to our previous remarks on the measure of right and wrong to be applied in our judgment of nations, foreign to us in habits and pursuits. The heroes of the Servian epics are always represented as virtuous, often to harshness. Marko Kralyewitch is always ready to punish young women for any trespass against female modesty, by severing their heads from their shoulders ; and even to his own bride, when he thinks her too obliging towards himself, he applies the most ignominious names, and threatens her with the sword.

Love and heroism, the principal subjects of all poetry, are also the most popular among the Slavi. But one of the peculiarities of their poetry is, that these two subjects are kept apart more than among other nations. While in the exploits of the Spanish heroes, which the popular Romances celebrate, love is so interwoven with heroism, and heroism with love, that we are not able to separate this two-fold exaltation of a generous mind, love is almost excluded from the heroic poems of the Slavi ; or at least admitted only about in the same degree as in the epics of the ancients. It is seldom, if ever, the motive of the hero's actions. We need then add nothing more, to describe the character of Slavic heroism. It is never animated by romantic *love ;* although sometimes, in the more modern epics of the Servians, by romantic *honor*.

* Werke, Ausgabe letzter Hand, Vol. XLVI. p. 332.

In one of the modern Servian tales, perhaps about a century old, which describes a duel between a Dalmatian Servian and a Turk, a scene of the most perfect chivalry occurs. The young Dalmatian captain, Vuk Jerinitch, having just reached manhood, inquires of the older captains, which of the Turks had most injured their country during the last invasion, while he was a child. The old captains name to him Zukan, the Turkish standard-bearer. Vuk consequently challenges him, proposing at the same time, in true Oriental character, that, himself having a beautiful sister and the Turk a wife of equal beauty, both shall belong to the victor. Zukan of course accepts the challenge. Their meeting is in the best chivalric style; they demand of each other no pledge or oath of faith, but meet in Vuk's tent with perfect confidence; they embrace and kiss each other, and make friendly inquiries after each other's health. The first hour of their meeting flies away in conviviality, and in admiration of the ladies. At last the desire to gain the Christian girl induces the Turk to interrupt their drinking. But, before they begin the fight, "they kiss each other on the cheeks, and forgive each other mutually their blood and death." This scene indeed has a decidedly Oriental costume; but the feelings, from which it results, are produced by as much of romantic exaltation as any Spanish romance could exhibit.

Goetze, in the introduction to his German translation of Russian popular ballads, observes; "In the Russian love songs we meet with more *softness* of feeling then romantic delicacy." We do not perceive any marked difference in that respect between the character of Russian and of other Slavic erotic songs; and apply therefore his remark to the whole race. *Romantic* delicacy we must not, in fact, expect to find; but often all the natural delicacy of warm, tender, devoted love; all the freshness of youthful, unsophisticated feelings; all the burning passion of Spanish love, with the same strong tincture of sensuality; though seldom, very seldom, that depth, that infiniteness of the same feeling, so affectingly expressed in more than one popular ballad of the Scandinavians, Germans, and British, — that love which reaches far beyond the grave, and chains souls to each other even in different worlds. Russian lovers, who are compelled by circumstances to leave their mistresses, give frequently the following or similar advice;

"Weep not, weep not, O sweet maid!
Choose, O choose another love!

Is he better, thou 'lt forget me ;
Is he worse, thou 'lt think of me,
Think of me, sweet soul, and weep ! "

Love, among the Slavi, more than among any other Christian race, seems to be a *dream of youth.* Among unmarried persons of both sexes, free and easy intercourse is kept up. But nothing can favor less a free and lasting affection, than the national mode of contracting marriages. Among those Slavic nations, who have lived long in connexion with the Teutonic races, the national manners have of course partly changed in this respect, as in others ; especially among the higher classes. But among the Servians, the old Asiatic custom, according to which a marriage is agreed on by the parents of the parties, often without these knowing each other, is kept up in its fullest extent ; and, even among all Slavic nations, strong traces of this custom are still left. Affianced Slavic girls often do not see their intended husbands before the wedding-day. Thus a girl, even in attaching herself to a youth, must early familiarize herself with the thought, that the time may come when she will have to take back her heart at her parent's bidding. Illegitimate love is rare ; and is considered as the highest crime. Of the Russian popular songs, no small portion describe lovers taking leave of each other, because the youth or the maid must marry another ; in another considerable portion, young married women are represented lamenting their miserable fate. The following popular ballad will afford the reader a characteristic specimen of the whole tenderness of such a Russian parting scene.

"THE FAREWELL.

" Brightly shining sank the waning moon,
And the sun all beautiful arose ;
Not a falcon floated through the air,
Strayed a youth along the river's brim.
Slowly strayed he on and dreamingly,
Sighing looked unto the garden green,
Heart all filled with sorrow mused he so :
' All the little birds are now awake,
All, embracing with their little wings,
Greeting, all have sung their morning songs.
But, alas ! that sweetest doveling mine,

She who was my youth's first dawning love,
In her chamber slumbers fast and deep.
Ah! not even her friend is in her dreams,
Ah! no thought of me bedims her soul,
While my heart is torn with wildest grief,
That she comes to meet me here no more.'

" Stepped the maiden from her chamber then;
Wet, O! wet with tears her lovely face,
All with sadness dimmed her eyes so clear,
Feebly drooping hung her snowy arms.
'T was no arrow that had pierced her heart,
'T was no adder that had stung her so;
Weeping, thus the lovely maid began:
' Fare thee well, beloved, fare thee well,
Dearest soul, thy father's dearest son!
I have been betrothed since yesterday;
Come, to-morrow, troops of wedding-guests;
To the altar, I, perforce, must go!
I shall be another's then; and yet
Thine, thine only, thine alone till death.' "

But the warm and tender hearts of the Slavic women, nevertheless, find means to satisfy that natural want of the female breast, to pour out on certain objects the whole blessing of love. *Family* connexions are among no other race regarded as so holy, the ties of relationship are nowhere so cherished, as among the Slavi. Maternal tenderness is the subject of very many songs; and is set by comparisons in the most shining light. In the Russian ballad above adduced,* we have seen how slightly the poet thinks of the love of the wife; her tears are dried up by the sun, like the morning dew; while the mother's tears gush out incessantly like the waters of the mountain stream. In a Servian ballad, a youth wounds his hand. The Vila, a malicious mountain-nymph, offers to cure him. But she exacts a high price, — from his mother, her right hand, from his sister, her hair, and from his wife her necklace of pearls. The mother willingly gives her right hand, and the sister her hair, but the wife refuses the necklace. The love of a mother is often described by the image of swallows, clinging to their own warm nest; or of tender doves,

* Page 91.

bereft of their young ones. The rights of a mother are respected with true filial piety, even by the barbarian hero Marko, who never fails to pay his aged mother filial respect.

More remarkable, however, in Slavic popular poetry, is the peculiar relation of the sister to the brother. This remark holds especially good of Servia. Sisters cling to their brothers with a peculiar warmth of feeling. These are their natural protectors, their supporters. They swear by the head of their brothers. To have no brother is a misfortune, almost a disgrace. A mourning female is represented in all Slavic poetry under the constant image of a cuckoo, and the cuckoo, according to the Servian legend, was a sister who had lost her brother. Numerous little songs illustrate the great importance which a Servian girl attaches to the possession of a brother. Those who have none, think even of artificial means for procuring one. This is exhibited in a pretty little ballad, where two sisters, who have no brother, make one out of white and pink silk, wound around a stick of box-wood ; and, after putting in two brilliant black stones as eyes, two leeches as eyebrows, and two rows of pearls as teeth, put honey in his mouth, and entreat him "to eat and to speak." In another ballad, of a more serious description, "George's young wife" loses at once in battle her husband, her brideman (*paranymphos*, in Servia a female's legitimate friend through life), and her brother. The gradations of the poetess in her description of the widow's mourning are very characteristic, and give no high idea of conjugal attachments in Servia.

"For her husband, she has cut her hair;
For her brideman she has torn her face;
For her brother she has plucked her eyes out.
Hair she cut, her hair will grow again;
Face she tore, her face will heal again;
But the eyes, they 'll never heal again,
Nor the heart, which bleedeth for the brother."

After having thus attempted to point out to the reader what we consider as the *general* characteristic features of Slavic popular poetry, we proceed to add a few remarks on the *distinguishing* traits of the different nations of the Slavic race individually, so far as our limits permit.

The Russians have very few ballads of high antiquity; and, even in this small number, hardly any have reference to

the heroic prose tales, which make the delight of the Russian nurseries. By far the largest portion of Russian popular songs is of the erotic kind. According to the best Russian authorities, even their oldest ballads, to judge from the language, cannot be traced further than to the last quarter of the sixteenth century; and the number even of these is very small. Most of those now current among the people are derived from the beginning or the middle of the last century. According to Goetze, the reign of Peter the First was very favorable to popular poetry. If we may draw a conclusion from the frequency with which modern historical events have given birth to popular ballads, one must suppose that many ancient ones are lost. The victories of Peter the First are celebrated in many popular ballads, some of which are of no inconsiderable merit. The French invasion, also, of 1812, which aroused the Russian nation so powerfully, gave rise to not a few patriotic songs, of many of which the authors were peasants and common soldiers.

There are, however, various indications, which seem to justify the belief, that several of the Russian ballads still current among the people are, in fact, more ancient than they appear, or perhaps even than they actually are in their present shape. We have not room here to dwell on this subject. We remark only, that from one circumstance alone we may draw the safe conclusion, that the Russians have ever been a *singing* race. We allude to their custom of attaching verses full of allusions and sacred meaning to every festival, nay, to every extraordinary event of human life, and thus of fettering the flying hours with the garland chains of poetry and song. They have to this very day their wedding songs, Pentecost and Christmas carols, and various other songs, named after the different occasions on which they are chanted, or the game which they accompany. Although these songs, also, have been modernized in language and form, they seem always to have been regarded with a kind of pious reverence, and appear to have been altered as little as possible. Most of their allusions are, for that reason, unintelligible at the present day. That their ground-work is derived from the age of paganism, is evident from the frequent invocations of heathen deities, and from various allusions to heathen customs.

The Russian songs, like the Russian language, have a peculiar tenderness and are full of caressing epithets. These

are even frequently applied to inanimate objects. A Russian postilion, in a simple and charming song, calls the tavern, which he never can make up his mind to pass without stopping, "his dear little mother." The words *Matushka*, *Batushka*, *Starinka*, which we may venture to give in English by *motherling*, *fatherling*, *oldling*, are in Russian favorite terms of endearment. The postboy's song may stand here as eminently characteristic of the cheerful, child-like, caressing disposition of the nation. It is translated in the measure of the original, as nearly as it could be imitated in English.

"THE POSTILION.

"Tzarish Tavern, thou
Our good motherling,
So invitingly
Standest by the way!
Broad highway, that leads
Down to Petersburg;
Fellows young as I,
As they drive along,
When they pass thee by,
Always will turn in.

"Ah, thou bright sun-light,
Red and bright sun-light,
O'er the mountain high,
O'er the forest oaks,
Warm the youngster's heart,
Warm, O warm me, sun,
And not me alone,
But my maiden, too.

"Ah, thou maiden dear,
Fairest, dearest maid,
Thou my dearest child,
Art so kind and good!
Black those brows of thine,
Black thy little eyes,
And thy lovely face
All so round and white;
Without painting, white,
Without painting, red!
To thy girdle rolls
Fair and braided hair;
And thy voice is soft,
Full of gentle talk."

Russian lovers are quite inexhaustible in fondling and caressing expressions. "My shining moon, my bright sun, my nourisher (*Kormiletz*), my light, my hope, my white swan," together with all those epithets common to all languages, as, *dove*, *soul*, *heart*, &c., are current terms in Russia. Especially favorable to this affectionate manner of address is the abundance of diminutives which the language possesses. Not only "little soul," "little heart," *Dushinka*, *Serdzinka*, &c., are favorite expressions of Russian lovers; but we find even *Yagodka*, "little berry," and *Lapushka*, "little paw," &c. Love is ingenious in inventing new diminutives for the beloved object.

This exquisite tenderness in the Russian love-songs is united with a deep, pensive feeling, which indeed pervades the whole Russian popular poetry. Were we to describe the character of this in one expression, we should call it *melancholy-musical*. Even the more frivolous and equivocal songs have a tincture of this pensiveness. While the Servian songs of this description are the ebullitions of merry and petulant youth, the Russian are frequently not without a spice of sentimentality. Girls are often represented painting the unhappy consequences of their weakness with a very suspicious mixture of penitence and pleasure; so that the hearer remains undecided, whether the former or the latter is predominant.

In perfect harmony with this melancholy is the Russian national music. The expressive sweetness of the Russian melodies, has long been the admiration of those foreign composers, to whom circumstances had made them known. The history of these melodies is just as uncertain as that of the verses; they seem always to have been united; no one knows where they came from. In respect to popular tunes and songs, the answer which the Ashantees gave to Mr. Bowditch has often occurred to us; "They were made when the country was made." The Russian tunes are richer and more varied than are popular airs in general. Of most of the songs only the first two verses are set to the melody; all the following being repeated in the same tune. But there are some which extend farther. Some of these airs include more than a whole octave in their notes; while the national melodies of most other nations move in general among a few notes. The following sweet little elegy we translate from a Russian Annual, the editor of which, Baron Delvig, took it down from the lips of a peasant girl.

"THE FAITHLESS LOVER.

"Nightingale, O nightingale,
Nightingale so full of song,
Tell me, tell me, where thou fliest,
Where to sing now in the night?
Will another maiden hear thee
Like to me, poor me, all night
Sleepless, restless, comfortless,
Ever full of tears her eyes?
Fly, O fly, dear nightingale,
Over hundred countries fly,
Over the blue sea so far;
Spy the distant countries through,
Town and village, hill and dell,
Whether thou find'st any one,
Who so sad is, as I am!

"O, I bore a necklace once,
All of pearls like morning dew;
And I bore a finger-ring,
With a precious stone thereon;
And I bore deep in my heart
Love, a love so warm and true.
When the sad, sad autumn came,
Were the pearls no longer clear;
And in winter burst my ring,
On my finger, of itself! *
Ah! and when the spring came on,
Had forgotten me my love."

There is one trait in the Russian character, which we recognise distinctly in their poetry, namely, their peculiar and almost Oriental veneration for their sovereign, and a blind submission to his will. There is indeed somewhat of a religious mixture in this feeling; for the Tzar is not only the sovereign lord of the country and master of their lives, but he is also the head of the orthodox church. The *orthodox* Tzar is one of his standing epithets. The following ballad, which we consider as one of the most perfect among Russian popular narrative ballads, exhibits very affectingly the complete resignation with which the Russian meets death, when decreed by his Tzar. In its other features, also, it is throughout natural. Its historical foundation is unknown.

* Both these are bad omens for a Russian girl.

"THE BOYAR'S EXECUTION.

"'Thou, my head, alas! my head,
Long hast served me, and well, my head;
Full three and thirty summers long;
Ever astride of my gallant steed,
Never my foot from its stirrup drawn.
But alas! thou hast gained, my head,
Nothing of joy or other good;
Nothing of honors or even thanks.'

"Yonder along the Butcher's street,
Out to the fields through the Butcher's gate,*
They are leading a prince and peer.

"Priests and deacons are walking before,
In their hands a great book open;
Then there follows a soldier troop,
With their drawn sabres flashing bright.
At his right, the headsman goes,
Holds in his hand the keen-edged sword;
At his left, goes his sister dear,
And she weeps as the torrent pours,
Loud she sobs as the fountains gush.

"Comforting speaks her brother to her:
'Weep not, weep not, my sister dear!
Weep not away thy eyes so clear,
Dim not, O dim not thy face so fair,
Make not heavy thy joyous heart!
Say, for what is it thou weepest so?
Is 't for my goods, my inheritance?
Is 't for my lands, so rich and wide?
Is 't for my silver, or is 't for my gold?
Or dost thou weep for my life alone?'

"'Ah, thou, my light, my brother dear,
Not for thy goods or inheritance,
Not for thy lands, so rich and wide,
Is 't that my eyes are weeping so;
Not for thy silver and not for thy gold,
'T is for thy life, I am weeping so.'

"'Ah, thou, my light, my sister sweet!
Thou mayest weep, but it won't avail;

* Names of the street and gate in Moscow, through which formerly criminals were led to execution.

Thou mayest beg, but 't is all in vain ;
Pray to the Tzar, but he will not yield.
Merciful truly was God to me,
Truly gracious to me the Tzar,
So he commanded my traitor head
Off should be hewn from my shoulders strong.'

" Now the scaffold the prince ascends,
Calmly mounts to the place of death ;
Prays to his Great Redeemer there,
Humbly salutes the crowd around ;
' Farewell world, and thou people of God ;
Pray for my sins that burden me sore ! '

" Scarce had the people ventured then
On him to look, when his traitor head
Off was hewn from his shoulders strong." *

Different dialects are spoken and different ballads are sung by the population of LITTLE or MALO RUSSIA, and those western Polish-Russian Provinces called WHITE RUSSIA. The language of the former extends itself, with slightly varying provincial deviations, to the Russniaks in Galicia and Hungary, who sing also the same songs. These songs have likewise become familiar to the Polish population of the same region. The White-Russian dialect is strongly tinctured with Polish ; but not so much so but that it would be understood without difficulty both by the Malo-Russian and by the Russian proper.

The elegiac character common to all the Russian songs, is still more predominant in the popular lays of the Malo and White Russians ; the historical foundation of the Russian ballads is wanting, and the musical element is exclusively prevalent. Nay, the pensiveness of the southern songs becomes in the more northern ditties almost a melancholy gloom. We give here one of the few narrative ballads current among the Malo-Russians. It is interesting on account of the peculiar popular superstition it exhibits. The Leshes are a kind of Satyrs ; covered like them with hair, and of a peculiarly malicious nature. They steal children and women ;

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* *Buinaya golowushka*, that is, the *fierce*, *rebellious*, *impetuous head*. and *mogutshiya pletsha*, or *strong shoulders*, are standing expressions in Russia, in reference to a young hero ; the former especially when there is allusion to some traitorous action.

and their approach, operating to benumb the senses, is always fatal. In the present instance, however, we may conjecture that "the brandy, the wine, and the mead," had some preparatory influence.

"SIR SAVA AND THE LESHES.

"With the Lord at Nemirov
Sir Sava dined so gladly;
Nor thought he that his life
Would end so soon and sadly.

"Sir Sava he rode home
To his own court with speed;
And plenty of good oats
He bids to give his steed.

"Sir Sava behind his table
To write with care begun;
His young wife she is rocking
In the cradle her infant son.

"'Holla! my lad, brisk butler,
Bring now the brandy to me;
My well-beloved lady,
This glass I drink to thee.

"'Holla, my lad, brisk butler,
Now bring me the clear wine;
This glass and this, I drink it
To this dear son of mine.

"'Holla, my lad, brisk butler,
Now bring me the mead so fast;
My head aches sore; I fear
I 've rode and drunk my last!'

"Who knocks, who storms so fiercely?
Sir Sava looks up to know;
The Leshes stand before him,
And quick accost him so;

"'We bow to thee, Sir Sava,
How far'st thou, tell us now!
To thy guests from the Ukraina,
What welcome biddest thou?'

"'What could I bid you, brethren,
To-day in welcome's stead?
Well know I, ye are come
To take my poor sick head.'

"'And tell us first, Sir Sava,
Where are thy daughters fair?'
'They are stolen by the Leshes,
And wash their linen there.'

"'Now to the fight be ready!
Sir Sava meet thy lot!
Thy head is lost! one moment,
Death meets thee on the spot.'

"The sabre whizzes through the air
Like wild bees in the wood;
The young wife of Sir Sava
By him a widow stood."

The following little elegy in the White-Russian dialect, we have always considered as one of the gems of poetry. It is a sigh of deep, mourning, everlasting love.

"THE DEAD LOVE.

"White art thou, my maiden,
Can'st not whiter be!
Warm my love is, maiden,
Cannot warmer be!

"But when dead my maiden,
White was she still more;
And, poor lad, I love her,
Warmer than before."

Of far greater importance, in respect to our subject, are the SERVIANS; although we may suppose, that the majority of our readers know little more about this nation, than what they have occasionally learned from a newspaper paragraph. We regret the more, that our limits do not permit us to speak of their present situation and their past history; and it is our sincere desire, that the few words for which we here have room, devoted exclusively to their poetical character, may excite the reader's curiosity sufficiently to prompt him to seek elsewhere for further information.

With nations as with individuals, poetry is to the greater part at most a holyday pleasure, which has little to do with the reality of every-day employments. The poetry of the Servians, however, is most intimately interwoven in their daily life. It is the picture of their thoughts, feelings, actions, and sufferings; it is the mental reproduction of the respective conditions of

the mass of individuals, who compose the nation. The hall where the women sit spinning around the fireside ; the mountains on which the boys pasture their flocks ; the square where the village youth assemble to dance the *kolo ;* the plains where the harvest is reaped ; the forests through which the lonely traveller journeys, — all resound with song. Song accompanies all kinds of business, and frequently relates to it. The Servian *lives* his poetry.

The Servians are accustomed to divide their songs into two great portions. Short compositions in various measures, either lyric or epic, and sung without instrumental accompaniment, they call *shenske pjesne*, or *female songs*, because they are mostly made by females. The other portion, consisting of long epic tales in verses of five regular trochaic feet, and chanted to the *Guslé*, a simple instrument with one chord, they call *Yunatchke pjesne*, that is, *heroic* or *young men's songs*. The first are, in a very high degree, of a domestic character. They accompany us through all the different relations of domestic life ; as well through its daily occupations, as through the holidays and festivals which interrupt its ordinary course. Much has been said and more could be said in praise of these harmonious effusions of a tender, fresh, and unsophisticated feeling ; but, as we have already dwelt at large upon their general character, we must be satisfied here with adding only that which distinguishes Servian lays from other Slavic songs.

And this distinction we find principally in the *cheerfulness*, which is the fundamental element of Servian poetry, — a serenity clear and transparent like the bright blue of a southern sky. The allusions to the misfortunes of married life alone, gather sometimes in heavy clouds on this beautiful sky. The fear of being chained to an *old* man, or of a grim mother-in-law, or the quarrelling of the sisters-in-law, or the increasing cares of the household, — for, in the true patriarchal style, married sons remain in the house of the parents, and all make together only one family, — all these circumstances disturb sometimes the inexhaustible serenity of the Servian women, and call forth gentle lamentations, or perhaps still oftener horrible imprecations, from their humble breasts. Indeed the songs not made for particular occasions also bear strongly and distinctly the stamp of domestic life, and are full of allusions to family relations. Love is also

here the grand and prevailing theme. To judge from these songs, Servian girls and youths keep up a frequent and tender intercourse with each other. The youth bears carefully in memory the hour when the girls go to fetch water ; and the frequent festivities, where the dance is not permitted to fail, give the best opportunity for mutual intercourse. Further to the south and between the mountains, the customs are more strict, and love-songs are less frequent.

The reader has already seen a beautiful specimen of Servian song above. We subjoin a few short ballads more, just as they happen to come to hand.

"RENDEZVOUS.

" Sweetheart, come, and let us kiss each other!
But, O tell me, where shall be our meeting ?
In thy garden, love, or in my garden?
Under thine or under mine own rose-trees?
Thou, sweet soul, become thyself a rose-bud ;
I then to a butterfly will change me ;
Fluttering I will drop upon the rose-bud ;
Folks will think I 'm hanging on a flower,
While a lovely maiden I am kissing!"

"ST. GEORGE'S DAY.

" To St. George's day the maiden prayed ;
' Com'st thou again, O dear St. George's day!
Find me not here, by my mother dear,
Or be it wed, or be it dead ! —
But rather than dead, I would be wed!' " *

"UNION IN DEATH.

" Two young lovers loved each other fondly,
And they washed them at the self-same water,
And they dried them with the self-same napkin.
One year passed, their love was known by no one ;
Two years passed, and all the world did know it,
And the father heard it and the mother;
And their love the mother would not suffer,
But she parted the two tender lovers.

" Through a star the youth sent to the maiden ;
' Die, O love, on Saturday at evening,

* Servian popular poetry has properly no rhymes; but wherever a rhyme occasionally occurs, it appears to be welcome ; so in this little piece, which is faithfully conformed to the original.

I, thy youth, will die on Sunday morning.'
And they did as they had told each other;
Died the maiden Saturday at evening,
Died the youth on Sunday morning early;
Close together were the two then buried;
Through the earth their hands were clasped together;
In their hands were placed two young green apples.

"Little time had passed since they were buried;
O'er the youth sprang up a verdant pine-tree,
O'er the maid a bush with sweet red roses,
Round the pine-tree winds itself the rose-bush,
As the silk around a bunch of flowers."

Objects of still higher admiration the Servians afford us in their *heroic* poems. Indeed, what epic popular poetry is, how it is produced and propagated, what powers of invention it naturally exhibits, — powers which no art can command, — we may learn from this multitude of simple legends and complicated fables. The Servians stand, in this respect, quite isolated; there is no modern nation, that can be compared to them in epic productiveness; and a new light seems to be thrown over the grand compositions of the ancients. Thus, without presumption, we may pronounce the publication of these poems one of the most remarkable literary events of modern times.

The general character of the Servian tales is the *objective* and the *plastic*. The poet, in most cases, is in a remarkable degree *above* his subject. He paints his pictures, not in glowing colors, but in distinct, prominent features; no explanation is necessary to interpret what the reader thinks he sees with his own eyes. If we compare the Servian epics with those, which other Slavic nations formerly possessed, we find them greatly superior. In the Russian *Igor*, the whole narrative is exceedingly indistinct; you may read the whole of it five times, without being able clearly to follow out the composition. Not a single character stands in relief. The mode of representation has more of the lyric than of the epic. The ancient Bohemian poems have more distinctness and freshness. No obscurity disturbs us. But the passions of the poet break forth so often, as to give the whole narration something of the subjective character; while the Servian, even when representing his countrymen in combat with their mortal enemies and oppressors, displays about the same partiality for the former, as Homer for his Greeks.

The introductions, not only to the tales themselves, but even to new situations, are frequently allegorical. A distinct image is placed before the eyes at once. A tale, describing a famous sanguinary deed of revenge, commences thus ;

" What 's that cry of anguish from Banyani? *
Is 't the Vila ? is 't the hateful serpent?
Were 't the Vila, she were on the summit ;
Were 't the serpent, it were 'neath the mountain ;
Not the Vila is it, nor a serpent ;
Shrieked in anguish thus Perovich Batrich
In the hands of Osman, son of Tchorov." †

Ravens are the messengers of unhappy news. The battle of Mishar begins with the following verses ;

" Flying came a pair of coal-black ravens
Far away from the broad field of Mishar,
Far from Shabatz, from the high white fortress ;
Bloody were their beaks unto the eyelids,
Bloody were their talons to the ankles;
And they flew along the fertile Matshva,
Waded quickly through the billowy Drina,
Journeyed onward through the honored Bosnia,
Lighting down upon the hateful border,
'Midst within the accursed town of Vakup,
On the dwelling of the Captain Kulin ;
Lighting down and croaking as they lighted."

Three or four poems, of which courtships or weddings are the subjects, begin with a description of the beauty of the girl. Especially rich and complete is the following ;

" Never since the world had its beginning,
Never did a lovelier floweret blossom,
Than the floweret in our own days blooming ;
Haikuna, the lovely maiden flower.

" She was lovely, nothing e'er was lovelier !
She was tall and slender as the pine-tree ;
White her cheeks, but tinged with rosy blushes
As if morning's beam had shone upon them,
Till that beam had reached its high meridian.
And her eyes, they were two precious jewels,
And her eyebrows, leeches from the ocean ;

* A mountainous region in the vicinity of Montenegro.
† See the similar beginning of " Hassan Aga," above, page 91.

And her eyelids, they were wings of swallows;
And her flaxen braids were silken tassels;
And her sweet mouth was a sugar casket;
And her teeth were pearls arrayed in order;
White her bosom, like two snowy dovelets,
And her voice was like the dovelet's cooing;
And her smiles were like the glowing sunshine;
And the fame, the story of her beauty
Spread through Bosnia and through Herzgovina."

We should never end, if we continued thus to extract all the beautiful and striking passages from the Servian popular lyrics; although their chief merit by no means consists in beautiful passages, but, in most cases, in the composition of the whole, and in the distinct, graphic, and plastic mode of representation. In respect to their style, we add only a single remark. Slavic popular poetry in general has none of the vulgarisms, which, in many cases, deface the popular ballads of the Teutonic nations. Yet *dignity* of style cannot be expected in any popular production. Those whose feelings, from want of acquaintance with the poetry of nature, are apt to be hurt by certain undignified expressions interspersed unconsciously sometimes in the most beautiful descriptions, will not escape unpleasant impressions in reading the Servian songs. The pictures are always fresh, tangible, and striking; but, although not seldom the effects of the sublime, and of the deepest tragic pathos, are obtained by a perfect simplicity, nothing could be more foreign to them than the dignified stateliness and scrupulous refinement of the French stage.

The author of the *Narodne Serpske pjesme*, which is named first at the head of our article, is the true discoverer of this mine of beauty; of which, before his time, only slight glimpses had been allowed to a few of the initiated; nay, the very existence of which was, some ten or twelve years since, unknown to the literary world. In this fourth volume he adds to the eighty or ninety epic tales already published, not less than forty-four others, ancient and modern, now for the first time written down. In the Preface, he gives very valuable information as to the origin of these poems, their authors, and the usual mode of chanting and reciting them.

The nations of the Western Slavic stock, which chiefly require our consideration, are the Bohemians, the Slovaks, and the Poles. The last have hitherto neglected their

popular poetry. They have no ancient ballads of importance; but the many little songs, which are probably scattered among the peasantry of Great Poland and traditionally propagated, have never yet been collected. The Russian-Polish population of Galicia and of Lithuania, — two distinct races, — sing a great deal, and in a language almost as nearly approaching the Polish as the Russian; but they belong to the Eastern stock, and their songs are comprised under those of the White and Malo Russians. Lest our readers should be discontented at missing a specimen of genuine Polish popular poetry, we subjoin the following little song, which exists also in Bohemian.

"In a green grove
Sat a loving pair;
Fell a bough from above,
Struck them dead there.

"Happy for them
That both died together;
So neither was left
To mourn for the other."

The Slovaks, the Slavic inhabitants of the northwestern districts of Hungary, are considered as the direct descendants of the first Slavic settlers in Europe. Although for nearly a thousand years past they have formed a component part of the Hungarian nation, they have nevertheless preserved their language and many of their ancient customs. Their literature is not to be separated from that of the Bohemians. Their popular effusions are original, although likewise between them and the popular poetry of their Bohemian brethren, a close affinity cannot be denied. Both of these nations are still rich in pretty and artless songs, both pensive and cheerful; but the original Slavic type is very much effaced from both. The surrounding nations, and above all the Germans, have exercised a decided and lasting influence upon them. This is true especially of the Bohemians. Only in the Russian and Servian ballads can the genius of Slavic popular poetry be said still to live in its primitive purity. The reader may judge for himself, when we inform him, that the first two of the following ditties were sung in Bohemia, at least as early as the thirteenth century; while the third song, and the verses which follow, are still heard, at the present day, from peasant girls in Servia and Russia.

ANCIENT BOHEMIAN SONGS.

I.

"O my rose, my fair red rose,
Why art thou blown out so early?
Why, when blown out, frozen?
Why, when frozen, withered?
Withered, broken from the stem!

"Late at night I sat and sat,
Sat until the cocks did crow;
No one came, although I waited
Till the pine-torch all burned low.

"Then came slumber over me;
And I dreamed my golden ring
Sudden slipped from my right hand;
Down my precious diamond fell.
For the ring I looked in vain,
For my love I longed in vain!"

II.

"O, ye forests, dark green forests,
Miletinish forests!
Why in summer and in winter,
Are ye green and blooming?
O! I would not weep and cry,
Nor torment my heart.
But now tell me, good folks, tell me,
How should I not cry?
Ah! where is my dear good father?
Woe! he deep lies buried.
Where my mother? O good mother!
O'er her grows the grass!
Brothers have I not, nor sisters,
And my lad is gone!"

SERVIAN SONG.

"O my fountain, so fresh and cool,
O my rose, so rosy red!
Why art thou blown out so early?
None have I to pluck thee for!
If I plucked thee for my mother,
Ah! poor girl, I have no mother;
If I plucked thee for my sister,
Gone is my sister with her husband;
If I plucked thee for my brother,
To the war my brother 's gone.

If I plucked thee for my lover,
Gone is my love so far away!
Far away o'er three green mountains,
Far away o'er three cool fountains!"

PASSAGES OCCURRING IN SEVERAL RUSSIAN BALLADS.

I.

"Last evening I sat, a young maid,
I sat till deep in the night,
I sat and waited till daybreak,
Till all my pine-torch was burnt out.
While all my companions slept,
I sat and waited for thee, love!"

II.

"No good luck to me my dream forebodes;
For to me, to me, fair maid, it seemed,
On my right hand did my gold ring burst,
O'er the floor then rolled the precious stone."

We subjoin the following little songs, by way of comparison;— songs current at the present day among the Bohemians and Slovaks. And first the Bohemian.

"THE AFFLICTED GIRL.

"Little star with gloomy shine,
If thou couldst but cry!
If thou hadst a heart, my star,
Sparks would from thee fly,
Just as tears fall from mine eye.

"All the night with golden sparks
Thou wouldst for me cry!
Since my love intends to wed,
Only 'cause another maid
Richer is than I."

"LIBERAL PAY.

"Flowing waters meet each other,
And the winds, they blow and blow;
Sweetheart with her bright blue eyes
Stands and looks from her window.

"Do not stand so at the window,
Rather come before the door;
If thou giv'st me two sweet kisses,
I will give thee ten and more."

"THE LYING BIRD.

"What chatters there the little bird,
On the oak-tree above?
It sings, that every maid in love
Looks pale and wan from love.

"My little bird, thou speak'st not true,
A lie hast thou now said;
For see, I am a maid in love,
And am not pale, but red.

"Take care, my bird; because thou liest,
I now must punish thee;
I take this gun, I load this gun,
And shoot thee from the tree."

The influence of the neighbouring nations is less evident in the popular poetry of the Slovaks. The following song of a loving and longing girl is certainly quite original.

"MAN AND MOON.

"'Ah! if but this evening
Would come my lover sweet,
With the bright, bright sun
Then the moon would meet!'

"Alas! poor girl, this evening
Comes not thy lover sweet;
And with the bright, bright sun
The moon doth never meet."

ART. V. — *Reminiscences of an Intercourse with Mr. Niebuhr the Historian, during a Residence with him in Rome, in the Years* 1822 *and* 1823. By FRANCIS LIEBER, Professor of History and Political Economy in South Carolina College. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 1835. 12mo. pp. 192.

IN the last Number of this journal some account was given of the principal facts in Mr. Niebuhr's life, together with an extended analysis of his great work on Roman History. It may not be uninteresting to the readers of that article to have some notice of Mr. Lieber's Reminiscences of the opinions,

character, and appearance of so remarkable a man, laid before them.

The author of this little volume has been well known in the United States, during several years past, for the variety and extent of his attainments, and his indefatigable literary activity. His edition of the "Conversations-Lexicon," is a proud monument of learning, enterprise, and industry. His "Stranger in America" contains a great variety of information on the United States, communicated in a style of uncommon liveliness and piquancy; and his volume on education, submitted to the trustees of the legacy of the late Mr. Girard for a college in Philadelphia, shows a familiarity with the details of the science of instruction, which justifies the confidence that the governors of South Carolina College have lately reposed in him, in calling him to one of the most important chairs in that institution.

These "Reminiscences" are extremely interesting and instructive. They carry on their face marks of their entire fidelity; and being, as they are, records of the historian's opinions and feelings, expressed in the ease and familiarity of domestic life, they give us more insight into his real character, than could be obtained from many a volume of much higher pretensions. The value of such works does not consist wholly, or even mainly, in the importance of the opinions they record. A great man must be supposed to talk, in his moments of relaxation, about subjects which are not above the comprehension of small men; he probably says many things, which it would not severely task the intellect of a very ordinary personage to utter; and yet these subjects and these sayings, when connected with the daily life of an illustrious man, acquire an interest wholly aside from their intrinsic importance. When, during Dr. Johnson's Highland tour, the sooty blacksmith bounced out of bed for the accommodation of the sage aud his trusty squire, the event was by no means an extraordinary one; yet, when it came to be related afterwards, first in English, and secondly in *Johnsonese*, it became almost as renowned in literary history as any event in the life of the great lexicographer himself. Indeed it is unreasonable to insist upon a great man's always playing the great man's part. A king cannot always wear his robes of state; he must have his hours of amusement, when he may chat with his friends, or ride a hobby-horse with his children. And a great author must be allowed

to talk sometimes as freely, as if he had never got into type. His sentences cannot always be rounded with rhetorical elegance and precision; his thoughts cannot always be thoroughly reasoned and oracularly delivered; and it is precisely these exhibitions of his mind, in this unbended state, which are most attractive. We know, from his elaborate works, the grasp and power of his intellect; the variety and depth of his learning; the purity, elegance, and eloquence of his style. But the minute shades of his intellectual character; the tenderness of his domestic feelings; his whims, prejudices, eccentricities, which all take delight in knowing, we can only know through the medium of correspondence and reminiscences like these before us.

But yet the familiar conversation of a great man will display at times his superiority over other men. The conversational talents of the late Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Coleridge have acquired a well-merited and universal celebrity. Who has not heard of Dr. Johnson's eulogy on Burke, that no man could step under a shed with him of a rainy day, and not find out that he was the greatest man in England? The scholar's daily discourse will have a tincture of learning, the philosopher's conversation will take a speculative turn, and the poet will adorn his most careless talk with the graces of imagery and sentiment. Sometimes, indeed, the excitement of conversation between congenial spirits draws out flashes of wit, of poetry, of wisdom, and of eloquence, which surpass in beauty the graver and more sustained productions of the closet. If these could all be transferred glowing with the warmth of excited feeling, and fresh from the talker's lips, to the printed page, they would form a far more interesting chapter in the history of the human mind, than the cautiously weighed, coolly expressed convictions of private study. But as this can never be wholly done, and not often partially, we must be content with such scattered notices of eminent men as the memory of friends, and the letters of cotemporaries, can furnish. Even Boswell's admirable records of Dr. Johnson's conversation extend over a very small portion of that great man's life, and his work is incomparably the best, the most minute, and the liveliest book in that branch of literature.

But to return to our author. He had an excellent opportunity of becoming familiarly acquainted with the moral and intellectual character of the great historian. It appears from the

Introduction that Mr. Lieber, animated, in common with many of his young countrymen, by a lively enthusiasm in the cause of struggling Greece, had engaged in her service in 1821. Being disappointed in his hopes, and finding it impossible to remain, he was obliged to return in the following year. He accordingly took passage at Missolunghi, in a vessel bound to Ancona, having only one *scudo* and a half, after paying his passage. In this almost destitute condition, he was detained some time by quarantine regulations on the coast of Italy. Remembering that a friend of his had devoted himself to the fine arts, he immediately addressed a letter to him in Rome, which was attended to with the promptness and good feeling that are always found among fellow-students. Another difficulty was still to be surmounted; when he applied to the police-officer to sign his passport to Rome, he was informed that orders had been received that no passport of a person returning from Greece should be signed, except for a journey home. However, he got it signed for Orbitello, a town in Tuscany, in the neighbourhood of Rome. Having succeeded thus far, he, and a Philhellenic friend in pretty much the same condition with himself, hired a *vetturino*, and made the best of their way to the Eternal City, which they entered without license and without obstruction. Mr. Niebuhr was, at that time, the Prussian Minister at the Papal court; appointed by his liberal-minded monarch for the express purpose of giving him an opportunity to prosecute his historical researches with every advantage that a residence on the spot, and a high diplomatic station, would afford him. Mr. Lieber determined to apply at once to his learned countryman, and to disclose frankly his situation, justly thinking that the historian of Rome would not compel him to leave the city, until he had had time to study its antiquities as much as he wished. On his first call, he was unable to see the minister, but was treated with great kindness by the Secretary of Legation, and received, through his hands, the documents necessary to a residence in Rome, and funds to meet his immediate wants. The next day he renewed his call at the appointed hour, and received an invitation to dine with the Ambassador, the account of which, from its frankness and honesty, is at once amusing and touching.

"When I went the next morning at the appointed time, as I thought, Mr. Niebuhr met me on the stairs, being on the point

of going out. He received me with kindness and affability, returned with me to his room, made me relate my whole story, and appeared much pleased that I could give him some information respecting Greece, which seemed to be not void of interest to him. Our conversation lasted several hours, when he broke off, asking me to return to dinner. I hesitated in accepting the invitation, which he seemed unable to understand. He probably thought that a person in my situation ought to be glad to receive an invitation of this kind; and, in fact, any one might feel gratified in being asked to dine with him, especially in Rome. When I saw that my motive for declining so flattering an invitation was not understood, I said, throwing a glance at my dress, 'Really, Sir, I am not in a state to dine with an Excellency.' He stamped with his foot, and said with some animation, 'Are diplomatists always believed to be so cold-hearted! I am the same that I was in Berlin, when I delivered my lectures: your remark was wrong.'* No argument could be urged against such reasons.

"I recollect that dinner with delight. His conversation, abounding in rich and various knowledge and striking observations; his great kindness; the acquaintance I made with Mrs. Niebuhr; his lovely children, who were so beautiful, that when, at a later period, I used to walk with them, the women would exclaim, '*Ma guardate, guardate, che angeli!*' — a good dinner (which I had not enjoyed for a long time) in a high vaulted room, the ceiling of which was painted in the style of Italian palaces; a picture by the mild Francia close by; the sound of the murmuring fountain in the garden, and the refreshing beverages in coolers, which I had seen, but the day before, represented in some of the most masterly pictures of the Italian schools; in short, my consciousness of being at dinner with Niebuhr in his house in Rome, and all this in so bold relief to my late and not unfrequently disgusting sufferings, would have rendered the moment one of almost perfect enjoyment and happiness, had it not been for an annoyance, which, I have no doubt, will appear here a mere trifle. However, reality often widely differs from its description on paper. Objects of great effect for the moment become light as air, and others, shadows and vapors in reality, swell into matters of weighty consideration when subjected to the recording pen; — a truth, by the way, which applies to our daily life, as well as to transactions of powerful effect; — and it is, therefore, the sifting tact which constitutes one of the most necessary, yet difficult requisites for a sound historian.

"* *Das war Kleinlich*, were his words."

"My dress consisted as yet of nothing better than a pair of unblacked shoes, such as are not unfrequently worn in the Levant; a pair of socks of coarse Greek wool; the brownish pantaloons frequently worn by sea-captains in the Mediterranean; and a blue frock-coat, through which two balls had passed, a fate to which the blue cloth cap had likewise been exposed. The socks were exceedingly short, hardly covering my ancles, and so indeed were the pantaloons; so that, when I was in a sitting position, they refused me the charity of meeting, with an obstinacy which reminded me of the irreconcilable temper of the two brothers in Schiller's 'Bride of Messina.' There happened to dine with Mr. Neibuhr another lady besides Mrs. Niebuhr; and my embarrassment was not small when, towards the conclusion of the dinner, the children rose and played about the ground, and I saw my poor extremities exposed to all the frank remarks of quick-sighted childhood; fearing as I did, at the same time, the still more trying moments after dinner, when I should be obliged to take coffee near the ladies, unprotected by the kindly shelter of the table. Mr. Niebuhr observed, perhaps, that something embarrassed me, and he redoubled, if possible, his kindness.

"After dinner he proposed a walk, and asked the ladies to accompany us. I pitied them; but as a gentleman of their acquaintance had dropped in by this time, who gladly accepted the offer to walk with us, they were spared the mortification of taking my arm. Mr. Niebuhr, probably remembering what I had said of my own appearance in the morning, put his arm under mine, and thus walked with me for a long time. After our return, when I intended to take leave, he asked me whether I wished for any thing. I said I should like to borrow his 'History.' He had but one copy to which he had added notes, and which he did not wish, therefore, to lend out of his house; but he said he would get a copy for me. As to his other books, he gave me the key of his library to take whatever I liked. He laughed when I returned laden with books, and dismissed me in the kindest manner." — pp. 27–31.

A few days after this incident, Mr. Lieber was invited to become an inmate in Mr. Niebuhr's house, and to undertake the instruction of his son, in which situation he remained, until Mr. Niebuhr returned to Prussia. After Mr. Lieber's separation from the family of the historian, he kept up a friendly correspondence with him until the time of Mr. Niebuhr's lamented death, in 1831. Large extracts from Niebuhr's letters are given in the remaining portion of the introduction,

which show their author's character in a most favorable point of view. A judgment acute, discriminating, and cool, blended with feelings of the heart as pure and simple as those of childhood itself, is apparent on every page of them. The following is Mr. Lieber's description of the personal appearance and some of the peculiarities of his friend.

"Mr. Niebuhr was small in stature, and thin; his voice, of a very high pitch. He could not see well at a distance, and made sometimes strange mistakes. Spectacles were indispensable to him; and I had once to make a day's journey in order to fetch his Dolland's which had been forgotten. He lived very frugally; wine and water was his usual beverage; he valued good wine, but did not drink it often. He frequently shaved while walking up and down the room; and, when I was present, he would even talk during this dangerous operation. He disliked smoking very much but took snuff to such an excess, that he had finally to give it up. He did not write, as the ancient scholar, a whole book with one pen; but he used a pen a very long time before he mended it, turning it all round so as to use always its sharp point. Yet he wrote a neat and legible hand.

"His rare memory enabled him to study frequently without a pen; and I found him sometimes in a lying posture on a sofa, holding the work of an ancient writer over his head. These were not works which he read by way of relaxation; but, not unfrequently, those he studied with the keenest attention. His memory, indeed, was almost inconceivable to others. He remembered almost every thing he had read at any period of his life. He was about twenty years old when he studied at Edinburgh, and I was present when he conversed at Rome with an English gentleman upon some statistical statement which he had read in the English papers at the time of his residence in that country. The statement was important to the stranger, a member of Parliament, if I remember right; and Mr. Niebuhr desired me to take pen and paper, and forthwith dictated to me a considerable column of numbers, to the great surprise of the English visitor. What an immense power such a man would have in a deliberative assembly, merely on account of his unrelaxing memory! He did not undervalue the great importance of this faculty, which, though it be but an instrument, is the most useful and indispensable of all instruments in all pursuits, disregarded by those only who have none. Nor is a retentive memory without its moral value both for individuals and nations; and there was truth in the remark of Goethe's friend in Strasburg, that a man with a bad memory was necessarily exposed to the vice of ingratitude.

"Mr. Niebuhr and myself had conversed one day on the great power which a man with a tenacious memory often has over another not equally gifted, merely by an array of facts and dates, though the strength of the argument may be decidedly on the other side; and how necessary it therefore becomes to cultivate the memory. He said, 'Without a strong memory I never should have been able to write my History, for extracts and notes would not have been sufficient; they would again have formed an inaccessible mass, had I not possessed the index in my mind.'" — pp. 45–47.

The impression made upon the reader by the tone and spirit of this Introduction, is highly favorable to the personal characters of both the gentlemen who are concerned. The frank good nature, with which Mr. Niebuhr received the returning Philhellene, is honorable to his heart, and shows that brilliant success in literature, and the distinctions of high political station, had left untouched all the natural goodness of his character; and the directness and honesty, with which the tale is told by Mr. Lieber, manifest a grateful sense of the generous conduct of his friend, and are a pleasing tribute to the memory of departed worth.

The Reminiscences extend over a great variety of subjects. Living, as the historian did, in the central scene where the great events of Roman history had taken place, and surrounded with the mouldering memorials of departed greatness, his conversation would naturally take a hue from such interesting associations. We find, therefore, in these records of his conversation, Mr. Niebuhr's opinions on questions of ancient history, on the history of language and philology in general, on politics, ancient and modern, on topics of high literary interest, and on the distinguished personages with whom his studies or his political relations had brought him acquainted. We recognise, in all these opinions, a vigorous and enlarged intellect, enriched with vast and truly German erudition, and animated by a kindly and philosophical spirit. Though his studies principally lay among the ancients, yet he was fond of illustrating his peculiar views by modern analogies; and his knowledge of modern history, and of the literature contained in the modern languages of Europe, furnished him with abundant resources, which he used in the happiest manner. The criticisms scattered over this volume are full of good sense and impartiality. The opinions on other subjects are generally sound and weighty;

and some of them exhibit an extraordinary depth and comprehensiveness of mind. There are some, to be sure, whose only value consists in the fact that they were the opinions of Mr. Niebuhr ; but we think Mr. Lieber quite right in inserting them. There are others, too, which show only some peculiar notion or whim of the historian ; and these have their value, according to the view we stated at the outset. They all go to furnish us with a lively idea of Mr. Niebuhr as a man. The style in which they are written, is generally very correct, idiomatic English. It is probable that the remarks lose some of their point, by the inevitable necessity, under which a translator labors, of varying the expression, and of varying familiar expressions more than any others. But notwithstanding this difficulty, Mr. Lieber has stated strongly and clearly the sentiments of the historian, and in a manner to excite the interest of the reader to a high degree.

The following opinion of the King of the Netherlands has an historical importance when taken in connexion with late political events. It shows both the good sense of the King, and the sagacity of Mr. Niebuhr.

"I used to know the King of the Netherlands well, when he lived in great retirement in Berlin, after having been driven from Holland by the French. He took great interest in my History, and read and studied a good deal. He is a character of sterling worth: so is the Queen; she is a woman of the purest character, mild and charitable. They are a couple wishing as anxiously the good of their people, as any that ever sat upon a throne. I believe there are very few women, in whatever rank of life, to be compared in excellence to the Queen of the Netherlands. The King asked my views respecting the union of Holland and Belgium,* and the constitution. You know he was averse to taking Belgium. I declared most positively that this would never do: if Belgium must be under the same sceptre with Holland, they ought at least to remain separated like Norway and Sweden. There is, in fact, much more reason for separation with the Dutch and Belgians. They have nothing in

"* I think I am correct in this statement; quite sure I am, that he said he had communicated his views such as stated above to the King, which he hardly would have done had he not been asked so to do. But I think he said distinctly, that the sketch of the constitution had been shown him. I believe, moreover, that he said the King was of his opinion as to separate governments for Holland and Belgium, but that he was outvoted by his counsellors.—The above remark was made in the year 1822."

common; language, religion, interests, every thing is directly opposed. The Belgians are poor copies of the French. I cannot believe that the present arrangement will end well; I have very serious fears and misgivings. May God grant that my fears are unfounded, and my speculations will be put to nought!" — pp. 64, 65.

Many readers will agree with the opinion of Pope's Homer in the extract that follows. As translators, there is no comparison between Pope and Cowper, the latter of whom seems to have been unknown to Niebuhr. In fact, the English themselves have never done full justice to the merits of Cowper's version of the Iliad and the Odyssey. The melody of Pope's versification so captivates the ear, that Cowper, though immeasurably superior in all the important requisites of a translator, can scarcely gain a hearing.

"What wisdom there is in Homer! With a few omissions it is the very book for children. I know of no story, except Robinson Crusoe, which fascinates a child so much as Homer. It is all natural, simple, and capable of being understood by a child. And then, how well does he prepare for all the knowledge of antiquity, without which we cannot now get along! How many thousand things and sayings does the child understand at once by knowing that great poem! The whole Odyssey is the finest story for a child.

"Have you ever read Pope's Odyssey? [I answered in the negative.]

"Well, he replied, you must read some parts of it at least; it is a ridiculous thing, as bad as the French heroes of Greece in periwigs. There is not a breath of antiquity in Pope's translation. He might have changed as much as he liked, and called it a reproduction; but to strip it of its spirit of antiquity, was giving us a corpse instead of a living being. It is a small thing. How totally different is the manner in which the German Voss has handled the subject. He shows at once that he knows and feels the poem is antique, and he means to leave it so. Voss's translation might certainly be improved in various parts, but he has made Homer a German work, now read by every one; he has done a great thing. You do not imagine it, yet it is a fact, that Voss's translation of Homer has had a great influence upon your own education. I say it, well considering what I say, that the influence of the labors of Voss on the whole German nation will be so great that other nations will feel and acknowledge it." — pp. 67, 68.

Mr. Niebuhr's remarks on handwriting are applicable to other manuscripts, as well as letters.

"A bad handwriting ought never to be forgiven;* it is a shameful indolence; indeed, sending a badly written letter to a fellow creature is as impudent an act as I know of. Can there be any thing more unpleasant, than to open a letter which at once shows that it will require long deciphering? Besides, the effect of the letter is gone, if we must spell it. Strange, we carefully avoid troubling other people even with trifles, or to appear before them in a dress which shows negligence or carelessness, and yet nothing is thought of giving the disagreeable trouble of reading a badly written letter. In England, good breeding requires writing well and legibly; with us (the Germans) it seems as if the contrary principle was acknowledged.† Although many people may not have made a brilliant career by their fine handwriting, yet I know that not a few have spoiled theirs by a bad one. The most important petitions are frequently read with no favorable disposition, or entirely thrown aside, merely because they are written so badly." — pp. 74 – 76.

A few more extracts, taken almost at random, must conclude our notice of this book. We cannot, however, take leave of its entertaining and instructive pages, without thanking

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"* Mr. Niebuhr wrote a peculiarly legible and fair hand; an accomplishment of which not many German *savans* can boast."

"† Writing seems to me to be just like dressing; we ought to dress well and neat; but as we may dress too well, so may a pedantically fine hand show that the writer has thought more of the letters than the sense. It ought to be remembered, however, that it is far more difficult to write German characters well and legibly than Roman letters. Hence names in German manuscripts for printers are generally written with the latter. The English write best of all nations, using this alphabet; the Americans next. The French write in general badly, especially ladies; the Italians very poorly; and Spaniards hardly legibly, to the great confusion of their foreign commercial correspondents. It is curious to observe how the two last-named nations show by their handwriting that they have remained behind the general European civilization. They continue to use the contracted letters, abbreviations, and ornamental lines and flourishes, which were common with all Europeans a century ago. The art of writing has much improved during the latter centuries; compare manuscript letters of the present day with those we have of the time of the Reformation. Nor does the progress of this art show less the general tendency of the times, than so many other branches of human activity, domestic comfort, &c. While the ancient expensive art of writing most beautifully and tastefully on parchment has fallen into disuse, the common handwriting of every man, for daily practical use, has vastly improved; the one, expensive, and of an exclusive character, belonged to an aristocratic age; the other is characteristic of a time of popular tendency."

Mr. Lieber for this valuable and interesting contribution to our means of knowing, familiarly, one of the greatest and most philosophical scholars, that modern times have produced.

How just are the following remarks, suggested by the death of Canova.

"There is one good man less! Canova was an excellent man, liberal in a rare degree, kind, without envy or jealousy, faithful, pious, and of a reflecting mind withal. He felt a true attachment to Pius the Seventh, which was probably increased by the misfortunes of the Pope and his dignified demeanor in affliction. Canova would speak of him with a warmth which was truly edifying. I like his idea of making a picture for the church of the little village of his birth. Don't you believe that such a work will of itself give certain moral *élans* to the whole little Possagno? It will raise the *morale* of the village; it establishes a visible connexion between the people of that obscure place and a gifted and successful man, which is leaving a great legacy. So are public statues of great moral value; they excite, remind, teach. How very superficial are those who think they are but proofs of overwrought gratitude or flattery! To be sure they have been abused; what has not? Canova was ever ready to assist and guide young artists; and his idea of establishing prizes for the most successful among them was excellent." — p. 128.

There is much truth in the following reflections.

"There were times, Mr. Niebuhr said, when people would have considered it almost like a degradation of the ancients, had a philologer attemped to explain their history or language by corresponding relations or phenomena of our own. The classical literature was superior to any thing modern nations had at the time of the revival of the sciences; they therefore received every thing coming from the ancients with a reverence, which would not allow a doubt of any thing, and required no reconcilement of any contradictory statements in them. But you will observe, that, wherever a practical man, a statesman for instance, occupied himself with the classics, how differently he treated them from the schoolmaster. The latter treated the classics as if they were something entirely beyond the sphere of reality; and this, indeed, is still the case with many. On the other hand, there is such a thing as flippant, impertinent familiarity, and such has not been very rare with the modern French before the Revolution. Its only object is to divert, from the contrast produced by a sudden comparison between the

most remote objects and those of our daily and common life. This is merely to amuse, and can amuse the little-minded only. Sometimes, indeed, it may be witty; but that is a different thing." —pp. 137, 138.

Mr. Niebuhr's opinion on the pronunciation of Latin will be interesting to classical scholars. Many will probably dissent from his view of the comparative correctness of the Italian and Spanish modes of pronouncing it.

"[On my question, which of the different ways of pronouncing Latin he thought best, he said that he had adopted the Italian pronunciation. On my farther question, Why? he said;]

"I have a number of reasons; but in fact the counter question, Why should we not adopt the Italian pronunciation? would be a perfectly good answer. As to the pronunciation of the *c*, it is clear that the Romans did not pronounce it in the German way, *Tsitsero;* this is altogether an uncouth northern sound. To pronounce it like *Sisero*, (with hard *s*,) is equally wrong; no inscription or other trace induces us to believe that the Romans used *c* as equivalent to *s*. Besides, if we see that each nation pronounces Latin according to the pronunciation of the vernacular tongue, it is preposterous to maintain that one or the other is the correct pronunciation, except the pronunciation of the Italian itself. That the *g* was not pronounced hard as the German,* seems clear from the fact, that most nations pronounce it soft. On the whole, Latin reads much better in the Italian way; and I think many passages of the poets require this pronunciation to receive their full value. People ought to agree to adopt this pronunciation; for it is too ridiculous to find the same language pronounced differently in every country, and subjected to all the caprices of the various idioms. The Spaniards sometimes claim to be, by way of tradition, in possession of the true Roman pronunciation. It is equally preposterous, that they whose language is so much more mixed, and whose country was never more than a province, should have retained a better pronunciation than the people of the mother country! Italian is still, in a degree, a Latin dialect." —pp. 140, 141.

"* The German *g* is pronounced like the English in *give.*"

ART. VI. — *Hernani, ou l'Honneur Castillan. 2. Marion de Lorme. 3. Le Roi s'amuse. Drames.* Par VICTOR HUGO. Paris. 1835.

"THE public mind," says M. Victor Hugo, in his Preface to *Marion de Lorme*, "has never been in a better state, never more enlightened and more sober, than at the present moment." We think all but Frenchmen will agree with us, that this passage, written by any but a Frenchman, would naturally be accepted as ironical. M. Hugo is, however, in very profound earnest; and we can only regret that we differ from him so entirely. Our reasons for so doing are, simply, the moral and intellectual state of France, as exhibited in the proceedings and condition of governors and governed alike, the want of proper principles of public action on the part of those in power, the total absence of every thing like consistency on the part of the people; and further, (we regret to draw so different a conclusion, from the very grounds, whence, probably, M. Hugo derived his flattering opinion of the "public mind,") the depraved condition of literature in France, and the extreme popularity which works such as those of M. Hugo have obtained there. This gentleman appears to us to embody most entirely, in his intellectual being, the vices and virtues by which his country is at this moment possessed. *Possessed* is the word; for the very good which struggles and strives, and will ultimately prevail, through the tumultuous tossings of opinions, forms, governments, and creeds in that land, is, in its vehement and inarticulate urgings, more like a possessing, than a guiding, or governing spirit. M. Hugo's works are already numerous, and additions to them are daily announced as in the press; they are full, as we said before, of the virtues and vices of his time and place, yet in some measure he is before his time, and above his place. His popularity and his influence are alike great with his countrymen; and his is decidedly the mind, which exercises the most power at this moment over the French literary world.

His writings, which are all conceived in a truly republican spirit, are calculated to increase the breach between old forms and new ideas; and such of them as are apparently the most purely imaginative, contain sentiments and expressions of ultra-liberalism on all political subjects, which seldom fail

of being aptly applied to existing circumstances. This has rendered him an object of distrust and apprehension to the government, and more than once subjected the exhibition of his plays to vexatious and arbitrary suspension.

The French writers of the last years of the revolution derived the more spiritual tone of their works from the influence which the intellectual resurrection of Germany was beginning to exercise over the literature of Europe. The French authors of the last twenty years, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Delavigne, and their imitators, have drawn some portion of their characteristic qualities from the English cotemporary writers, Moore and Byron, whose popularity in France has had no small share in the formation and growth of the *École Romantique*. M. Hugo persuades himself, that he is inspired with some measure of knowledge and feeling of Shakspeare. This were indeed at once a merit and an infinite reward; and for M. Hugo's sake we heartily wish it may be so; but, without wishing to appear skeptical as to the possibility of a Frenchman's understanding Shakspeare, we will only say, that should M. Hugo proceed in his study of that greatest mind, we hope he will hereafter arrive at some perception of the divine and undeviating morality which pervades those wonderful works. Not the cramped and sickly morality of words, or forms, or schools; but the same unerring, unobscured morality, which lies upon the wide surface of the universe; which is wrought out in every single thread of human existence, which is for ever and for ever multiplying its evidence for our teaching, through the hourly lessons of life; which, in the inner and spiritual world, bears witness to the truth and justice of God, our Maker, as, in the outer and visible creation, an all-pervading beauty reveals his mercy and his might.

At present, M. Hugo is far indeed from any such knowledge; and the first sin with which we have to charge him, is the moral darkness in which his mental conceptions are enveloped. There is indeed an occasional struggling after the truth, a groping as it were in search of higher things, devoted love, chivalrous honor, a noble indignation at all oppressions; these plead eloquently, in his impassioned language, his claim to our respect and sympathy. But these are but momentary visitations of his better angel; his most frequent conceptions are dark, deformed, and painfully destitute of a sane spirit.

M. Hugo's ideas of right and wrong have a decided *twist;* and he forcibly reminds us of the poor gentleman, who on his death-bed sending for a clergyman, the latter, after spending infinite time and pains in discoursing to him, abruptly took his leave, assuring the dying man that his moral perceptions were in such a state of inextricable confusion, that he did not know "where to begin with him." Had M. Hugo been a professor of Byronism, all this would have surprised us less; but, in a man who reads (and understands?) Shakspeare, this blunted and imperfect sense of truth is, to say the least, curious.

Our next quarrel with M. Hugo is upon the score of his extravagance; and here we must complain, not only of his conceptions, but of their execution. He has quite power enough not to be violent; and, by the by, we do wish somebody would convince the times, that power and violence are not one and the same thing. They are no more so, than the words are synonymous; nobody confounds the two words, but there is a fatal and very general confounding of the two things. "A powerful book" has become a regular hack encomium, bestowed by every friendly reviewer, upon every other of the modern night-mares with which literature has been adorned; till of late years it has become like an endless temptation of St. Anthony, or Dance of Death; each succeeding publication surpassing its predecessor in grotesque absurdity and hideous extravagance. Now, a really powerful book is really an uncommon thing; and as for the majority of those which are so called by courtesy, we should say, that, far from indicating strength, they betrayed evident tokens of such mental weakness, as to render it very doubtful whether or not the authors were in possession of their senses at the time of composing them. Such delineations of human character are brought before us daily, by these *powerful* writers, as remind us of nothing in the world, but the distorted and fantastical imitations of human forms, which might be found on the walls of a madman's cell. These good authors all seem to us to be in a phrensy; and we should as soon think of admiring the vigor of their intellectual *lunes*, as we should commend, as an exhibition of wholesome strength, the frantic exertions of some feverish wretch, who required three men to hold him.

Now M. Hugo has very strong *fits* occasionally. He

betrays a want of intellectual self-possession, an absence of sobriety, a lack of power to govern his own strength, which is by no means like a great master. He appears to excite himself while exciting his reader, and the consequence is, that his work is like a real piece of madness, compared with a fine representation of it. He gets astride upon his fancy, like his own Quasimodo on the great bell of Notre Dame, and swings away, till the whirl, and the din, and the dizziness of his mental belfry bid fair to outvie that of the Hunchback, and to leave its occupant with as few wits at the end of these outrageous intellectual exercises.

Up to a certain point, the excitement created by fine and vigorous works of art is good; not only a pleasurable stimulus in itself, but necessary, as deepening the after impression, which their spiritual meaning should make upon us, and in which consists their subtler and more divine essence. But these emotions must be kept within some bounds; nor must the higher end be lost sight of, in the means employed to attain it; or else the work becomes a poisonous fire-draught instead of a wholesome stimulant, creating phrensy instead of renovation, and leaving feebleness instead of health and vigor. The invisible guardians of the magic ring, into which we enter while under the spell of a great master, are truth, the moral sense of good and evil, a sound judgment, and a pure taste. These must encircle alike the magician and those who are beholding his incantation. The charmed bounds once passed, they both fall under the influence of the spell they have used, and the spirits they have invoked; and the oracles of genius, instead of coming clear and high and solemn to the ear and heart of the listener, will be uttered like the ravings of the Pythoness, amid the frantic convulsions of one possessed with an infernal spirit, not possessing a divine one.

We have another strong general objection to make against M. Hugo's works, — his women. What is the reason that he invariably makes such naughty women his heroines? In almost every one of his compositions, we are brought into company with ladies whose principles are so very lax, that, in spite of M. Hugo's assertion that his plays are moral, we cannot help thinking that they have very little chance of remaining so, unless he cuts out all his

female characters; they are enough to corrupt all the rest of the *dramatis personæ*. Such of his heroines, as are the daughters of his fancy, are by no means so correct as we should like our daughters to be, and his historical selections are yet more unfortunate; — Lucretia Borgia, Marion de Lorme; why not Nell Gwynn, why not Ninon de L'Enclos? The catastrophe which winds up the career of the latter, is altogether a subject after M. Hugo's taste; we wonder it has hitherto escaped being made into a *moral play* by him. We recommend to him, among the other peculiarities of Shakspeare, to meditate upon his female characters; and to learn under what aspects it is, that a woman claims our sympathy, our love, our admiration, and our veneration; and he will not then write books which no honest man or woman can read without indignation at the libels on female nature, which he has thought fit to perpetrate in them.

As no society can be pure, in which the women are not chaste and holy, so no book can be moral, in which the delineations of female character are vicious. In spite, therefore, of M. Hugo's assertion, and of the precision with which he has squared out the moral of *Le Roi s'amuse*, as an illustration of that assertion, we beg to assure him that his books are immoral; for his women are worthless, and that is enough.

We have less fault to find with the execution of these works, than with the spirit in which they are conceived. M. Hugo has abundance of ability; pity it is so ill employed. His style is vigorous, startling, and effective; but his power wants repose, his contrasts are often harsh and unmellow, and his effects are frequently theatrical. We do not now speak of those dramatic situations, which are essentially good, only in proportion as they are theatrically effective. These M. Hugo conceives powerfully, and introduces skillfully. But his language, his feelings, his spirit, is theatrical, (not dramatic;) his very thoughts attitudinize, and we object to that; it is however a national defect, and to expect him to be entirely free from it, were unjust and unreasonable. It is no small merit, that he has succeeded in rendering the cramped versification, to which his language condemns him, so natural and so pathetic. Poetical it never can be; but it is an unspeakable relief to

have got down from the stilts of the dramatic jargon of Louis the Fourteenth's time. M. Hugo, to be sure, goes to the other extreme ; and if the muse of Racine and Corneille wore high heels, powder, and a hoop, his Melpomene, on the other hand, runs dishevelled, and slip-shod to boot ; which is not altogether so well. It is to be hoped, that the golden mean will be discovered ere long.

The prefaces of *Marion de Lorme*, and *Le Roi s'amuse*, contain some curious politico-literary facts ; which exhibit in a striking light the want of principle, since more openly manifested, in the tyrannical restraints imposed by the French government upon the freedom of the press ; and also place M. Hugo's own character in a favorable point of view, of which, we are happy to say, he seems fully aware. If conscientious self-approbation be a blessing, M. Hugo seems highly blessed. We believe him to be an honest man, *in spite* of his asserting it so energetically himself.

The play of *Marion de Lorme* was written in 1829, but, submitted to the revision of the *censure*, was vetoed, and remained a forbidden thing, until the "admirable revolution" (as M. Hugo styles it) of 1830 let loose upon the public, as the first-fruits of its beneficence, the torrent of obnoxious matter, which had been accumulating in the receptacles of the *censure*.

At this juncture, M. Hugo was vehemently solicited to bring out his piece ; but, unwilling to base the popularity of his work upon a momentary political excitement, he very prudently declined producing it then.

M. Hugo had, it seems, on the accession of Charles the Tenth, in a fit of enthusiasm for a monarch who exclaimed against literary censorship, indited a royal *canton* in praise of said liberal monarch. Recollecting this, at the time when the revolution of the Three Days had civilly dispensed with the royal services of Charles, he, from a motive of delicacy, forbore celebrating the triumph of the people by the enacting of his long-forbidden piece ; not choosing, to use his own words, "to be one of the vents by which the public anger should exhale itself." Of his merit in this proceeding, as of his merits generally, as we before observed, M. Victor Hugo appears to enjoy a comfortable conviction. A more appropriate occasion, in his opinion, offering, he produced his play, which, like all

his other performances, was rapturously received by his admiring countrymen, we will presently see how deservedly.

It seems that *Marion de Lorme* was written before *Hernani*, although the latter piece, not falling under the disapprobation of the *censure*, was represented upwards of a year previous to the production of the other. To these succeeded *Le Roi s'amuse*, written in 1832, produced at the Théâtre Français, and, on the day after its first appearance, withdrawn by order of the government on the score of its immorality.

The indignation of the author, though very natural, was quite ineffectual in restoring his piece to the honors of public exhibition; and the preface, which he published with it, contained a statement of facts, which became his sole mode of appeal to the "enlightened public mind." In this preface, we find some curious passages; the following, for instance;—M. Hugo is speaking of the prohibition of his play;—"And who is it that this tyrannical exercise of power has singled out to attack? an author, [the gentleman means himself] so situated, that if his talents are doubtful, his character is not; an honest man; one professed, demonstrated, and proved to be such; a venerable and rare thing, in these times." There follows a whole page of self-consolation much in the same style; and we really feel the less hesitation in offering any criticisms upon M. Hugo's works, that he seems so cased in proof-panoply of self-esteem, that we should think he was invulnerable to all shafts of censure.

A little further on, he assigns as the *real* reason of the interdiction of his piece, a certain line in the third act, (we are sorry that our knowledge of court scandal does not enable us to indicate it to the reader,) which it seems may be construed into no very flattering allusion to Louis Philippe. At the same time that the author disclaims all intention of making such allusion, forbearing even now to proclaim the offensive sentence, which, thus quoted, it seems, would immediately suggest its own application, he holds the revelation *in terrorem* over the refractory monarch, who, professing to be a *republican people's king*, has thought proper to give himself the despotic airs of a king of the old school.

We cannot here forbear remarking, that, bitter as is the disappointment of M. Hugo and his fellow liberals, on

finding that the leopard has not changed his spots, nor the Ethiop his skin, none but Frenchmen would ever have conceived that monstrous anomaly, a republican king; or have selected a Bourbon to form the head-piece of their political Centaur; or imagined that the "three glorious days," though sufficient to regenerate all France, could also suffice to change the blood in the veins of a son of the old dynasty.

Let us hear M. Hugo's own opinion of this government and its proceedings; we quote from the preface of *Le Roi s'amuse*. After speaking of the apparent indolence which has succeeded the great liberty fever of 1830, he says;

"In our opinion, the government is taking unfair advantage of the present prevalent inclination to rest, and apprehension of new revolutions. It is exercising petty tyrannies, and it is to blame, both as regards itself and us. If it imagines that the public mind has become indifferent to the idea of liberty, it is mistaken; the people are merely temporarily exhausted. A severe account will yet be demanded, of all the illegal proceedings which we see accumulating from day to day.

"How far we have retrograded! Two years ago, public order was threatened; now, it is our liberty itself that is in jeopardy. Questions of free thought, of intellect, and of art, are arbitrarily silenced by the viziers of the *King of the Barricades*. It is indeed most sad to contemplate the winding-up of the revolution of July; *mulier formosa supernè!*"

We should be more inclined to agree with M. Hugo about the sadness of the matter, if any other result could reasonably have been anticipated. We wonder what he thinks of the new laws with regard to the press. But it is time to leave his prefaces, and proceed to the plays.

Hernani, the first-written of this precious trio, is by no means so iniquitous in its plot as its successors. Some rays of humanity yet struggle through the improbability of the fable, and the author's fancy is not yet overrun with those diabolical conceptions, with which some of his other works abound, to the dismay of all good Christians and sober-minded creatures who attempt to read them.

The heroine, Donna Sol, is betrothed, according to the not unfrequent practice of Catholic countries, to her uncle Don Ruy de Silva; but, in the mean time, her affections are engaged

by an unknown cavalier, whom she receives in secret, and who is the chief of a horde of brigands.

It appears that the King of Spain, Charles the Fifth, is also enamoured of her ; and the difficulties of the lady between her three lovers, and the various perils and escapes of Hernani, her favored one, take up the first part of the piece. The old Don, however, afraid that he shall die before he gets married, if he does not make haste, carries off his fair niece to one of his strong-holds, and they are on the point of celebrating their nuptials, when the whole castle is thrown into confusion by the arrival of Hernani, in the disguise of a pilgrim. Finding his mistress, as he conceives, unfaithful, he immediately proclaims himself as the robber chief, upon whose head a princely price was set ; but the old lord assures him, that if he were the Devil in person, the rights of hospitality would be extended to him, and his life and liberty be secure while under his roof. He leaves the lovers together, not at all suspecting his niece's low-life attachment to the highwayman ; and, presently returning, finds his bride locked in the arms of Hernani. The worthy old gentleman's rage then knows no bounds, and he is about to fight with the traitor on the spot, when news is brought that the King is before the castle, in pursuit of Hernani. Now, though it does not irk Don Ruy to kill the gentleman who kissed his niece, it is quite against his ideas of propriety, to give up a man who has sought shelter under his roof. He therefore conceals the robber, and stands the brunt of the King's rage unmoved, who, unable either by entreaties, commands, or threats, to obtain the bandit, at length desires the old lord to give up either Hernani or his niece, Donna Sol ; upon which, the poor old man, faithful, as he conceives, to the laws of honor, and ignorant of the King's passion for his niece, delivers her up to his Majesty, who departs in peace with his prize. No sooner are they gone, than Don Ruy draws Hernani from his place of concealment, and insists upon prosecuting the duel they had begun together ; when, happening to mention the hostage which the King had been pleased to accept, Hernani, in despair, informs him of the danger in which he has placed his niece, by surrendering her to the monarch. All other thoughts now give way to the desire of both to recover the young lady ; and, putting aside their animosity for a short time, they agree to assist each other in rescuing Donna Sol from her perilous situation ; Hernani

pledging his solemn word to old De Silva, that, that object once accomplished, he will give up his life to his honorable old enemy; and, in token of this, he gives him his own bugle-horn, telling him, at whatever time and in whatever place he pleases, to sound it, when he (Hernani) will at once surrender himself to his vengeance. This bargain made, they sheathe their swords, shake hands, and set off, the best friends in the world, in pursuit of the lady.

The fourth act consists chiefly of the failure of a conspiracy formed against Charles the Fifth, at that moment elected Emperor, and his magnanimous forgiveness of the conspirators, among whose number are Don Ruy de Silva and Hernani, who, upon this occasion, throws off his assumed character of a bandit, and claims the princely privilege of wearing his hat before the King, being no less a personage than his kinsman, John of Arragon.

The new-made Emperor, however, has no idea of being hard upon any of them; forgives them all, restores Hernani to his noble rank and princely possessions, and moreover, with infinite generosity, relinquishes all his pretensions to Donna Sol, whom he places safe and sound in her lover's hands. How she came there just then, it is difficult to imagine, the scene being laid before the tomb of Charlemagne in Aix-la-Chapelle. That, however, don't much matter; the public is not apt to be particular in these points, and, when all ends wells, all *is* well in their sympathetic opinions.

All parties are now satisfied; the Emperor, with himself and his new dignity, Hernani with his mistress, and she with him. Old De Silva, however, is by no means well pleased at this transfer of his bride, and the fourth act closes with the general joy of the whole company, excepting him alone.

The conclusion is rapid. The fifth act celebrates the marriage feast of Don John of Arragon and Donna Sol. His father's palace has received him again; and revelry, and mirth, and music fill the scene. At length the gaudier light of pleasure dims, the guests withdraw, and the lovers are left alone in their happiness. At this moment, which, in conception and execution, is by far the most striking of the piece, the fatal horn sounds Hernani's summons, from all his full-blown joys, to death. The old lord De Silva appears, and claims the fulfilment of Hernani's oath. In vain the latter, unmanned by the exceeding bitterness of leaving life when crowned with all

its imaginable blisses, implores a short delay. The stern old man insists upon his right, and presents a vial of poison to the youth. This, however, Donna Sol seizes, and drinking the one half, gives the rest to her husband, both of them presently falling, like stricken flowers, at the feet of the obdurate old noble, who ends the piece by killing himself, and going, as he himself declares, and the reader easily believes, to hell. — The three corpses keep possession of the stage.

All the absurdity of this plot, does not of right belong to M. Hugo ; that is to say, that, exaggerated as we may deem such a very nice sense of honor, it is not unnatural, and, if we may believe old chronicles, was not unusual in Spain, where similar absurdities form the plot of some of their best plays. *La Estrella di Seviglia* of Lope de Vega, where a man kills the brother of his mistress, and almost drives himself and her mad by so doing, simply because the King commands the deed, is, to our republican apprehensions, far more fantastical ; yet the play is an immense favorite in Spain, and the plot is there considered a very rational plot.

Some of the writing in *Hernani* would positively be poetry, if it were not French ; and we think M. Hugo always exceedingly happy in the expression of tenderness and passion. We subjoin some passages, which we quote from Lord Francis Egerton's translation ; which has the advantage of resembling its original in an unusual degree, and is far superior to the miserable imitations of the piece, which have been produced on our stages. The following, spoken by old Don Ruy to Donna Sol, is graceful and touching.

" When, as I muse my garden glades along,
Some shepherd youth disturbs me with his song,
Whose sound from the green field can reach my bowers,
Thus I apostrophize my crumbling towers ;
' My ducal dungeon-keep, my loop-holed wall,
My woods, my harvests, — I would give ye all ;
Would give the fields my swarm of vassals tills, —
Would give my flocks upon a thousand hills, —
Would give the ancestors, who watch intent,
Chiding my slowness, for a son's descent
Among them, and expect him even now, —
For that same peasant's hut and youthful brow.
For round that brow, unscored by age's lines,
The dark locks cluster, and beneath it shines

An eye like thine; and thou may'st well behold,
And say, 'That man is young, and this is old.'
Thus to myself I speak, and speak it true;
All, to be young, and fair, and gay as you,
All would I give. I dream! — *I* young and gay,
Who to the tomb am doomed to lead the way!

DONNA SOL.

Who knows?

DON RUY.

Yet trust not that the youthful tribe
Can feel the constant love their words describe.
Let but a lady listen and believe,
They laugh to see her die, or live to grieve.
These birds of amorous note and gaudy wing
Can moult their passions like their plumes in spring;
The old, whose notes are tuneless, hues less bright,
Are steadier to their nest and in their flight.
Time on our furrowed brow the graver's part
May play; he writes no wrinkles on the heart.
Give to the old the mercy which they need, —
The heart is always young enough to bleed.
With all a bridegroom's love, a father's pride,
I love thee, and a hundred ways beside.
I love thee as we love the flowers, the skies,
Earth's breathing perfumes, heaven's enchanting dyes;
And when thy step, so graceful yet so free,
The aspect of that stainless brow, I see,
That heaven seems opening as I gaze on thee.

DONNA SOL.

Alas!

DON RUY.

And mark; the reasoning world approves,
When towards an honored grave an old man moves,
If woman deign his useless age to tend,
And smooth his progress to his journey's end.
It is an angel's task, and thou shalt be
That angel, in a woman's form, to me."

The old nobleman's rebuke of Hernani and the King, is spirited;

"What business brings you here, young cavaliers?
Men like the Cid, the knights of by-gone years,

Rode out the battle of the weak to wage,
Protecting beauty, and revering age.
Their armour sat on them, strong men as true,
Much lighter than your velvets sit on you.
Not in a lady's room by stealth they knelt;
In church, by day, they spoke the love they felt.
They kept their houses' honor bright from rust,
They told no secret, and betrayed no trust;
And if a wife they wanted, bold and gay,
With lance, or axe, or sword-point, and by day,
Bravely they won and wore her. As for those
Who walk the streets when honest men repose,
With eyes turned to the ground, and in night's shade,
The rights of trusting husbands to invade;
I say the Cid would force such knaves as these
To beg the city's pardon on their knees.
And with the flat of his all-conquering blade
Their rank usurped, and scutcheon, would degrade.
Thus would the men of former days, I say,
Treat the degenerate minions of to-day."

The opening of the fifth act, as the revel closes, and Hernani and Donna Sol are left alone, is beautiful.

"DONNA SOL.

Dearest! at length they leave us. By yon moon,
It should be late.

HERNANI.

And can it come too soon,
The hour that frees us from the listening crowd,
To breathe our sighs, so long suppressed, aloud?

DONNA SOL.

The noise disturbed me. Must we not confess,
Rejoicing stuns the sense of happiness?

HERNANI.

'T is true; for happiness is kin to rest,
And writes its lessons slowly on the breast.
When busy pleasure strews its path with flowers,
Or breaks the silence of its quiet bowers,
It flies; and if it smile, its smile appears
Far less allied to laughter than to tears.

* * * * *

* * Why should I bear in mind
The tattered garments that I leave behind?

In mourning to my palace I repair,
An angel of the Lord awaits me there.
I bid the fallen column's shaft aspire;
On my ancestral hearth I light its fire;
I ope its casements to the wind, which sports
'Mid the rank herbage of its grass-grown courts;
I weed that herbage from the creviced stone,
And seat my house's honor on its throne;
My King restores me to each ancient right,
My seat in council, and my crest in fight.
Come, then, in blushing beauty, come, my bride,
Lay the sad memory of the past aside;
That past is all unsaid, unseen, undone;
I start afresh, a glorious course to run.
I know not if 't is madness fires my breast, —
I love you, — I possess you, — and am blest!

* * * * *

DONNA SOL.

One little moment, to indulge the sight
With the rich beauty of the summer night.
The harp is silent, and the torch is dim, —
Night and ourselves together. To the brim
The cup of our felicity is filled.
Each sound is mute, each harsh sensation stilled.
Dost thou not think, that, e'en while nature sleeps,
Some power its amorous vigils o'er us keeps?
No cloud in heaven; — while all around repose,
Come taste with me the fragrance of the rose,
Which loads the night-air with its musky breath,
While all around is still as nature's death.
E'en as you spoke, — and gentle words were those
Spoken by you, — the silver moon uprose;
How that mysterious union of her ray,
With your impassioned accents, made its way
Straight to my heart! I could have wished to die
In that pale moonlight, and while thou wert by.

HERNANI.

Thy words are music, and thy strain of love
Is borrowed from the choir of heaven above.

DONNA SOL.

Night is too silent, darkness too profound.
Oh for a star to shine, a voice to sound, —

To raise some sudden strain of music now,
Suited to night!

HERNANI.

Capricious girl! your vow
Was poured for silence, and to be released
From the thronged tumult of the marriage-feast.

DONNA SOL.

Yes; but a bird to carol in the field, —
A nightingale, in moss and shade concealed, —
A distant flute, — for music's stream can roll
To soothe the heart, and harmonize the soul, —
O! 't would be bliss to listen!
(*Sound of a horn in the distance.*)"

We now come to M. Hugo's next dramatic production, *Marion de Lorme;* and here his moral atmosphere is enveloped in a much thicker mist than before, and we lose sight, in a pitiable manner, of the real bearings and relations of things.

Marion de Lorme, the noted courtesan of Louis the Thirteenth's reign, one of the earliest specimens of that tribe of profligate women, whose beauty, talent, and exceeding impudence gave them so much influence in the licentious times that followed the regency of Anne of Austria, is the personage selected by M. Hugo for his heroine.

Having fallen in love with a young man, whom she has met by accident, and who is ignorant of her character, she leaves Paris in disguise, and takes up her abode at Blois, where her lover resides.

For a while their intercourse is happy. Didier, her lover, himself an enthusiastic and noble creature, believes her to be all that his idolatrous affection pictures her; and she, loving for the first time a virtuous nature, is filled at once with admiration and respect for him, horror of her former life, and fear lest he should discover her real name and situation.

We will let him give his own account of himself; and through our most prosaic translation, which has no earthly pretension but that of being *literally* literal, the reader will perceive that M. Hugo has invested his hero with much of the unaccountable gloom and despondency, the bile, in

short, (for we presume, as there is no other assignable cause, it must be that,) of the Byron school.

"DIDIER.

Hearken to me, Mary.
My name is Didier, I have never known
Father or mother; naked I was left
An infant on the threshold of a church.
An old and low-born woman, in whose soul
Some pity lived, took me, and tended me.
She was my mother; — gave me Christian nurture,
And, dying, left me all her worldly heritage,
A yearly stipend of nine hundred livres,
On which I live. Alone, at twenty years,
Life seemed both sad and bitter. I went travelling,
And grew acquainted with my fellow men.
And some of them I hated, more despised,
For on that sullied glass, the human face,
I read but pain, and pride, and misery;
So that I sat me down, youthful in years
But old in spirit; of this life as weary,
As they should be who are about to leave it.
I struck 'gainst all things, all things wounded me;
The world seemed bad to me, and men yet worse.
Thus was I living, gloomy, poor, and lonely,
When first I saw you, and felt comforted.
And yet I do not know you; — in the street
One night in Paris I beheld you first;
Then once or twice I met you, and still always
Your looks were gentle, and your speech most kind.
I feared to love you, and I fled; strange destiny!
Again you meet me here, — my guardian angel!
At length, worn out with love and doubt, I spake,
And you with favor heard. — Yours is my heart,
And yours my life; what may I do for you?
Is there on earth the man or thing you hate?
Have you a wish my soul can buy for you?
Oh! do you need one prompt to give his life
Joyfully for you; — whose heart's blood poured out
Were richly paid, but by one smile of yours?
Oh! speak, command, dearest, for here am I!

MARION *(smiling)*.
You 're strange, and yet I love you thus.

DIDIER.

You love me!
Beware, nor with light lips utter that word.
You love me! — know you what it is to love
With love that is the life-blood in one's veins,
The vital air we breathe, a love long smothered,
Smouldering in silence, kindling, burning, blazing,
And purifying in its growth the soul.
A love, that from the heart eats every passion
But its sole self; — love without hope, or limit,
Deep love, that will outlive all happiness;
Speak, speak, is such the love you bear me?

MARION.

Truly.

DIDIER.

Oh! but you do not know how I love you!
The day that first I saw you, the dark world
Grew shining, and your eyes lighted my gloom.
Since then, all things have changed; to me you are
Some bright and unknown creature from the skies.
This irksome life, 'gainst which my heart rebelled,
Seems almost fair and pleasant; for, alas!
Till I knew you, wandering, alone, oppressed,
I wept and struggled, I had never loved.

MARION.

Poor Didier!"

It happens, however, that a regiment is stationed at Blois, the officers of which have, one or all, been admirers of Marion. One of these young sparks discovers the fair Laïs's retreat and disguise, and Marion, to obtain his silence, half confesses the purpose of both. We cannot go into every detail of the piece. Didier and Saverny, the young officer, meet, quarrel, and fight, immediately under a placard, which the Cardinal de Richelieu has had posted up, forbidding duelling, on pain of death to the parties concerned. The city authorities intervene, Saverny pretends to be dead, and is carried off by his friends; and Didier is conveyed to prison, whence Marion contrives to bribe his escape, and they fly together in disguise, among a company of strolling actors. We are now introduced to an old nobleman, the uncle of Saverny, who, in great distress of mind, is about to celebrate his beloved nephew's obsequies; Saverny himself having, with one of

his brother officers, escorted an empty bier to the chateau, which bier was supposed to contain his body. Of course, he is so disguised as not to be recognised by his worthy uncle, and trusts to time to reconcile the old gentleman to the cheat, when the Cardinal's displeasure at the duel shall be over, and the search everywhere making for Didier, the only person concerned who was supposed to survive, has ceased. At this very chateau is staying an emissary of Richelieu, who is on the look out for the fugitive Didier. Here he meets young Saverny, who knows nothing of him, and, under favor of his disguise, discusses the matter of the duel in all coolness with him ; and hither, as ill luck would have it, come the Thespians, and with them Marion and Didier. Among these strolling players, who are allowed to take up their quarters in one of the out-houses of the chateau, Saverny sees and recognises Marion, and, much puzzled at the circumstance of her appearing there, communicates it to Laffemas, Richelieu's emissary, who was on the point of leaving the chateau, to pursue his quest of the unfortunate Didier. This, however, fatally alters his purpose. He insists upon seeing the whole troop, and, to the agony of Marion, and the consternation of poor Saverny, who was unaware of the mischief he was causing, presently discovers the sham actor among the real mimes, and claims Didier as his prisoner. But Saverny had inflicted a far deeper wound upon his former rival. In indicating Marion to Laffemas, the young gallant had shown a picture of her, which he wore round his neck, and which Didier, then standing in the back-ground, had also seen. This leads to a dialogue between them, in which Saverny discloses to Didier the real character of Marion, of which he had supposed him aware. The enthusiast and the lover is at once precipitated from his high and holy faith, and beholds, in the object of his deep and pure affection, a disgraced and degraded being. We will translate the scene. We should premise, that, at the very opening of the play, Didier, in a street affray at night, is the means of saving Saverny's life. After a few lines of mere explanation, in which they account to each other, Didier, for not being, as Saverny thought him, in prison ; and Saverny, for not being, as Didier thought him, dead, in consequence of their duel ; Saverny, whose quarrel with him was the mere result of high spirits, and a few aristocratic airs on his own part, professes an honest regard for him, rejoices that

they have both escaped so well the affair of the duel, and, remembering only that at their first meeting Didier had saved his life, asks him in return what he can do for him.

" DIDIER.

Give me that woman's picture which you wear.

(*Saverny gives it to him; he looks bitterly at it.*)

Yes, 't is her eye, her brow, her snowy neck,
And oh! her heavenly look; — 't is very like!

SAVERNY.

D' ye think so?

DIDIER.

Tell me, was it then for you
She had this picture taken?

SAVERNY (*nods, then bowing to Didier*).

It 's your turn.
You are the loved, the chosen among many,
The happy fellow.

DIDIER.

Am I not most happy!

SAVERNY.

I wish you joy! — faith, she 's an honest wench.
Her lovers are all men of family.
The sort of mistress that one may be proud of.
'T is a good boast, too, and tells prettily
To have it said of one, — ' He 's Marion's lover.'

(*Didier offers to return the picture; he declines receiving it.*)

No, keep the miniature; — she 's yours, and so
Her picture comes to you of right.

DIDIER.

I thank you.

(*He puts the picture in his bosom.*)

SAVERNY.

That Spanish dress becomes her wonderfully.
And so you 're my successor! — pretty much
As Louis succeeds Pharamond, indeed;
For I was jilted for the two Brissacs,

Yes, faith, the two; — why even the Cardinal,
And then D'Effiat, and then the three St. Memes,
And the four Argenteaux; — oh, in her heart,
You 'll be in the very best of company;
A little crowded, — that 's a trifle.

DIDIER (*aside*).

Horror!

SAVERNY.

But pray inform me now, — to tell you plainly,
'T is here believed that I am dead. To-morrow,
I 'm to be buried. As for you, I take it,
You found some cunning way to cheat your gaolers;
Marion has opened all the gates for you;
Why your adventures must make up a history.

DIDIER.

Yes, a strange history.

SAVERNY.

For your sake, doubtless,
She smiled upon some archer of the guard.

DIDIER (*with extreme vehemence*).

God's thunder! dare you think it!

SAVERNY.

Well, what then?
What, jealous? — why the thing 's fantastical.
Jealous of whom? of Marion de Lorme!
Poor wench! pray now read her no homilies.

DIDIER.

Fear not. (*Aside.*) Oh God! this angel was a devil!"

We have quoted this scene, in order to give M. Hugo's own account of his heroine; we now proceed with the story. Didier, disgusted alike with his mistress and his life, surrenders himself at once to Laffemas, and is about to be dragged to prison, when Saverny, thinking by that means to rescue him, comes forward, takes off his disguise, and avows himself alive, and not dead, to the infinite ecstasy of his poor old uncle, and the satisfaction of all present. But the malicious agent of the Cardinal's sanguinary will, instantly arrests him also, as guilty, since not dead; and both the young men are carried to prison, to await the fulfil-

ment of the sentence, which Richelieu's edict had proclaimed against duelling, that is, death.

The fourth act, which we should imagine tolerably dull on the stage, gives a clever, but rather exaggerated picture of the interior of the palace, and the state of slavery in which Louis the Thirteenth was kept by the ambitious and cruel Cardinal. Saverny's old uncle and Marion de Lorme by turns appear as supplicants for the duellists, and are both refused; the King not daring to reverse the Cardinal's sentence, though much inclined to do so. This inclination is carried to a climax, by the information given him by his sister, (who, by the by, is a most lugubrious personage,) that both the young men were expert falconers; the King, among other graver lamentations, deploring the disuse into which the sport of hawking is falling. The jester takes advantage of his Majesty's merciful mood, presses the matter in every point of view, plays by turns upon his pride, his pity, his conscience, and his love of hawking, and finally, after many misgivings, obtains from the King the full pardon of both the young men, which he delivers to Marion.

In the fifth act we have the prison, and its inmates, the two young men. Drawn together by their common misfortune, their sympathy and tenderness for each other are very touching, and the contrast between the light-hearted kindliness of Saverny, and the solemn and sad meditations of the heart-broken Didier, is exceedingly effective and affecting.

The old Marquis de Nangis (Saverny's uncle) bribes one of the gaolers to assist his nephew's escape; but, when the latter finds that his companion is not to be rescued with him, he rejects the offer, and remains with Didier to abide the issue. At this moment, Marion arrives at the prison gate, and, showing the King's pass, is refused admittance. At the same instant Laffemas appears, and, showing a pass from the Cardinal, the door flies open to him. Marion eagerly displays to him the pardon which she holds; and he unrolls before her eyes the *revocation* of it, signed by the King, a few hours after. Her despair then knows no bounds, and the wretch Laffemas takes advantage of it, to offer her as the terms of her lover's rescue, the same alternative which Angelo proposes to Isabel, in "Measure for Measure"; of course the reader's own mind will naturally suggest the wide difference between the women, as making all the differ-

ence in the transaction. However, it is consented to by Marion, who at length thus obtains access to her lover. She brings him a disguise, and offers him the means of escape; these, however, he rejects, charging her with having deceived and betrayed him. While she entreats and he reproaches, the gun is fired which announces the arrival of the Cardinal to witness the execution. All flight is of course impossible now. We give the parting of Didier and Marion.

"DIDIER (*to Saverny*).
My brother, 't is for me you 're sacrificed,
Let us embrace!

MARION (*rushing towards him*).
He does not embrace me!
Didier, embrace me too!

DIDIER (*pointing to Saverny*).
This is my friend, Madam.

MARION (*wringing her hands*).
Oh! hardly do you deal with the poor woman,
Who, on her knees, of King and Judge implored
Your pardon, and now begs of you her own.

DIDIER (*about to leave her, suddenly exclaims*).
My heart is bursting! No, no, 't is impossible
With a calm brow to bear this agony.
Oh too much loved! thus to be left for ever,
Come to my arms! death is at hand, — I love thee,
'T is joy unspeakable once more to tell thee so!

MARION.
Didier!

DIDIER.
Come, thou poor lost one! Speak, all of you,
Say, is there one amongst you, who could now
Shut close his arms from an unfortunate,
Whose very soul was given up to him?
Oh, I have wronged thee! Shall I die before thee
Unpitying, unpardoning? Oh, hear me!
Among all women, and all those who hear me,
In their own hearts approve of what I say;
She whom I love, she with whom dwells my faith,
She whom I worship, it is thou, dear, thou!
For thou to me hast been most kind and gentle.
Hear me; my knot of life is now untied;
I am about to die, and all things show

In their true light and color to my eyes.
'T was thy exceeding love that made thee blind me,
And in this hour thy sin is surely expiated.
Ah ! by thy mother, in thy cradle left,
Thou wert perchance, like me, a thing forsaken;
While yet a child, thy innocence was sold
By others ; — lift thy forehead from the dust !
Bear witness all ; now, in this hour, when life
Fades like a shadow, and the lips are true, —
In this dark hour, my foot upon that scaffold
Which innocent blood doth make a holy place,
Mary, angel of heaven ! lost on earth,
My love, my wife, oh hearken to me, Mary !
By that great God, towards whom death hurries me,
I do forgive thee ! "

Upon Marion's bitter lamentations, he consoles her by showing her how irrevocably his happiness was already lost; and concludes by requesting this " angel of heaven, his love, and wife," to remember him, when some other more fortunate lover shall approach her ; and here the tenderness and pathos of the scene are again turned into a mockery, by this allusion to the woman's degraded character and situation. We strongly recommend our readers to contrast this scene with the conclusion of Heywood's " Woman killed with Kindness " ; in which an unfaithful wife, who is dying of the shame and sorrow of her sin, receives her husband's pardon. The old playwrights were not mealy-mouthed in the use of language ; but we cannot help thinking, that, in matters of morality, they beat the modern dramatists hollow.

That a woman, who has been seduced from virtue, and forfeited her honor, should excite our commiseration, our sympathy, and even, under some aspects, our admiration, is not impossible. But that a woman whose whole life has been a course of heartless and shameless profligacy should do so, *is* totally impossible. For a sin of passion there may be some circumstances, if not of excuse, at least of attenuation, to be found. But from a series of venal prostitutions, committed boldly in the world's eye, and gloried in with a spirit of the most abandoned levity, our moral sense, our human sympathies, our very physical nature, revolts in total disgust. A woman who has led such a life may be a fitting object for the divine and pardoning spirit of Christian charity ; but she is not a fitting subject for an artist to present to our senses, our

judgments, or our hearts, for admiration, approbation, or affection. The woman taken in adultery, and she "who was a sinner," found mercy at the feet of the most merciful; — and surely they should meet forbearance in the judgments of their fellow sinners. But, when the latter is brought before us, tricked up in all the vile and unchaste adornments of a courtesan of the most licentious court of Europe, our insulted sense of right at once turns from such an appeal, and points to the only aspect under which such an one can claim our sympathy. Again, to have made this woman the object of the love of such a man as Didier, is what we will not forgive M. Hugo for. Such things have been, it is true; but they were occasions for wise men's wonder, and good men's sorrow; strange mysteries of infatuation, showing too painfully the weakness of human nature, and casting down from its high altar that holy worship, pure and deep affection.

We now come to the last of this series of M. Hugo's plays, *Le Roi s'amuse*; — and what shall we say to that? That, in our opinion, it is alike unfit to be exhibited or read; an absurd, immoral, and indecent composition. We hardly know by what part to take up this monstrosity, so as best to display it to our readers, and least to offend them by the sight. M. Hugo is a radical; and truly he delineates kings with the spirit of one. Francis the First, the hero of the cloth of gold, the conqueror of Marignan, the knight of Bayard's dubbing, the patron of Marot and Ronsard, the friend of Leonardo da Vinci, the rival of Charles of Spain, is brought before us, not in any of the finer aspects of his reign and character, but a heartless, worthless, witless debauchee. His jester, Triboulet, the hero of the piece, is a species of hump-backed Mephistophiles, who passes his life in eating his heart, (a right bitter bit, we should think,) insulting the nobles of the court, and pandering to the King. The first act is a mere sketch of the court, and consists of the dissolute discourses of the courtiers, mixed with the all-pervading gall of Triboulet's satire, whom they all hate and fear. It terminates, however, by the appearance of one M. de St. Vallier, father of the King's celebrated mistress, Diane de Poictiers, who comes to reproach Francis with the seduction of his daughter, and, being scoffed at by the King and the King's fool, curses them both most emphatically, and departs. Besides, however, a very bad

temper, Triboulet has a very pretty daughter, whom he keeps hermetically sealed from sight and speech of man, as he supposes ; yet who, nevertheless, is seen by the King, who visits her in the disguise of a student, and, without suspecting her relationship to the jester, obtains her affections. Some of the courtiers have detected Triboulet in his stolen evening visits to his daughter, and, supposing them paid to a mistress, determine, in order to torment him, to carry her off; which they effect, and bear Blanche, (the name of the girl,) to the palace, where she finds herself in the presence of the King, in whom she recognises her lowly lover, and who basely takes advantage of her terror, and the circumstances which have thus delivered her into his hands. At this time, Triboulet, phrensied with the loss of his child, which he has just discovered, reaches the palace, where his vain attempts to conceal his agony afford much mirth to the courtiers by whom he is surrounded. His attention is directed to the King's apartment, where he becomes convinced Blanche is detained, and, rushing in despair against the door, he calls aloud upon his child. The amazement of the nobles at this discovery is extreme ; and, while they in vain endeavour to oppose the frantic father, Blanche herself escapes from the inner room, and falls into his arms. A scene of infinite anguish follows between the father and the child, which will remind the German scholar of the scene between Verrina and his daughter in Schiller's noble play of "Fiesco." From this time, the jester's soul is filled but with one desire, that of revenge. For a long while he is withheld from his purpose, by the love which he finds Blanche bears to her betrayer ; but, at length, he determines to bring her to his views by awakening her jealousy. He conveys her to the vicinity of a house inhabited by a ruffian street-stabber, and an abandoned woman, his sister. To this resort of infamy comes Francis ; and Blanche is at once tortured and disgusted, by beholding her lover lavish upon another, and such an one, the caresses and terms of endearment which he had bestowed upon her. With a withered heart, the poor girl turns from her post of observation, and tells her father, who himself has brought her there, to do his pleasure. He immediately sends her away, bidding her to disguise herself in boy's clothes, and leave the town. As soon as she is gone, he calls out of the hovel the assassin, and, tendering him the usual reward, bids him murder

Francis, who of course is there incognito. He promises to return himself and fetch the body, which he directs should be tied up in a sack. He then retires, to leave the cut-throat to his work ; the King falls asleep in an upper room of the house, and the girl and her brother remain alone, the latter sharpening his knife methodically for his job, and the former supplicating a reprieve for her visitor, whose good looks and gallantry have won her heart. A dismal storm rages without ; night is fallen, and poor Blanche, in her boy's clothes, comes stealing back to see what has become of her perfidious lover. She resumes the situation from which she before had observed what was passing in the house, and overhears the horrible dialogue between the murderer and his sister. The knife is sharpened, aud he is about to ascend to the garret, (for it is nothing else,) where Francis lies asleep. Maguelonne implores him to have mercy ; upon which he tells her that he expects a man back, who is to pay him for the murder, and also fetch away the body, and that therefore the deed must be done. All the mitigation which the girl's entreaties obtain of this sentence is, that if, before the appointed time, any one else should come to the house, a thing rendered improbable by the late hour and fearful night, he shall be substituted for the King ; the bravo taking it for granted, that one dead body is just us good as another, and that it cannot matter much whom he delivers, tied up in a sack, to Triboulet when he returns. Poor Blanche hears all this ; she sees the horrid face and form of the ruffian, the dismal hole where these atrocities are perpetrated, the keen and glittering knife ready for its bloody task ; but, urged on by her love for Francis, she devotes herself, and strikes upon the door. The details of the scene are here terrible. She sees the murderer pass his knife over the whet-stone, and conceal himself behind the door, ready to strike her as she enters. Her youth, her love, her father, her God, by turns seize hold of her mind, and half draw her from her purpose. Chilled through with the bitter cold rain, and the fearful anticipation of being mangled and hacked to death, she falters, yet again strikes the door ; she falls on her knees, forgiving and imploring forgiveness, and knocks again ; the door is opened, and the curtain falls as the knife is lifted over her. The end is short ; we wish it had been shorter ; the bloody bombast of Titus Andronicus is a joke to it. Triboulet returns, pays the price, and receives

the sack ; and, sending away the cut-throat, remains alone in the storm and the night, to enjoy the consciousness of his revenge. He apostrophizes the dead body with every insult and reproach, treads upon it, buffets it, and having exhausted his rage and hatred, is dragging it to the river ; when the door of the hovel opens, Francis escapes from it, crosses the stage, singing his famous distich,

" Souvent femme varie,
Bien fol est qui s'y fie,"

and disappears in the darkness among the streets. Triboulet, terrified and enraged, drags the sack again from the brink of the river, and tears it open. But the darkness of the night prevents his seeing the face ; he sits down on the ground beside the body, and waits for the next flash of lightning. It glares upon the corpse, and he recognises his child.

We have neither leisure nor inclination to make more than one extract from this " bloody farce without salt or savor." We take it from one of Triboulet's scenes with his daughter, the only ones that are not positively offensive in the piece.

" TRIBOULET.

My child ! Oh, clasp thy arms about my neck !
Lie on my heart ! once more with thee life smiles,
My burthen 's gone, I 'm blest, I breathe again.
Thou 'rt fairer every day ! say, lack'st thou aught ?
Say, art thou happy here ? kiss me once more.

BLANCHE.

How good you are, dear father !

TRIBOULET.

No, I love thee,
That 's all. Oh, art thou not my life, my blood ?
Oh God ! what would become of me without thee !

BLANCHE.

You sigh, you have some heavy secret sorrows ;
Tell them to your poor child, father ; alas !
I do not even know my family.

TRIBOULET.

You have none.

BLANCHE.

But I do not know your name.

TRIBOULET.

What matters it ?

BLANCHE.

Our neighbours in the village,
Where I was living when you came to fetch me,
Thought that I was an orphan, ere they saw you.

TRIBOULET.

I should have left you there; it had been wiser;
But 't was impossible longer to live
Without one human heart to feel for me.

BLANCHE.

Since you will tell me nothing of yourself——

TRIBOULET.

You never go abroad?

BLANCHE.

'T is now two months
I have been here, and in that space eight times
Have I been out to church, — no oftener.

TRIBOULET.

Good.

BLANCHE.

Father, tell me something of my mother!

TRIBOULET.

Oh, waken not that bitter recollection,
Nor to my thoughts recall, that once I found
A woman, to all women most unlike;
Who, in this world, where spirits never mate,
Seeing me lonely, helpless, poor, and hated,
E'en for my misery pitied me, and loved me.
She died, and carried to her grave with her
The holy secret of her faithful love;
That love which flashed like lightning over me,
A ray of heaven, that shone down to my hell.
O, may the earth, still ready to receive us,
Lie gently on that breast, which was my pillow.
Thou 'rt all I have, thank God that I have thee!

BLANCHE.

Oh, how you weep, how cruelly you suffer!
I cannot bear to see you weep thus, father.

TRIBOULET.

What wouldst thou say, if thou couldst hear me laugh?

BLANCHE.

Oh, father, let me know at least your name,
Pour all your sorrows in my bosom.

TRIBOULET.

No;
Why should I speak my name? I am thy father.
Hear me; away from here I may be hated,
Despised, accursed; what is my name to thee?
Here, and to thee, in this one holy spot,
I will be nothing but a father, Blanche,
A dear and honored father.

BLANCHE.

And so you are.

TRIBOULET.

Beats there elsewhere one heart that answers mine?
I love thee as I hate all things beside.
Sit by me; come, come, let us speak of that.
Say, dost thou love thy father? Wherefore should we,
When thus together hand in hand we sit,
Speak, think, of any other earthly thing?
My child! oh, only blessing Heaven allows me!
Others have parents, brothers, kinsmen, friends,
A wife, a husband, vassals, followers,
Ancestors, and allies, or many children;
I have but thee, thee only. Some are rich;
Thou art my treasure, thou art all my riches.
And some believe in God; and I believe
In nothing but thy soul. Others have youth,
And woman's love, and pride, and grace, and health;
Others are beautiful; thou art my beauty,
Thou art my home, my country, and my kin,
My wife, my mother, sister, friend, and child,
My bliss, my wealth, my worship, and my law,
My Universe! — Oh, by all other things
My soul is tortured. If I should ever lose thee —
Horrible thought! I cannot utter it.
Smile, for thy smile is like thy mother's smiling.
She, too, was fair; you have a trick like her,
Of passing oft your hand athwart your brow
As though to wipe it. Innocence still loves
A brow unclouded and an azure eye.
To me thou seem'st clothed in a holy halo;
My soul beholds thy soul through thy fair body;
E'en when my eyes are shut, I see thee still;
Thou art my daylight, and sometimes I wish
That Heaven had made me blind, that thou might'st be
The sun, that lighted up the world for me."

Blanche is a very beautiful flower in the middle of all these rank weeds ; but M. Hugo sins as much in bringing her into contact with such a thing as he makes Francis, as in linking Didier to Marion de Lorme. These are things, M. Hugo, that —— *Shakspeare* never did. Imogen, in her holy sleep, though looked upon by the unholiest eyes, remains pure as unspotted snow ; and Desdemona, though spoken of in words of coarse ribaldry, that make one shudder, presents no image to our heart but that of immaculate innocence. But then, Shakspeare never drew their heavenly spirits into companionship with that which was base ; their devoted affections were nobly bestowed upon noble objects, and, however surrounded by vile accidents their mortal frames might be, their souls held fellowship with that which was chaste and holy alone ; the very spirit of purity dwelt within them, and their perfect and divine modesty and dignity of nature encircle them as with a spell, round which all foul things fall harmless. If we were Sancho Panza, we should say to M. Hugo, touching these unnatural alliances of excellence and infamy, "Like will to like ;"—"Birds of a feather flock together ;"—"There is no touching pitch without being defiled," &c.

Le Roi s'amuse has been followed by several other dramatic compositions, some yet more abhorrent to good taste, as *La Tour de Nesle*, and *Lucrèce Borgia ;*— others, again, of less revolting detail and incident, as *Marie Tudor*, and the last, *Angelo, Tyran de Padoue ;* but all alike devoid of moral truth and sane feeling. It is with infinite regret that we behold talents, such as those of M. Hugo, exerted to scatter baneful influences as far as his works are known. It is sometimes lamented, that, in translations, some measure of the original spirit of a work must evaporate. Far from deploring that his compositions connot reach these shores in all their pristine power of evil, we wish, that, instead of modified, they might be utterly lost, in the transmutation from French to our own language. We desire no such additions to our libraries. If we must borrow from foreign sources, we will draw from those that are pure ; and we devoutly hope, that, far from obtaining imitators on this side the Atlantic, M. Hugo's works may be held as *models to be avoided* by all our younger brothers of the pen. If we have yet no literature, God forbid, that any that we may hereafter own should rise upon so rotten a foundation.

We are heartily sorry for the effect, which M. Hugo's works have produced on the minds of his own countrymen. The French stage has become a disgrace to any Christian and civilized people ; and, as for those glorious dreams of liberty in which M. Hugo and his fellow-radicals indulge for France, they are utterly fantastical, and must remain so, while the spirit of their country is such as to produce and applaud works like his.

The noble growth of free institutions does not spring from a licentious and immoral soil. They are not the result of idle declamation, but the fruit of steadfast purpose. They are not the sudden offspring of public paroxysms, but the slowly ripened and widely gathered harvest of individual principle.

ART. VII. — *Letters auxiliary to the History of Modern Polite Literature in Germany.* By HEINRICH HEINE. Translated from the German by G. W. HAVEN. Boston : James Munroe and Company. 1836.

WHATEVER we may think of the moral character, motives, and intentions of the author of this book, it claims attention as exhibiting the views and opinions of a man of uncommon talent on a subject, which cannot but be interesting to every person of liberal education, — the condition of German literature during the last forty or fifty years. The literature of Germany of this period, like that of France, England, and Italy, is one of the causes as well as effects of the momentous changes wrought, within that short time, in the condition of Europe, and, in fact, of the civilized world. Indeed, if we wished to mention one of the most characteristic features of this time, it would be the immediate and reciprocal relation between literature and literary men on the one hand, and the political changes of the time on the other ; and this not only in those departments of literature, which, being of a more practical character, are nearly connected with, and immediately affected by political changes, but even in those which might be, and for ages have been, considered independent of these external influences. Nor ought we to be surprised at this. The tremendous blows, which, from the commencement of

the French Revolution, were levelled, in quick succession, at the very foundation of all social institutions, and which were, in their turn, in part at least, the effect of the literary efforts of some of the leading minds immediately preceding and contemporary with that event, reached even the retired student, and roused him to a perception of the condition of the world about him. A conscientious man, however fond of quiet, could then no longer shut his eyes to the changes which were rapidly going on; and if he thought, spoke, or wrote, the events, whose current carried him along with the rest, could not but become the subject of his meditations, words, and writings. The natural consequence was, that most writers were influenced by these external circumstances to an extent never before witnessed in literature, and their works, in proportion as they gained in liveliness and spirit, lost in dignity and impartiality.

This observation applies in a greater degree, than common, to Mr. Heine. He is emphatically the child of his time. He grew up at a period when the minds of men, especially in France and Germany, were in a state of fermentation; when old and new doctrines on almost every subject, and old and new prejudices, were floating about in chaotic confusion; when there was every thing to stimulate and excite a young, active mind, and little to guide and check it. All those passions, which such a state naturally fosters, found, in the writer whom we are considering, a most congenial soil, and grew up luxuriantly. His very powers, which are of the first order, served to pamper these passions, by the facility with which they furnished the means of gratification. He is an enemy of superstition, bigotry, and tyranny, without being a friend of religion and true liberty; and he hates the vices of others without loving virtue. His perception of others' faults and foibles is as quick and sure, as his ridicule is pointed and his sarcasm withering. If his object be to depreciate the literary rank of an author, he does not hesitate to expose his personal character, and draw largely from the reservoir of private scandal to accomplish his end. He is like some characters whom we meet in society, gifted with a peculiar power of discovering the foibles and defects of others with a penetration, and exposing them with a malice and cleverness, which make them at once hateful and entertaining, nay, instructive. Even when he acknowledges the injustice of opinions

previously entertained, he does it in so ungracious or frivolous a manner as to deprive his recantation of much, if not all, of its merit. To expect impartiality and fairness of mind from an individual of this description would be unreasonable.

Does any one ask, Of what use, then, is the perusal of the writings of such a man? Of very little, indeed, if we look solely for lessons of virtue; but of great importance, if we want the testimony of a man of talent concerning his own time and its literature, and of still greater importance, when we consider that this same man is not only a witness testifying to what he has seen and what he knows, but to some extent himself an actor in the great drama which is going on, and surely no despicable actor in a state of society where books are the most powerful engines for good or evil.* Men of Mr. Heine's stamp may be opposed, their opinions refuted, and their influence counteracted; but they cannot be silenced. Any attempt to conceal their influence only enhances the danger. They are, and are active; and it is impossible to form a complete and correct idea of the present social condition of Germany, and its prospect, of which they constitute an element, without being acquainted with them and their agency.

Besides, Mr. Heine has excellences as well as faults; and, although we are far from considering them as amends for his errors, we are equally far from denying or concealing their existence. His natural powers are indisputably of a high order, and have been carefully cultivated. His information, although it partakes on some subjects too much of the character of smattering, is by no means despicable on others. This is the case with regard to the whole range of German literature. As a literary man, and more particularly as a critic, he deserves the attention of every German student, because he exhibits a penetration and clearness of perception, a strength and distinctness of delineation, an abundance and happiness of illustration, an appropriateness of comparison, and a liveliness, ease, and vigor of style, rarely united in one man. His control of the language is remarkable; we doubt whether he is surpassed or even equalled in this respect, by

* We saw lately in a newspaper the following article; "The German Diet have denounced by a formal decree, as tending to overthrow the social order of religion, a school of literature and philosophy known under the name of *Young Germany*, at the head of which is Henry Heine, a writer of much ability and celebrity."

any writer of the present time. He combines the volatile, effervescent spirit of the French with the philosophical depth of the German. He evidently writes with an ease which sometimes approaches too nearly to carelessness. The bad habit of using foreign, especially French words, when a German one would answer as well, is perhaps excusable, being accounted for by the fact that he originally wrote this work in French and for the French. His poetical talent, even if he had not evinced it by particular productions which rank him high among the living poets of Germany, is apparent both from his appreciation of the same power in others, and from the beauty of many passages in the work under consideration, passages which have all that constitutes true poetry except versification. The account of the girl in the vicinity of Göttingen, who fell a victim to her misplaced affection and ill-regulated reading, with the exception, indeed, of a few eruptions of the author's inveterate frivolity; the comparison of the heroes of the *Niebelungenlied* to an assembly of the Gothic cathedrals of Europe; the description of the muse of Tieck, readily present themselves to us as examples.

From this short and hasty sketch of Mr. Heine as a literary man, it is at once apparent that he presents a strange mixture of good and bad qualities, and that it were equally incompatible with justice wholly to condemn or unconditionally to praise him. He is a phenomenon, and a very interesting one, of the time; and as such we present him to our readers. We are far from advocating or even excusing his political, theological, and philosophical opinions; but we would in fairness acknowledge the correctness, justice, and originality of many of his criticisms.

As the substance of the "Letters" has appeared in several different forms, we would state, for the purpose of guarding against misapprehension, that it formed, originally, a part of a larger work, written and published in French with the title *Sur l'Allemagne*, and that Heine, having reason to expect a translation into German, executed, perhaps, by an unfriendly hand, resolved to undertake this task himself. From fear of the censorship established in most of the German States, as well as from a due regard for the feelings of his countrymen, he omitted not only the political, but also the most offensive portion of the theological and philosophical parts. This modified work is the original of Mr. Haven's translation,

with the contents of which we shall now proceed to make our readers acquainted. In doing this we shall use, as far as possible, Mr. Heine's own words, in order to give not merely an account of his opinions, but also, with the least possible sacrifice of space, some specimens of his manner.

Mentioning Madame de Staël's work on Germany, as the occasion of his own, and the influence which A. W. Schlegel exercised upon her views, Heine is at once led to speak of that school in German literature, to the examination of which the larger portion of this work is devoted. He considers the two Schlegels as the leaders of the Romantic School, which he defines as the re-awakening of the poetry of the middle ages, as it manifested itself in the songs, the paintings, the architecture, the arts and manners of that period; which poetry was the offspring of Catholicism, then the only form of Christianity in Western Europe. Of this he says, that it was necessary as a wholesome reaction against the fearfully colossal materialism which had developed itself in the Roman Empire, and threatened with annihilation the whole spiritual supremacy of man.

"Sensuality had so usurped control in the Roman world, that the discipline of Christianity was fully needed for its subjection. After the banquet of a Trimalkion, must needs follow a rigid fast like Christianity." . . . . . "The too full-blooded frames of the barbarians were spiritualized by Christianity. It originated the civilization of Europe. This is the praiseworthy, the holy aspect of Christianity. The Catholic church in this respect won for itself the greatest claims to our veneration, to our astonishment. By the grandeur and genius of her institutions she knew how to tame the bestiality of the northern barbarians, and to overpower their brutal materialism." — pp. 10 – 12.

This supremacy of the mind, this spiritualism, is the characteristic of all the productions of art in the Middle Ages, whether in poetry, music, or architecture.

"The poetry of all these productions of the Middle Ages bears a decided character, by which it is distinguished from the poetry of the Greeks and Romans. In regard to this distinction, we entitle the former the Romantic, the latter the Classic School of poetry." . . . . . "The Classic art had but to represent the finite, and its forms were identical with the idea of the artist. The Romantic art had to present, or rather to intimate, the infinite and purely spiritual relations, and hence took refuge in a system of

traditional symbols, or rather parables, even as Christ had sought to make clear his spiritual ideas by every species of parable." — pp. 16 – 18.

When the power of Catholicism waned, its influence upon the arts, also, naturally declined. A reaction took place, which, though the concomitant or effect of Protestantism, was yet by no means confined to the productions of Protestants, but appeared, as Heine ingeniously shows, quite as plainly in Catholic countries and the works of Catholic writers and artists. The period of the new Classic School commenced. This new school developed itself most completely in France, and thence spread over the whole of Europe. In Germany, however, where Godsched was one of its most distinguished leaders, its reign was not of long duration.

"Lessing was the literary Arminius, who freed our theatre from such foreign thraldom. He showed us the nothingness, the ridiculousness, the tastelessness of such an imitation of the French stage, in turn an imitation of the Grecian. But not only by means of his criticism, but also by his own productions, was he the founder of the new school of original German literature. Every tendency of the mind, every form of life, did he follow out with enthusiasm, and with impartiality. The arts, theology, antiquities, poetry, theatricals, history, he pursued them all with the same zeal and to the same object. In all his works there breathes the same great social view, the same progressive humanity, the same rational faith, of which he was the Messenger in the Wilderness, and whose 'Mightier than he' we still await. This religion did he ever teach, though, alas! but too often in solitude and the desert. And then he lacked the power of converting stones to bread, and spent the greater portion of his days in penury and affliction. That is the curse that lights upon almost every German intellect, and which, perhaps, can be dissipated only by political liberty. More than men suspect, was Lessing's interest in political changes; a peculiarity in which he stands apart from almost all of his contemporaries, and in this view we first comprehend aright his description of the petty despotism in 'Emilia Galotti.' He was, at that time, regarded only in the light of a champion for freedom of spirit, and an assailer of clerical intolerance; for his theological writings were better understood." . . . . . "He was, in truth, a man; and while in his polemics he struggled to overthrow the ancient, he at the same time created a something new and of greater worth. He resembled, says an

old German author, those pious Israelites, who, at the building of the second temple, were oft interrupted by incursions of the foe; with one hand they drove back the assailant, with the other, still labored on the house of God." — pp. 24, 26.

It is while speaking of Lessing and Herder, that Heine makes the following beautiful observation on literary history.

"Literary history! It is a vast *morgue*, where each seeks out the friend whom he most loved, with whom he was most familiar. When, amid so many unknown, unhonored forms, I gaze upon a Lessing, or a Herder, upon those faces stamped with the proudest impress of humanity, my heart beats within me. How can I pass away, without a fleeting kiss upon those pallid lips?" — p. 27.

Although Lessing did much by opposing the French school and its second-hand imitations of the Greeks, he occasioned a similar error, even if he did not err himself, by encouraging, unintentionally, a race of feeble and insipid imitators of the genuine works of ancient Grecian art. And, in the same manner, while he opposed religious superstition, he favored, though unconsciously, that sickly spirit of enlightenment that characterized his time, and shone particularly in Berlin under the direction of Nicolai.

In opposition to these pseudo-disciples of the great Lessing, the new Romantic School arose, at the head of which were the two Schlegels. Heine acknowledges the merits of these two distinguished men as critics; but, with regard to their efforts to produce a new literature by means of a well-founded theory, he objects to them, as he does to Lessing, only in a much higher degree, the want of a philosophical system, a want which the *philosophemes* of Fichte and Schelling could not provide for, and which they themselves endeavoured practically to supply by recommending as models, and rendering accessible by means of translations, the best productions of the poetry of the middle ages, especially Shakspeare and Calderon. Heine ridicules this attempt of resorting to the fountains of the *naïve* and simple poetry of the middle ages, and, we think, to some extent, with justice.

"It happened to them [the disciples of the new Romantic School], as to the superannuated maid of honor, of whom the following tale is told: She had observed that her lady owned a wonderful elixir, which possessed the power of renewing youth; in the absence of her lady she took from her toilet the flask

containing this elixir; but in place of drinking a few drops only, she made so long and potent a draught, that, by reason of the increasing wondrous power of the youth-renewing drink, she became not only young, but, in truth, a very little child. And verily such was also the effect upon our excellent Tieck, the best poet of the school; he had quaffed so deeply from the popular legends and poems of the middle ages, that he became almost an infant, and bloomed downward to that lisping simplicity which Madame de Staël has been at so much trouble to admire." — pp. 33, 34.

Besides the spirit of opposition to the insipid literature of the time immediately after Lessing, the political condition of Germany, groaning as it was under the yoke of Napoleon, fostered this admiration of the middle ages and their arts. The want of a more distinctly national element in German literature was felt, and the Romantic School appeared to be able and ready to supply it. The manner in which Heine speaks of the influence of the political condition of the country, of the efforts of the governments, especially that of Prussia, to awaken a spirit of nationality, and the consequences of these efforts, is one of the many instances of his extravagance and frivolity; yet it cannot be denied that there is good ground for the charges implied in his irony, considering that the governments abused the noble sentiment of patriotism for their selfish ends, corrupted its very nature, and changed its legitimate objects; "they commanded us," as Heine says, "to become patriots, and patriots we became."

The tendency towards the spirit of the middle ages was not limited to art and literature, but naturally extended to religion; it strengthened those who were already Catholics in their attachment to their church, and caused others, both literary men and artists, to join it. Such a state of things could not but excite the attention of the friends of Protestantism, and cause a reaction.

"Truly, it was without aught of partiality that I named spiritual freedom and Protestantism conjointly; in fact, a most friendly relation subsists between them there [in Germany]. At all events they are related to each other as mother and daughter; and if we object to the many unpleasing peculiarities of Protestantism, still to her everlasting honor be it said, that, because she has permitted free inquiry into the Christian faith, and liberated

the spirit of man from the authoritative yoke, therefore free inquiry has struck deep its roots in the soil of Germany, and the sciences have obtained an independent developement. The German philosophy, although it now ranges beside the Protestant church, nay, even strives to exalt itself above her, is still but her daughter; as such she is ever bound to a regardful piety toward her mother; and their allied interest demanded that they should league together, when both were threatened by Jesuitism, their common foe. All the friends of spiritual freedom and of the Protestant church, skeptic as well as orthodox, roused themselves simultaneously against the restoration of Catholicism; and, as might naturally be supposed, the liberals stood forth equally in the ranks of this opposition; not, indeed, that they were peculiarly interested, either in philosophy, or the Protestant church, but because they were alarmed for the welfare of civic freedom. Up to this period, however, the liberals of Germany had ever been both school-philosophers and theologians; and it was ever the same idea of freedom for which they fought, it mattered not whether they treated of a theme purely political, or philosophical, or theological. This is most plainly manifest in the life of that individual who undermined the Romantic School at its very outset, and has now most effectually contributed to its overthrow. This individual is Johann Heinrich Voss." —pp. 42–44.

What Heine says of France with regard to Voss, that in that country he is wholly unknown, might with equal justice be said of America. And yet the fervent eulogy of the man, as a scholar and a friend of spiritual and political liberty, as one of the pillars of German literature, to whose merits such a man as Niebuhr * has borne testimony, is fully sustained by facts; and if there be any thing to be added, it is that he was possessed of a private character of great worth, and spotless purity, which rendered him an object of veneration and respect to all who knew him. His contest with Friedrich von Stollberg was more than a personal dispute, it was the encounter of the spirit of liberty and aristocratic privileges; Voss and Stollberg were the representatives of the two great parties.

"The German democracy and the German aristocracy, which, previously to the [first French] Revolution, when the

* "I say it, well considering what I say, that the influence of the labors of Voss on the whole German nation, will be so great, that other nations will feel and acknowledge it." — Lieber's *Reminiscences of Niebuhr.*

one had nothing to hope and the other nothing to fear, had joined in such free and youthful brotherhood, now stood as old men, face to face, to fight the fight of death." — p. 49.

Heine introduces another opponent of the Romantic School, no less a personage than Goethe; but we are inclined to consider his opposition of a negative kind rather than a positive, and call it aversion rather than opposition. For the purpose of supporting his opinions, Heine refers to an article "Upon the Christian Patriotic New-German Art," in his periodical work, "Art and Antiquity."

"In this article, Goethe made, as it were, his eighteenth Brumaire in German literature; for, while he drove the Schlegels so harshly from the temple and attached to his own person many of their most zealous disciples, and was hailed with acclamations by a public to which the Directory of the Schlegels had long since become a scourge, he at the same time laid the foundation of his own monarchical sway over German literature. From that moment no one spake of the Schlegels more, excepting when their names were, perchance, mentioned, as are those of Barras and Gohier." — p. 55.

But Goethe was not suffered to finish his career without opposition. He lived long enough to see opponents and enemies rise up on all sides, and advance the most diverse charges, the principal of which were, that his poems were without moral tendency, and that he presented no noble forms, but only vulgar figures; while Schiller, on the contrary, had exhibited ideal characters of the noblest order, and was, therefore, the greater poet. Others went even further, and, like Menzel, denying his genius, allowed him only talent. The advocates of Goethe endeavoured strenuously to defend him, especially against the first charge, by asserting that art, like the world, remains eternally the same (however the views of men in regard to it may be subject to ceaseless change), and independent of the temporal views of men, and especially independent of morality, which is ever changing upon earth with every new religion. Schiller attached himself much more strongly than Goethe to this world of reality, and, as the poet, that second creator, resembles his great original in this also, that he "forms men in his own image," Schiller created a Carl Moor and Marquis Posa, while Goethe produced his Werther, Wilhelm Meister, and Faust. This portion

of Heine's book is one of the most characteristic specimens of our author's style of criticism. We extract a few periods.

"Nothing is more ridiculous than to depreciate Goethe in favor of Schiller, toward whom the intent was not honorable, and whom men have ever lauded in order to diminish the praise of Goethe. Or were men verily ignorant, that those highly painted, those purely ideal forms, those altar-images of virtue and morality, which Schiller has erected, are far easier to produce than those frail, every-day, contaminated beings that Goethe reveals to us in his works? Know ye not, then, that indifferent painters ever present the full-length picture of some holy saint upon the canvass, but that it requires a consummate master to paint a Spanish beggar, or a Dutch peasant suffering a tooth to be extracted, or hideous old women, as we see them in the little Dutch cabinet pictures, true to life, and perfect in art?" ..... "The Egyptian sorcerers could imitate many of the acts of Moses, as the snakes, the blood, the frogs even; but when he did acts, much more seemingly easy for the magicians, namely, brought vermin upon the land, then they confessed their inability, and said 'That is the finger of God.'" — pp. 70, 71.

Mentioning the personal appearance of Goethe, and his resemblance to the antique representations of Jupiter, Heine relates his own interview with him.

"Verily, when I visited him in Weimar, and stood in his presence, I involuntarily turned my eyes aside, to see if the eagle, with the thunderbolts in his beak, were not attendant upon him. I was just on the point of addressing him in Greek, but when I perceived that he spoke German, I told him in that language, 'that the plums, upon the road between Jena and Weimar, had an excellent relish.' Many a long winter night had I thought with myself how much that was lofty and profound I should say to Goethe, if ever I should see him; and when at last I saw him, I told him that the Saxon plums were excellent." — p. 82.

Heine concludes his remarks on Goethe with the following words;

"Was it out of respect, or was it out of insolence, that death spared all kings, during the year that is gone? Out of pastime he struck senseless the King of Spain, but opportunely bethought himself, and let him live. In the year that has flown, not one single king has died. *Les dieux s'en vont;* as for the kings, we retain them still." — p. 83.

The part of the book, which immediately follows the criti-

cism on Goethe, is devoted to the Schlegels, and is, upon the whole, the most exceptionable portion, indicating a relentless, atrocious hostility, for which there is, upon Heine's own showing, no sort of ground. We are naturally led to suspect some private grudge ; but of what kind, we are not able to divine, nor disposed to inquire. To the younger of the two brothers, Friedrich, Heine allows the precedence as to talent and ability. He does justice to Schlegel's merits in his "Wisdom and Language of the Indians," by which he became to Germany what Sir William Jones is to England, and his "Lectures upon the History of Literature." He closes his remarks upon the latter work thus ;

"Yet, notwithstanding this defect, I know of no abler book upon this subject. It is only by a union of all Herder's labors upon this branch, that one can gain a better general view of the literature of all nations. For Herder sat not in judgment upon the nations, like a high-inquisitor of literature, to condemn or absolve them, according to their degrees of faith. No ! Herder regarded the human race as a mighty harp in the hand of a mighty master ; every people appeared to him a string, tuned to a peculiar measure, and he comprehended the universal harmony of its diverse sounds." — p. 89.

More space, and more venom too, is bestowed upon A. W. Schlegel, the elder brother, interspersed, however, as is indeed the whole book, with correct opinions and shrewd remarks. The very manner in which he introduces him, is a specimen of his bitterness of feeling towards him.

"Were I in Germany, and should attempt to speak of him, men would look upon me with amazement. Who is there in Paris that now speaks of the *Giraffe ?* A. W. Schlegel was born in Hanover, the 5th of September, 1767. I do not know the date by his own confession. I was never so ungallant as to inquire of him his age. This date I found, if I am not mistaken, in Spindler's 'Lexicon of German Authoresses.' Hence A. W. Schlegel is now sixty-four years old. Alexander von Humboldt and other natural philosophers affirm that he is older. Champollion was also of the same opinion." — p. 90.

Notwithstanding his great and violent hatred of Schlegel, he acknowledges fully his merits as a translator, admitting that his translation of Shakspeare is masterly and never to be surpassed, and that he possesses the greatest metrical talent of any German, with the exception, perhaps, of Gries and Platen.

In the study of the ancient German, he places Jacob Grimm, and in that of the Sanscrit, Franz Bopp far above him ; and as a historian, he says, he cannot be compared with Niebuhr, Johannes von Mueller, Heeren, or Schlosser. The following anecdote illustrates what he thinks of him as a poet.

" The violin-player Solomons, who gave lessons to George the Third of England, once said to his noble scholar, ' Violin-players are divided into three classes ; to the first belong those who cannot play at all ; to the second belong those who play very miserably ; and to the third, those who play finely ; your Majesty has already elevated yourself to the rank of the second class.' Does August Wilhelm Schlegel belong to the first class or to the second class ? Some say he is no poet at all ; others, that he is a very miserable one. Thus much I know for certain, he is no Paganini." — p. 92.

But he is most dissatisfied with Schlegel as a critic ; and he ascribes his inefficiency in this respect chiefly, if not solely, to his want of a philosophical foundation, and his inability to comprehend his own time, however fully he has comprehended the spirit of the past, especially of the middle ages, and however successful he is in pointing out this spirit as it exists in the ancient monuments of art, and in demonstrating their beauties in this point of view. By this he accounts particularly for his opposition to the French Drama, and his declaration that the French were the most prosaic people in the world, and that there was no such thing as poetry in France.

" All this did the man say at a period, when so many leaders of the Convention of the great Titan-tragedy wandered in bodily form before his eyes ; at a period when Napoleon daily improvisated an excellent epic, and Paris was thronged with heroes, kings, and gods." . . . . . " Who knows how many deeds have bloomed forth from the verses of Racine ! The French heroes who lie entombed by the Pyramids, by Marengo, Austerlitz, Moscow, and Waterloo, they all had once listened to the measures of Racine, and their Emperor had heard them from the lips of Talma. Who knows how many tons of fame in the Vendôme column belong peculiarly to Racine ! Whether Euripides were a greater poet than Racine, I know not ; but I do know that the latter was a living fountain of enthusiasm, whose draughts intoxicated, enchanted, and inflamed an entire nation. What more would you ask of an individual poet ? " — pp. 95, 97.

The description of the personal appearance of A. W. Schlegel, and the allusions to his private affairs, are so evidently in bad taste and proofs of a rancorous and implacable malice, that we best consult our feelings, and, we think, those of our readers, by passing them by in silent contempt. Justice requires us to state that Heine himself seems to be aware of the impropriety of his conduct; for, when speaking of Goerres he says;

"In the judgment I have passed upon his friends, the two Schlegels, I have perhaps overstepped the bounds proper to be observed in the biographies of these men." — p. 131.

Tieck, who naturally presents himself, being one of the more distinguished, perhaps the most distinguished, of the Romantic School, is, after Schlegel, submitted to a close scrutiny, the result of which, though by no means indicating a friendly spirit, is upon the whole correct, and acknowledges his unquestionable genius.

"And, in truth, he was a poet, a name to which neither of the Schlegels could advance a claim. He was, indeed, the son of Phœbus Apollo, and, like his ever-youthful father, he bore not only the lyre, but also the quiver full of rattling arrows. He was intoxicated with lyrical delight and critical severity, as was the Delphian god. And when, like Apollo, he had pitilessly flayed some literary Marsyas, then, with blood-stained fingers, did he joyously seize again his golden-stringed lyre, and sing a jovial love-song. The poetical polemics which Tieck sustained, under a dramatic form, against the opponents of this school, must rank with the most extraordinary productions of our literature." — pp. 106, 107.

A remarkable circumstance in the literary career of Tieck is presented in his several manners. When he made his first appearance, it was, under the banner of Nicolai, as one of the Berlin advocates of enlightenment and reason, and enemies of superstition and mysticism. He then displayed little of that poetical genius which afterwards astonished and delighted Germany by its brilliancy and abundance. What Heine says of him is very true; it was as if he needed to come into contact with some one who was to open and draw out the hidden treasures; and this was done by the Schlegels. From the time of his connexion with them commences his second manner, of which the most remarkable specimens are several dramas and

novels, as "Der Kaiser Octavian," "Die Heilige Genoveva," "Der Fortunat," "Der blonde Eckbert," and "Der Runenberg." We cannot withstand the temptation to give Heine's description of the character of the novels.

"In these romances there reigns a mysterious accordance, a wonderful intelligence with nature, particularly with the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The reader feels as if traversing an enchanted forest; he hears the subterranean fountains gushing in melody, and oft believes his own name is lisped forth amid the rustling foliage; the broad-leaved plants that trail along the ground twine fearfully around his feet; wildly strange and wondrous flowers glare upon him with party-colored and longing eyes; invisible lips kiss his cheeks with playful tenderness; lofty mushrooms, like golden bells, ring as they spring up beneath the spreading trees; vast, yet silent birds rock themselves upon the branches, and nod downwards with long and knowing bills; all breathes, all listens, fills us with terror, and awakens the most eager curiosity. Then the soft notes of a hunter's horn suddenly break upon the ear, and on her white palfrey, flits along the beauteous image of a lady, the feathers waving from her cap, and the falcon perched upon her wrist. And this beauteous lady is even as beautiful, as blond, as violet-eyed, as smiling and yet as serious, as true and yet as ironical, as chaste and yet as languishing, as the fantasy of our admirable Ludwig Tieck. Yes! his fantasy is a graceful dame of knighthood, chasing the fabulous beasts of an enchanted forest, perchance the most wonderful unicorn, that none, save the chastest maiden, may ever make captive." — pp. 114–116.

Tieck appeared next in his third manner, not a little surprising to those, who, having lately known him as the admirer of the middle ages, saw him now oppose mysticism, insist upon perfect clearness and reasonableness in the productions of art, and represent, in his own productions, life in its most modern forms. Heine, frequently too prone to looking abroad for motives and causes, ascribes this change in Tieck's manner to the influence of Goethe; as he accounts for his second manner by that of the Schlegels. Without denying the influence of one mind upon others, it seems to us, that these three manners of Tieck are the principal stages of a perfectly natural and spontaneous process of the inner man; and what strikes Heine as a strange discrepancy between the understanding and imagination, appears to us as perfect

harmony; the absence of extremes ; in a word, the result of a natural and complete developement.

The remarks on Schelling, Hegel, Steffens, and Goerres are full of interest and humor, but by no means free from prejudice. Heine's charge against the philosophers of the day, that they are state-philosophers, devising a philosophical justification of all interests of the governments to which they owe their patronage, seeking out grounds to justify the existing order of things, and being vindicators of all that is, is the same which was brought against Hegel twenty years ago by many clear-headed and liberal-minded men, and he owed probably his call to Berlin, in 1818, to this faculty of adaptation.

A series of short but graphic sketches of the principal remaining authors of the Romantic School, Hoffmann, Novalis, Brentano, and Arnim, closes this volume, from which we long to extract many passages, especially those relating to German popular poetry and the "Niebelungenlied," but our limits oblige us to forbear.

We should, however, be deficient in our duty, if we did not add a few words of testimony to the great merits of Mr. Haven's translation. His is indeed a translation, not only of the letter, but of the spirit also ; and every one, who is acquainted with the original, and has been struck by the peculiar power of Mr. Heine's style, will at once acknowledge this to be no small praise. We cannot express our admiration of Mr. Haven's talent as a translator in a more convincing manner, than by requesting him to pursue this career, and gratify us with many similar proofs of his acquirements and ability.

ART. VIII. — *De la Démocratie en Amérique.* Par ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, L'un des Auteurs du Livre intitulé, "Du Système pénitentiare aux Etats-Unis."

On the Democracy of America. By ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, One of the authors of "The Penitentiary System of the United States." In Two Volumes. 8vo. Second Edition. Paris. 1835.

IN a former Number of our journal, we reviewed "*The Penitentiary System of the United States,*" the joint production of

M. de Tocqueville and the companion of his journey, M. de Beaumont. That work has been translated, and has obtained a pretty extensive circulation in this country. It has prepared those who have read it to expect the present publication with some eagerness. We feel no hesitation in saying, that this expectation will not be disappointed. M. de Tocqueville shows himself to be an original thinker, an acute observer, and an eloquent writer. We regard his work now before us, as by far the most philosophical, ingenious, and instructive, which has been produced in Europe on the subject of America. In the wide range of its topics, treated as they all are with boldness, there are, as might be anticipated, many things to which, as speculations, we cannot give our assent; there are several mistakes, as to matters of fact, some of considerable importance; there is occasionally a disposition shown, almost universal among intelligent original thinkers, to construct a theory, and then find the facts to support it. These, however, are slight defects in an excellent work. M. de Tocqueville shows, that he came to this country to study with impartiality its institutions, to ascertain its condition, and to trace the existing phenomena to their principles. There is no eulogy in it, and no detraction; but, throughout, a manly love of truth. M. de Tocqueville's observations uniformly discover a high degree of acuteness and discrimination. They show, that to observe accurately and profoundly requires a vigor of mind, as rarely perhaps to be met with, as the power of original invention. The number of men, who are able to lay aside the paltry prejudices of party, — who are not misled by superficial appearances, — who can separate what is permanent and essential from what is momentary, — who can discern great principles under a thousand varying forms of developement, is exceedingly small; and in no one effort perhaps is their talent more severely put to the test, than in writing a book of travels.

We take the greater satisfaction in the work of M. de Tocqueville, from a deep conviction that much mischief has been produced by works of a different character on the subject of America, which have of late years issued in great numbers from the European press. M. de Tocqueville speaks of the bitter hatred entertained by the Americans toward England. We consider that expression as too strong. The angry feelings excited by the wars between the two countries have yielded to time and other healing influences;

and there is nothing to keep up the sort of animosity, which prevails, for instance, between the Turks and the Greeks, the Irish and English, the Russians and Poles, the Spaniards and Portuguese. Still, however, if not hatred, there is a very considerable soreness and sense of injury, existing on the part of America towards Great Britain, and almost exclusively produced by the publications of a portion of the British tourists in this country, and the countenance unadvisedly given to these publications by the most respectable literary journals in England. It is idle to talk of the peculiar irritability of the Americans. M. de Tocqueville, who falls into the vulgar error of foreigners, in imputing such an irritability to the people of this country, (or rather who, on this point, abandons his excellent habit of observing for himself, and adopts, without reflection, one of the stale, stereotyped sneers of the tourists,) explains himself the only circumstance, that gives a semblance of truth to the charge. A vastly greater portion of the community in this, than in any other country, are readers; and the novelties of the day, thrown into circulation, at a rate of almost incredible cheapness, may be said to be read by everybody. The scandal and gossip of the travellers in our own country, give their works an instantaneous circulation, on the same principle that gives zest to the columns of the most worthless journal, which deals in personalities and the abuse of contemporary characters. They are immediately read by almost all persons who read any thing; and those who escape the book itself, must encounter it, at second hand, in the reviews, magazines, and newspapers. These considerations account for the universality of the feeling, which the works in question excite. An American tourist in England might publish an equally offensive book, and not one in ten would hear of it of that class, which in America devours all the trash of every kind that issues from the press. But that the individual, in the two countries respectively, is differently affected by the perusal of works of this class, we have yet to learn. If an English gentleman, who had hospitably entertained an American, should find the confidence of his fire-side violated, and what was done and said in the unsuspicious frankness of the social board duly embalmed in the journal, and blazoned to the world, we are inclined to think he would express himself on the occasion, very much as an American gentleman does, when similarly

situated. We did not observe, that the tone of the British critical press toward Prince Pückler Muscau was particularly characterized by a philosophical indifference toward the individual or personal detraction charged upon the pages of that eccentric writer; and the more recent instance of a countryman of our own furnishes an edifying comment on the atrocious violation of the decencies of life, which has marked the publications of many of the British tourists in America, and the unscrupulous countenance extended to them by the most respectable journals. John Bull's tremendous horn, long, hooked, and crumpled, has been for forty years buried deep in Jonathan's flank; and if the poor sufferer but winks under the discipline, Europe rings from side to side with his tetchiness. But when Jonathan, the other day, in a moment of indiscretion, showed a disposition, in a slight degree, to take a turn at the sport, all Albemarle Street was in commotion. For ourselves, we wholly reprobate this license, on whichever side of the water it is taken; and how gentlemen and ladies, English or American, can find in the mere fact, that they are foreign tourists, (in other words, that in the account of friendly offices, they must almost of necessity stand on the debtor's side,) a reason for liberating themselves from those restraints of good breeding, which would operate on a person travelling from city to city in his own country, we never have been able to conceive.

Much, however, as the violations of confidence and the ungrateful return for hospitality, to which we allude, are to be rebuked, there is a sin of a deeper dye at the door of some of the tourists. We mean that of undertaking the voyage expressly and for the avowed purpose of political effect at home, and consequently to find, and (what is the same thing, with such a purpose,) to make the materials for vilifying this country. These writers have done the greatest mischief; and have mainly contributed to produce that feeling, which M. de Tocqueville, overrating, we trust, its intensity, characterizes as hatred toward England. In the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, when the King was the State, an offensive device on a medal of doubtful authenticity was among the causes of the war with which he desolated Holland. Human nature is the same, in all ages, and on both sides of the Atlantic; and it would be underrating the vigor and efficiency of the British press to suppose, that, if its conductors and contributors, of all descriptions, desire to excite a bad temper between the two countries, they will fail of their object.

We have already intimated the opinion, that M. de Tocqueville's work exhibits more insight into our system than any European publication which we have seen, and we consider this circumstance as somewhat remarkable. Our institutions (to use a word which our English brethren profess not to understand, though in what its obscurity consists we do not perceive,) are modelled, to a considerable extent, on those of England. Our law in its frame-work, substance, and phraseology is English, and our constitutional forms generally are borrowed from those of the mother country. Between our legal and political system and that of France, there is, on the contrary, the greatest possible dissimilarity. And yet, while M. de Tocqueville has seized, with great accuracy and acuteness, the prominent points of our policy, both in matter of theory and practical operation, we do not recollect any English writer, who has comprehended either; certainly not Captain Hall or Colonel Hamilton, from whom, if from any of the British tourists, it might have been expected. No English writer on this country has discerned the important part sustained by our town and county organization in carrying on the government; or evinced any accurate knowledge of the relative limits of the National and State jurisdictions. We could almost think that the resemblance, which exists between the two countries, prevents a more accurate perception of the state of things, in points where the resemblance ceases, and the peculiarities and novelties commence. England lives under an organization, which may be compared to the solar system; every thing proceeds from or tends to the focus of central attraction. America possesses a much more complicated organization; like that of which the sun, with all its subject planets, is supposed to form a part in the heavens. The twenty-four independent States, each constituted substantially according to the political type of the mother country, compose a general system of government variously complicated with the separate systems, perpetually acting into them and reacted upon by them, both organically and sympathetically, forming in the general result, a highly artificial plan, whose main workings have been long ascertained by experience, but of which incidental properties and functions are continually unfolding themselves, beyond the range of any thing contemplated even by its founders. Now it is perhaps natural, that the Frenchman who approaches the subject as new in all its

parts, and studies it in the existing phenomena, without being misled by previous associations, may attain a more accurate knowledge of it, than an Englishman who comes to America, expecting to find nothing but the English system, *mutatis mutandis*. The latter is not likely fully to comprehend to what extent the old names import new things; how far that which is wholly new, varies the action of that which is borrowed, and how far the absence of that which was not borrowed from England, changes the character of what was. Besides this, it is not to be disguised, that, with Englishmen of almost all classes, the American constitutions are regarded as the British, in a state of degeneracy. No man can comprehend a system against which he is prejudiced; the passions are on all subjects the great disturbers of perception and obstructers of knowledge. A Frenchman of the liberal school like M. de Tocqueville, is disposed to regard the representative republics of America, as a fair and natural attempt to carry the principles of the British constitution into their consequences. If he has no partiality for the experiment, he has at least no prejudice against it.

It would be underrating the importance of M. de Tocqueville's work to regard it merely as a book on America. It is a work of deep significance and startling import for Europe and for the modern civilized world. Let the first sentences of the introduction attest the truth of this remark.

"Among the new objects, which attracted my attention, during my residence in the United States, nothing struck me more powerfully, than the *equality of conditions*. I easily discovered the prodigious influence, which it exercises on the march of society. It gives a certain direction to the public mind, a certain character to the laws; new maxims to rulers, and peculiar habits to the ruled.

"I soon found that this principle extends its influence far beyond politics and laws; that it exerts the same sway over society as over the government. It creates opinions, gives rise to feelings, suggests usages, and modifies what it does not produce.

"Thus, then, in proportion as I studied American society, I saw more and more, in the equality of conditions, the *parent fact* from which every other fact seemed to proceed; and I continually met it as a central point, in which all my observations terminated.

"I then directed my mind toward our own hemisphere. It seemed to me that I distinguished there something analo-

gous to the spectacle presented in the new world. I saw the equality of conditions, which, without having reached its extreme limits, as in the United States, was daily approaching them; and that same democracy, which bore sway in the American communities, seemed to me to advance rapidly toward power in Europe.

"From this moment the idea of my work was conceived. A great democratic revolution is going on among us; all see it, but all do not estimate it alike. Some, considering it as a novelty, as an accident, hope to be able to arrest it; while others judge it to be irresistible, because it seems to them the fact the most constant, the most ancient, and the most permanent, known in history."—pp. 1, 2.

Our readers perceive from these sentences, that our author's work is no child's play. Well may M. de Tocqueville remark, as he presently does, that his mind is solemnized at the statement of the subject. He regards the government of this country, as founded on great ultimate principles, which lie deep in the nature of man; as a bold and noble experiment to develope and apply those principles. He farther considers the civilized world, which looks on, the spectator of the experiment, as itself profoundly interested in the result; nay more, that a similar experiment, in earlier stages and under other conditions, is proceeding at the same time in Europe; and that between the great experiments, going on in the two hemispheres, there is a constant action and reaction.

We conceive it of great importance to take these enlarged views of our politics. They elevate and purify the mind. They lift it out of the narrow sphere of contemporary intrigues; and they show the incalculable importance of the part which Providence has assigned us on the stage of life. In nothing has M. de Tocqueville more approved his sagacity, than in placing at the very head of his work, as the parent principle of our institutions, the "Equality of Conditions"; and it will be found, by a careful study of the genius of the various forms of government, at different times established in the world, that they differ mainly in this respect. This is essential, every thing else is accidental, in the constitution of political societies.

The fact of the equality of men is most curiously arranged in the providential order of human affairs; and it seems to us that the manner, in which the allotments of a Higher Wisdom

have been obeyed and respected in the contrivances of our constitution, affords, more than any thing else, the proof of the almost inspired sagacity of our fathers. Religion teaches the moral equality of men, as the great foundation principle of our nature, which admits of no respect of persons with God. By the side of this moral equality, we perceive, nevertheless, the most extraordinary diversity of physical gifts and intellectual capacities ; in the result of which, in every form of society that has ever been practically tried among men, from the most ancient patriarchal government, to the rudest simplicity of savage life on the one hand, and the most complicated and artificial constitution on the other, vast disparities of condition among individuals are continually presenting themselves. These inequalities of gifts and capacities are the basis, first, of wealth, influence, and power. The robust, healthy, intelligent, brave savage is found in the possession of a larger and more commodious wigwam, of a buffalo's skin more tastefully ornamented, of a finer horse, of a comelier squaw, and of superior influence, perhaps of a commanding lead in the tribe. The same elements, concentrated into military prowess, in a more artificial constitution of society, led to the formation of the various monarchical and aristocratical governments, which have at different times existed in the world, and which were so many political contrivances, devised by the self-perpetuating instinct of power, not to give effect to the moral equality, but to perpetuate the physical and intellectual inequality of men. This, in itself, was an abuse, because in a frame of government, organized on the true principles of the nature of man, the moral equality, which is eternal and universal, should have been the end, and the physical and intellectual diversity the modification of the system. But the evil did not stop here ; the ancient governments, in seeking to perpetuate and organize the *diversity principle*, adopted institutions, which had the direct effect of still further impairing the *equality principle*. From this moment, the beautiful equilibrium of nature was disturbed, and enduring mischief was perpetrated. The fortunate general sought to transmit to his son that predominance in the state, which he had himself acquired by his valor. He was entitled to it for his personal qualities, and he wished to bequeath it to his son, who did not possess those personal qualities. Now and then the egregious absurdity, as well as injustice, of such a bequest peeps out. When

Richard Cromwell, the good-natured, timid, smooth-visaged, English gentleman, tries to take up the mighty battle-axe with which his father Oliver, with a reeking hand and a brow ploughed and blackened by the thunder-bolts which staggered, but could not prostrate him, had hewed his way to power, the world looks on with derision, laughs awhile, and permits Richard, greatly hissed for his pains, to sink away to his hiding place. But the line of monarchs, from Nimrod down, has been principally the alternation of Oliver and Richard. Oliver gives an impulse to the system, which often lasts through a succession of Richards. And when mankind, disdaining at length the ignominious yoke of a feeble despotism, conspires to throw it off, and affairs fall into confusion, up starts Oliver again in the old line or a new one, and plies his iron flail, till they cry for mercy, and all again is quiet. This *rationale* of political history was well understood by the ancients, and happily illustrated in the annals of their sacred Majesties, King Log and King Stork.

As, in the transmission of power, the personal superiority strives to perpetuate itself at the expense of the general equality, so with the transmission of fortune. The very idea of property, that which makes it to be what it is, namely, *one's own*, authorizes the possessor to dispose of it at his pleasure, while he lives and at his death. Experience showed the convenience of strengthening transmitted power by an alliance with transmitted wealth. Hence the various devices, the entails, the substitutions, and the trusts, by which, in the language of the law, the accumulations of one generation are *committed to the faith* of the next, to be used, kept together, and handed down. But, as it is plain that the equality, on which all stood as candidates for power, in the first generation, is greatly disturbed in the second by the organization of society into permanent divisions of rank ; so, for the acquisition of wealth, the equality principle is still more fatally impaired by all devices calculated to keep great accumulations together. In the first generation, all stand fairly in the competition, with no other inequality than that of the natural endowments. In the second, some start with great accumulations of inherited capital locked up against the vicissitudes of fortune. In this way, the natural constitution of society is subverted. The principle of equal rights is entirely lost sight of, a common interest ceases to exist, and every thing is

reduced to force; with some considerable assistance from habit, patriotic pride, and superstition.

In this state the American Revolution found the world; and from this political and social condition the American constitutions seek to restore mankind. The plan was not excogitated in the philosopher's cell, nor proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet. It offered itself, as all mighty improvements must offer themselves, spontaneously, to men nearly unconscious of the great work of which they were the chosen instruments. Wise men proposed it; but they did not invent it, or create it. It grew out of the providential constitution of our race, and the heaven-controlled juncture of affairs. A child can drop an acorn into the ground, which will grow up into an oak; and all the academies in the universe, with all their chemistry, cannot compound a blade of grass. The time had come, the circumstances were favorable, the soil was mellow. The natural equality of man is embalmed in an elective system. *Detur digniori.* The impossibility of the actual intervention of each individual of a large nation is relieved by a representative government. The system in a moment is complete. It is an elective representative republic. As transmitted power sought the alliance of transmitted wealth, transmitted political equality demands a healthy circulation of property. This is effected by the statute of distributions, in virtue of which, at the end of the second generation in most cases, and invariably at the end of the third, the accumulation vanishes, and nature's noble upstarts are found at the head of affairs. No violence, no plunder, no invasion of the right of property. All is gradual, salutary, and life-giving, because all is done in conformity with the dictates of nature.

In this way, as far as theory goes, the individual diversity principle and the general equality principle are thoroughly harmonized; and the experiment of two hundred years (for the system in all its great features dates rather from the settlement of the country than the revolution) has fully tried it in practice. To say, that in no single instance it has failed; that no bad man has been raised to office; that no good man has lived in undervalued obscurity; that there has been no profligate wealth, and no wronged, heart-broken poverty, would, of course, be idle. But this may be truly said, — that all the evils which disfigure our system equally exist in all others. There are, and have been in all time, as many bad and incom-

petent rulers, as many worthless persons clothed with influence and fortune, in other countries as in this, and many monstrous oppressions elsewhere existing are here wholly unknown. This, also, may be said, that the evils which manifest themselves in the working of our system, are entirely analogous with those which are exhibited in the whole moral constitution of the universe, as far as we can comprehend it; which presents to our observation, alike in the intellectual and the physical world, the perpetual antithesis of a perfect theory and constantly recurring exceptions to its operation, an absolute nature thwarted in individual cases of developement, a beneficent system struggling under the abuse of its most genial provisions.

But it is time to return from these speculations to the matter more immediately before us. No part of M. de Tocqueville's work has struck us as more masterly, than the manner in which, in his Introduction, he has traced the growth of the democratic principle in Europe.

"I look back," says he, "a moment, on what Europe was seven hundred years ago. I find it divided among a small number of families, who possess the earth and govern the inhabitants. The right of commanding descends from generation to generation with the inheritances. Men have but a single instrument of acting upon each other, and that is force; and there is but one source of power, landed property.

"In this state of things, the power of the clergy is founded and extends itself. The clergy opens its ranks to all, the poor and the rich, the nobleman and the commoner. Equality begins to penetrate through the avenues of the church to the bosom of the government; and he who would have vegetated like a serf, in a constant slavery, places himself as a priest in the midst of nobles, and not seldom sits down above kings.

"Society becoming in time more civilized and more stable, the different relations among men become more complicated and numerous. The necessity of civil laws is strongly felt. From this necessity the legal profession springs up. Its members go forth from the dark enclosure of tribunals, from the dusty retreats of the registry, and take their places in the court of the prince, by the side of feudal barons covered with ermine and steel.

"Kings ruin themselves by vast enterprises; nobles are exhausted by private wars; commoners grow rich by trade. The influence of money begins to be felt in the affairs of the state.

Commerce opens a new path to influence, and financiers constitute a power in the state, at once despised and courted.

"By degrees, knowledge is diffused; taste for literature and the arts awakens; talent becomes an element of success; science is a means of government, and intelligence becomes a social power. The learned attain political station.

"Meantime, in proportion as new avenues to power are opened, the importance of birth declines. In the eleventh century, in France, nobility was of inestimable value. It could be had for money in the thirteenth century. The first patent of nobility was conferred in 1270, and equality was at last introduced into the government by the aristocracy itself.

"During the last seven hundred years, it has sometimes happened, that, in order to struggle against the royal authority or to divest rivals of power, the nobles have given political importance to the people.

"Much more frequently, kings have been seen to introduce the lower classes into the government, in order to abase the aristocracy.

"In France, the kings have shown themselves the most active and constant of levellers. When they have been ambitious and strong, they have labored to elevate the people to the level of the nobles; when they have been moderate and feeble, they have permitted the people to rise above the throne itself. Some have aided the democracy by their talents, others by their vices. Louis the Eleventh and Louis the Fourteenth took care to reduce every thing to a level beneath the throne. Louis the Fifteenth, with all his court, descended himself into the dust.

"From the time that the soil began to be possessed by the citizens on any other than a feudal tenure, and personal property began to create influence and give power, every discovery made in the arts, every improvement in commerce and industry, created so many new elements of equality among men. From this moment, the processes found out, the wants occasioned, the desires awaked, are so many steps toward a general levelling. The taste for luxury, the love of war, the empire of fashion, the passions of the human heart, alike the most superficial and the most profound, seem to work together to impoverish the rich and to enrich the poor.

"From the time that the labors of the mind became the source of strength and wealth, every scientific developement, every new branch of knowledge, every original idea became a germ of power accessible to the people. Poetry, eloquence, memory, the graces of the mind, the fires of the imagination, depth of thought, all the gifts which Heaven scatters at a venture,

profited the democracy; and even when those gifts were found in the possession of their adversaries, they still promoted the democratic interest, by bringing out in bold relief the natural greatness of man. Its conquests accordingly extended with those of civilization, and knowledge and literature became an arsenal, common to all, where the weak and the poor daily resorted for arms.

"In running over the pages of our history for seven hundred years, you meet no great events, which have not promoted equality.

"The crusades and the English wars decimate our nobility, and produce a division of their estates; the municipal incorporations introduce democratic liberty into the bosom of the feudal monarchy; the discovery of fire-arms equalizes the vassal and his lord, on the field of battle; the art of printing offers equal resources to their intelligence; the post-office brings knowledge alike to the cottage and the palace; Protestantism maintains, that the road to Heaven is equally open to all men; and the discovery of America presents a thousand roads to fortune, and conducts obscure adventurers to wealth and power.

"If, starting from the eleventh century, you scrutinize what takes place in France from half-century to half-century, you will not fail to perceive, at the end of each period, that a double revolution has taken place in the social condition. The noble will have sunk in the social scale, the commoner will have risen; the one descends, the other mounts. With each age they approach each other, and they will soon meet together.

"Nor is this peculiar to France. On whatever side we cast our eyes, we perceive the same revolution throughout the Christian world." — pp. 4 – 8.

Views like these are equally sound and cheering; they reconcile us to the fortunes of our race. When we contemplate the unsatisfactory progress of freedom; when we witness revolutions commencing under the most promising auspices, but soon plunging into seas of blood; when we see symptoms of degeneracy in the practical operation of the wisest systems of government; when we contemplate the leaden apathy of that ignorance and servitude, into which many of the nations have settled down, our hearts are apt to sink within us. We are ready to despair of the progress of man toward any substantial improvement of his condition, as a member of civil society. But a survey of broad tracts of history is sufficient to correct the impression. The dark annals of the middle ages furnish a source of cheerful hope. It is ground enough of consolation,

that we do not live in the time of the crusades. The baronial castles, masses of tasteless ruins that lie in heaps on the hill-tops of Europe, and whisper from their crumbled battlements the tale of the private wars that desolated the nations for three centuries, are eloquent of encouragement. Arbitrary forms of government still subsist; but civilization, if not constitutions, has broken down much of their rigor. The fangs of the Inquisition are extracted, and nation after nation has risen up with their once enslaved children into the light of knowledge and Christianity. The crew of the ship may fall into unhappy dissensions, but she is ploughing her way onward before the breeze, and will yet reach the port. No doubt there is a mournful waste of energy, in the struggles of party against party and nation against nation, of those who have the same interests at stake and the same object at heart. No doubt there is a deplorable waste of innocent blood. Thousands and tens of thousands of intelligent men, in our own happy country, are constantly straining all their energies in worthless contests with each other for worthless objects; and hundreds of thousands throughout the civilized world annually fall a prey to the sword, to the diseases of the camp, and to the horrid reverses of fortune, that follow in the train of war. These evils we witness and feel, and they make us, perhaps, despond over the progress of mankind. But the age of Peter the Hermit, of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, of Louis the Eleventh and Henry the Eighth were worse. All the now existing evils existed in a tenfold degree. Abuses now unknown bore sway; and the great mass of men were actually brutalized in the depths of their ignorance and subjection. No brighter prospect need be desired for mankind than that religion, morals, government, literature, and the arts, in a word civilization and liberty, may, for ten centuries to come, make a progress equal to that, which has been made in the ten centuries past; and if we are authorized to hope, as we may without extravagance, that each newly discovered art, truth, and right will furnish in itself not merely a new blessing, but a new instrument of other discoveries and improvements in morals, government, and social existence, imagination itself must fail in the attempt to estimate the inheritance, which is in store for our children.

There is great power and sublimity in the manner in which M. de Tocqueville, having sketched the past, glances at the future fortunes of Europe.

"Whither, then, are we tending? No one can say; for the terms of the comparison already fail us. The conditions of men among Christians are already more equal than they ever were among men at any previous time, in any country; thus the magnitude of what has already been done prevents our measuring that which remains to be accomplished.

"The work which is now submitted to the reader, has been written under the impression of a sort of religious terror, produced in the mind of the author by the view of that irresistible revolution, which for so many ages has advanced against every obstacle, and which is still advancing in the midst of the ruins it has caused.

"It is not necessary that God should speak himself, in order that we may discover the certain signs of his will. It is enough to ascertain what is the habitual march of nature and the continual tendency of events. I know, without an audible voice from the Creator, that the planets perform their courses on the curves, which he has marked out.

"If long observations and meditations, pursued in good faith, should convince the men of this day, that the gradual and progressive developement of equality is at once the past and the future of their history, this single discovery would give to this developement the sacred character of the will of the Sovereign Master. To wish to arrest democracy would then appear to be a struggle against Heaven itself; and nothing would remain to the nations but to accommodate themselves to the social state, imposed on them by Providence.

"The Christian nations appear to me, at the present day, to exhibit even a terrific spectacle. The movement which impels them is already so strong, that it cannot be suspended; it is not yet so rapid, that it is hopeless to attempt to direct it. Their fate is still in their hands, but soon it will escape them. To instruct the democracy; to renovate, if possible, its religious belief; to purify its manners; regulate its movements; substitute by degrees the knowledge of affairs for its inexperience; an acquaintance with its true interests for its blind instincts; to adapt its government to time and place; to modify it according to circumstances and men; such is the first of the duties imposed in our day on those who direct society." — pp. 9, 10.

We have made these extracts as presenting favorable specimens of our author's manner. It would take us greatly beyond our limits, to engage in an analysis of his work. Some general account of the plan, with some additional extracts, and a few remarks, by way of comment, will fully suffice to

give our readers an idea of its value, and to induce them to acquaint themselves with its contents.

The first chapter treats of the physical configuration, (geography) of North America. The second is devoted to what the author calls the *point of departure* of the first settlers, namely, their character, previous opinions, and motives in emigrating. This portion of the work contains very profound observations on the original germ of democratic liberty, as developed in the municipal organization of the mother country. We have already made a remark as to the superior insight possessed by M. de Tocqueville into American affairs, compared with that evinced by some of the ablest English tourists and writers. The present chapter affords a confirmation of this remark. It so happened, that in the early periods of the American settlements, it was the practice of the British government to transport felons to some of the plantations. On this notable fact, and for the worthy purpose of complimenting the present generation, it has been deemed a most valuable doctrine to propose on the subject of the colonization of the United States, "that their Adam and Eve came out of Newgate." This reflection was historically so correct; it was so flattering to Great Britain, considering certain passages in the international relations of the two countries; it was so pleasing and philosophical a solution of the American problem; and its first propounder (Mr. Cobbett) was, in all respects, so worthy a guide of public sentiment, that it is not wonderful, that it was, on several occasions, adopted by writers of great consideration and weight, among others by our learned brother of the English "Quarterly Review."* The following is the most recent form in which we have seen the sentiment stated; it is quoted from "Frazer's Magazine."

"Any one initiated into the secrets of the book-trade must be aware, that copies of the Newgate Calendar are in constant and steady request throughout President Jackson's dominions; most families being anxious to possess that work from motives connected with heraldry and genealogical science."

Now let us hear what M. de Tocqueville has to say of the first settlement of New England, and the character of those, who led the way in its colonization.

"After having thus taken a rapid survey of American society

* For January, 1828.

in 1650, if we examine the state of Europe, and particularly that of the continent toward the same period, we feel ourselves penetrated with profound surprise. On the continent of Europe, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, absolute royalty everywhere triumphed over the ruins of the oligarchical and feudal liberty of the middle age. In the bosom of this brilliant and accomplished Europe, the idea of the rights of the people was more misconceived, than perhaps even at any other period. Never did the people possess less of the political life; never had notions of true liberty less engaged the minds of men; and yet at this very period these ideas of liberty, unknown to the European nations, or despised by them, were proclaimed in the deserts of the New World, and became the future symbol of a great people. The boldest theories of the human understanding were reduced to practice in this society, apparently so humble, and of which assuredly at that time, no statesman had deigned to take notice. Inspired by the originality of nature, the imagination of man there struck out a legislation not founded on precedents. In the bosom of this obscure democracy, which had as yet produced neither generals, nor philosophers, nor great writers, there could arise a man in the presence of a free people, and give, amidst the general acclamation, this beautiful definition of liberty.

"'The questions which have troubled the country of late, and from which these disturbances in the State have risen, have been about the authority of the magistrate and the liberty of the people. Magistracy is certainly an appointment from God. We take an oath to govern you according to God's law and our own; and if we commit errors, not willingly, but for want of skill, you ought to bear with us, because, being chosen from among yourselves, we are but men and subject to the like passions as yourselves. Nor would I have you mistake your own liberty. There is a freedom of doing what we list, without regard to reason and justice. This liberty is indeed inconsistent with authority. But civil, moral, and federal liberty consists in every man's enjoying his property and having the benefit of the laws of his country, which is very consistent with his duty to the civil magistrate. And for this you ought to contend, with the hazard of your lives.'" *

"I have already said enough to place in its true light the

"* Mather's *Magnalia.* — This discourse was pronounced by Winthrop. He had been accused of arbitrary acts of power. After having pronounced the discourse of which the above is a fragment, he was triumphantly acquitted, and from that time regularly re-elected Governor. See Marshall's *Washington,* Vol. I. p. 166."

character of the Anglo-American civilization. It is the product (and this point of departure must be constantly borne in mind) of two elements entirely distinct, and elsewhere often found in opposition to each other, but which the Americans have succeeded in incorporating with each other and bringing into marvellous combination ; I mean the *spirit of religion* and the *spirit of liberty*." —pp. 67 - 69.

Though we have disclaimed the purpose to institute a minute criticism of the details of M. de Tocqueville's work, we cannot pass from the chapter before us, without pointing out an inadvertence, capable of leading to a very injurious conclusion. A note to page sixty-second sets forth that, "By the penal law of Massachusetts, the Catholic priest who sets foot in the colony, after having been driven from it, is punished with death." This statement, without any thing to make the reader regard it as expressed in the historical style, the present for the preterite, might betray him into a singular misconception of the state of toleration, which now exists under the law of Massachusetts. His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux, for thirty years a most respected citizen of Boston, must guard our friends in France against the mistake. The severe legislation against Catholic priests borrowed by the colonies from the mother country, was the enactment of a very early period (1647), and has long since passed away. It may be proper also to remark by way of explaining to a portion of our foreign readers the true character of the legislation of the colonies, as well as of England on the subject of the Roman Catholic religion, that it must by no means be ascribed purely to ecclesiastical considerations. It rested on such considerations in the colonies, no doubt, to a greater extent than it did in the mother country. Our forefathers entertained an unaffected dread of the peculiarities of the Roman Catholic church, and it was their chief ground of dissent from the church of England, that it had, as they thought, stopped short in its career of reform. But, in both countries, political causes of hostility lay deep in the minds of the people. The dispute between the two churches was intimately connected with political questions, which, from Henry the Eighth, to William and Mary, came home to the organization of the hierarchy as a great element in the government, the composition of the House of Lords, the pecuniary condition of a large body of the priesthood of both communions,

and the titles to no small amount of secularized church property. Besides the interests involved in these questions, an abiding irritation had sprung from the relations of Elizabeth and Mary, and the gunpowder plot under James. After William and Mary, to all the previous causes of an irritable sensibility on this subject, was added the paramount question of a disputed succession to the crown. The colonies could not but sympathize in the excitement of the mother country on these questions ; and if their immediate interest in some of them was inconsiderable, it was still a matter of the highest state policy, that they should atone for their nonconformity, at least by a zealous anti-Romanism, to which their feelings guided them, not less than their interest.*

The third chapter treats of the social state of the Americans in a general way, of which the author regards the main characteristic to be an essential democracy. He finds in the provisions of our laws relative to the admission to bail, an aristocratic distinction, which favors the rich more than the poor, in matters of criminal justice. This conception, how-

* As the terms of the old law confirm the view we have taken of its policy, and the volume, in which it is contained, is rarely met with, we give it entire from the earliest " Revised Laws," Edition of 1672.

" JESVITES.

" This Court taking into consideration the great Wars, Combustions, and Divisions, which are this day in Europe, and that the same are observed to be raised and fomented chiefly by the secret underminings and solicitations of those of the Jesuitical Order, Men brought up and devoted to the Religion and Court of Room, which hath occasioned divers States to expel them their Territories, for prevention whereof among ourselves ;

" It is Ordered and Enacted by authority of this Court, That no Jesuite or Spiritual or Ecclesiastical person (as they are termed), ordained by the authority of the Pope or See of Room, shall henceforth at any time repair to, or come within this Jurisdiction : And if any person shall give just cause of suspition, that he is one of such Society or Order, he shall be brought before some of the Magistrates, and if he cannot free himself of such suspition, he shall he committed to Prison, or bound over to the next Court of Assistants, to be tried and proceeded with, by Banishment or otherwise as the Court shall see cause.

" And if any person so banished be taken the second time within this Jurisdiction, upon lawful trial and conviction, he shall be put to death. Provided this law shall not extend to any such Jesuite, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical person, as shall be cast upon our Shores by Ship-wrack or other Accident, so as he continue no longer then till he may have opportunity of Passage for his departure ; nor to any such as shall come in company with any Messenger hither upon publick occasions, or Merchant, or Master of any Ship belonging to any place, not in enmity with the State of England, or ourselves, so as they depart again with the same Messenger, Master, or Merchant, and behave themselves inoffensively during their abode here."— (1647.)

ever, is founded rather in theory, than in any accurate observation of the practical injustice of our law in that respect.

The fourth chapter treats of the sovereignty of the people, as the acknowledged principle of the American constitutions, and its inevitable tendency to universal suffrage. M. de Tocqueville justly describes this principle as coeval with the settlement of the colonies, owing not its origin but its enthusiastic developement to the Revolution. It is unquestionably the master-principle of our politics ; — that from which the highest duties of the citizen flow. The great mass of men are virtuous, patriotic, and single-hearted in reference to public affairs ; but the great mass of men are also absorbed in their private concerns, and, looking individually neither for the honors nor emoluments of office, are too apt, in common times, to sink into a profound apathy and a criminal indifference relative to the concerns of the country. Thus the field is too often left open to the demagogue, who enters it with those forces, which the law of universal suffrage enables him to enlist among the uninformed and the unprincipled. The solid portion of society are at home about their business; the intriguer, with his deluded instruments, at the polls. Hence the almost unvarying fate of free states ; seasons of prosperous degeneracy, and of political revival in difficult times. Affairs are brought into a bad train, by the incompetent or dishonest men, who from the causes stated have found their way to power ; — a crisis comes on, great public dangers supervene, the patriotism of the country is awakened, and better men are called to the helm. Circumstances, too numerous to be indicated determine the laws of this fluctuation, both as to duration and extent. Wholly to obviate it, is perhaps more than can be hoped for, in the imperfection of human affairs. The nature of the evil indicates the exercise of the elective franchise as the highest duty of all good citizens ; but the most effectual remedy must be sought in universal education. With a universal diffusion of knowledge, universal suffrage may be stripped of its accompanying evils, and rendered, in practice as in theory, a source of strength and happiness to the state. The possession of the elements of useful knowledge and the cheap multiplication of good books would render the mere party press comparatively powerless, and wrest from the demagogue the wand of his power.

M. de Tocqueville, as we have already intimated, has per-

ceived, more distinctly than other writers on this country, the necessity of commencing his inquiries with the separate States ; and that not only in reference to their constitutions of State government, but their municipal corporations. He has made New England the basis of his investigations in this respect, justly deeming the municipal organization of this part of the country to be much more systematically developed, than that of the rest of the Union. This remark was emphatically made by Mr. Jefferson, who deemed the *towns* in New England to be the cause of a good part of its prosperity. It should, however, be borne in mind, that the counties in Virginia and other States formed on her model are multiplied greatly beyond the proportion of their population, as compared for instance with Massachusetts, in order to supply, in some degree, by the machinery of county organization, the want of that of the towns. Massachusetts with a population, in 1830, of about six hundred thousand, has fourteen counties ; and Virginia, with a population about double that of Massachusetts, has one hundred and five counties. Still, however, the county organization is vastly less penetrating and efficient than that of the towns ; and all those interests, which are under the peculiar guardianship of the towns in New England, the poor, the high-ways, and, above all, the schools, are comparatively neglected, where the municipal organization is wanting.

M. de Tocqueville has penetrated, upon the whole, with great accuracy, the municipal system of New England. Certain suggestions would however mislead a foreign reader. Thus it is said, that "there are nineteen principal town-offices. Each citizen is compelled, under penalty of a fine, to accept these several offices ; but at the same time the greater part of them are paid, in order that the poorer citizens may devote their time to them without injury." The most important municipal offices are discharged gratuitously ; and of none of them perhaps can it be said, that the salaries amount to a compensation sufficient to enable the poor to accept them, did they impose duties requiring a large appropriation of time. They are, however, usually filled by the substantial citizens of the towns. Again ; "You see, accordingly, the towns in New England buy and sell, bring and defend suits before the courts, make what appropriations, and raise what sums of money they please, without any check from a superior administrative authority." Although it may

be correctly stated, that all this can be done, without an *administrative* check, the expenditures of the towns are not wholly uncontrolled. The courts of justice will hold the towns to a *bonâ fide* interpretation of the law, which authorizes them to raise money to defray the "reasonable charges" of the town. All conceivable objects of expenditure are not reasonable charges. Besides this, the money is to be raised by the vote of those who are to pay it, among whom a great equality of taxability prevails; and where peculiar circumstances favor a surcharge on individuals of the burden of taxation, a change of residence to some other town is easily effected. This last remedy against oppression will be less easily appreciated in Europe, where family estates are of such vast importance, and their proprietors are rendered by them fixtures on the soil, scarcely more movable, than the massy walls they inhabit. But this locomotive quality of the American population has not escaped M. de Tocqueville's observation in another connexion. On the whole, no element of American liberty is more essential than this unobtrusive, humble, domestic, municipal organization. Every thing is done by the neighbours; by the people, whose interest and comfort are to be promoted. It is the curse of *centralization*, that it puts power into the hands of those who know not Joseph. They cannot exercise it so well; and if they could, and if they did, they would not have the credit of it. There is always an air about a commissioner, who comes down from a distance. How can he tell where to build the district school? Who taught him to thread his way through the barberry-bush lanes, and across the beaver-meadows, to find out the true centre of population for their sun-burnt and flaxen-headed little tenantry? Does he, the supercilious stranger, know how much that steep hill will bear levelling, with a view to the 'Squire's convenience at the summit, without subverting the doctor's underpinning on the side? Can all his town-learned wisdom teach him how much longer that poor old crone may be safely indulged in her preference of every thing but starvation and freezing at home, rather than be made comfortable in the almshouse?

To give a foreigner an adequate idea of the importance of the town system of New England, as a school of legislation and politics, would be wholly impossible. It is enough to say, that the great contest of principle between Great Britain and

her colonies was, as far as New England is concerned, mainly carried on in the towns. The principles were discussed in town-meeting. The representatives, as the crisis drew on, came up to the seat of government with their instructions adopted in town-meeting, often argumentative, pertinent, and eloquent in no common degree. And from that time to this, the same assemblies furnish a constantly renewed discipline in the manly arts of popular government. We do not wonder at the tenacity with which the towns adhere to all their immunities; and no better illustration could be offered of the estimation in which they are held by the people of Massachusetts, than the enormous tax, which is borne for the sake of keeping up a house of representatives in this State, whose great size is occasioned by the resolute adherence of the towns to their right of separate representation.

The sixth chapter discusses the topic of the judiciary; the seventh that of impeachments, the terrors of which are greatly exaggerated by M. de Tocqueville. Out of the hundreds of thousands of functionaries of the States and of the United States, who, since the adoption of their constitutions, have been amenable to the impeaching power, we cannot recall half a dozen cases of its successful exercise. No elective officer is likely to be impeached. If there is strength in the impeaching body to vote his accusation, and in the judging body to convict him, there will be power in the party opposed to him in a year or two to deprive him of office, and this contents them. Judicial functionaries, by the tenure of their office, invite to a more frequent exercise of the impeaching power; but experience has shown, that, in this case also, it is for different causes nearly nugatory. Judicial malversations are infrequent, slight, unprompted by political passions. The judge can scarce ever have a motive to do the only great evil he is competent to do, to corrupt the fountains of private justice; and could he be so depraved as to meditate it, public opinion so hems him in on every side, inofficial checks so constantly beset him, the press is so observant and so formidable, the bar so powerful, the path of judicial transgression so unfashionable, so unprofitable, so uncomfortable, that impeachment rests like an unused sword in its scabbard, hard to draw when perchance it is wanted.

With this preparation, M. de Tocqueville passes, in the eighth chapter, to the federal constitution, which is treated in

the latter half of the first volume. The second volume is devoted to a series of discussions, of which we can in no other way furnish so adequate an idea, as by transcribing the table of contents. It is as follows :

"Chapter I. How it may be said, with rigorous propriety, that the people govern in the United States.

"Chapter II. Of the parties in the United States; remains of the aristocratic party.

"Chapter III. Of the liberty of the press in the United States.

"Chapter IV. Of political associations in the United States.

"Chapter V. Of the government of the democracy — universal suffrage — the choices of the people and the instincts of the American democracy in its choices — of the causes, which correct these instincts in part — influence which the American democracy has exercised over electoral laws — public functionaries under the American democracy — of discretionary power assumed by Magistrates under the American democracy — instability of administration in the United States — public charges under the American democracy — its instincts relative to salaries — difficulty of perceiving the causes which lead the American government to economy — can the public expenses in America be compared to those in France? — of the corruption and the vices of rulers in the democracy, and their effects on the public morality — of what efforts the democracy is capable — of the power exercised in general by the American democracy over itself — of the manner in which the American democracy conducts the foreign affairs of the State.

"Chapter VI. What are the real advantages which the American society derives from the government of the democracy — of the general tendency of the laws under the empire of the American democracy, and the instincts of those who apply them — of the public sentiment of the United States — of the idea of rights in the United States — of respect for the law in the United States — activity which reigns in all parts of the body politic in the United States, and its influence on society.

"Chapter VII. The omnipotence of the majority in the United States, and its effects — how the omnipotence of the majority increases in America the legislative and administrative instability, which is natural to democracies — tyranny of the majority — effects of the omnipotence of the majority over the discretionary power of the public functionaries in America — of the power which the majority in America exercises over thought — effects of the tyranny of the majority over the na-

tional character of the Americans — courtier spirit in the United States — that the greatest danger of the American republics proceeds from the omnipotence of the majority.

"Chapter VIII. The circumstances which qualify the tyranny of the majority — absence of centralization in the administration — of the spirit of the lawyer in the United States, and its operation as a counterpoise to the democracy — of the Jury considered as a political institution.

"Chapter IX. Of the principal causes which tend to maintain a democratic republic in the United States — of the accidental or providential causes, which contribute to maintain a democratic republic in the United States — of the influence of laws and manners to the same end — of religion as a political institution and its powerful agency in the maintenance of a democratic republic in America — indirect influence exercised by religious belief on political society in the United States — the principal causes which render religion powerful in America — how knowledge, habit, and the practical experience of the Americans, contribute to the success of democratic institutions — that the laws contribute more to this end in the United States than physical causes, and manners more than laws — would laws and manners suffice for the support of a democratic republic anywhere but in America? — importance of these views in reference to Europe.

"Chapter X. Some considerations on the actual state and probable future condition of the three races, which inhabit the territory of the United States — actual and probable future condition of the Indian tribes, who inhabit the territory possessed by the Union — position of the black race in the United States — dangers with which its presence menaces the whites — what are the chances of the duration of the American Union — what dangers threaten it — some considerations on the causes of the commercial greatness of the United States — conclusion."

We have thus laid before our readers the contents of the second volume of M. de Tocqueville's work, as the best inducement we could hold out to them to make themselves acquainted with it, and as an apology for not entering more generally into a discussion of the topics which it treats. They are too numerous and various, and cover too wide a field, to receive justice within the limits of an article. The views which are taken by the intelligent foreigner on all the subjects touched by him, are ingenious, often strongly stamped by originality, frequently both profound and correct. He is sometimes, as we have already observed, led away by a desire to

generalize, and, occasionally, takes too readily for granted, that the existing phenomena justify theories, which he has formed rather in the exercise of his own power of combination and inference, than on the basis of previously collected facts. These however are by no means the characteristics of the work, which, as a whole, cannot be read either in Europe or America, without awaking new and profitable trains of thought. To the European it is replete with instruction.

There is one subject, which M. de Tocqueville has placed in an entirely new light. A favorite topic of reproachful comment with the British tourists and journalists has been the subject of religion in America. Some exaggerated pictures of the state of religious observances in the thinly settled frontier portions of the country, taken in connexion with the European prejudice, that religion can have no substantial foothold, where it is not supported by law, have produced among the class of writers to which we allude, an impression, which they take great pains to propagate in the reading world, that the people of the United States are an irreligious people. The testimony of a French traveller, so intelligent as M. de Tocqueville, of the liberal school of politics, but far from being a blind and indiscriminate admirer of America, and a professed Roman Catholic, will be heard with attention and respect on this subject. We pass over a section, in which the author discusses, with an ingenuity which has not carried conviction to our minds, the proposition that the Roman Catholic religion is not unfriendly to the genius of republican democracy. M. de Tocqueville ascribes the influence of religion to the multiplicity of sects, uncontrolled by an establishment, which leaves every man to the enjoyment of such a form of belief and worship as suits his peculiar temper; and to the entire abstinence of all the sects from an interference in politics, and a rigid adherence to moral influence alone. We make a quotation from his remarks on this head. One of the most popular of the recent tourists, and not nominally of the masculine gender, loads with inexhaustible ridicule the prudery of the American women. Hear M. de Tocqueville;

"It cannot be said in the United States, that religion exercises an influence over the laws or the detail of political opinions; but it directs the morals, and, in regulating the family, labors to regulate the state.

"I do not doubt for a moment, that the great severity of

morals, which exists in the United States, has its origin in religious belief. Religion there is often powerless to restrain man in the midst of the numberless temptations which fortune presents him. It cannot moderate the constantly stimulated passion for gain; but it exercises a sovereign sway over the soul of woman, and it is woman that makes the morals. America is assuredly the country in the world where the marriage tie is most respected, and where the highest and truest idea has been formed of conjugal happiness.

"In Europe, almost all the disorders of society have their origin about the domestic hearth, and not far from the nuptial couch. It is there that men conceive a disgust for natural ties and lawful pleasures, and contract a taste for disorder, an anxiety of heart, a fickleness of passion. Agitated by the tumultuous desires, which have often troubled his own abode, the European submits not without a struggle to the legislative authority of the state. When the American retires from the agitations of the political world to the bosom of his family, he immediately finds there the image of order and peace. There all his pleasures are simple and natural; all his joys innocent and tranquil; and as he reaches happiness by regularity of life, he is easily accustomed to regulate his opinions as well as his tastes. While the European seeks to escape his domestic cares in troubling society, the American finds in his home that love of order, which he afterwards carries into the affairs of state." — Vol. II. pp. 216, 217.

The following fine remark will arrest the attention of the reader, when it is borne in mind that it comes from an intelligent French writer, fully imbued with the spirit of political reform;

"The philosophers of the eighteenth century had a very simple explanation for the gradual decline of religious belief. *Religious zeal*, said they, *must be extinguished, in proportion as liberty and knowledge increase.* It is unfortunate that the facts do not accord with the theory.

"There shall be a European population whose incredulity is equalled only by its brutality and ignorance; while in America you shall see one of the freest and most enlightened nations of the world fulfil with ardor all the exterior duties of religion.

"On my arrival in the United States, it was the religious aspect of the country, which first arrested my attention. In proportion as I prolonged my stay, I saw the great political consequences, which flowed from these new facts.

"I had seen at home the spirit of religion and the spirit of liberty proceed almost always in an opposite direction. Here I

found them intimately united the one to the other; reigning together on the same soil." — pp. 223, 224.

M. de Tocqueville proceeds to observe, that he applied himself with great diligence to the solution of this problem, and found it in the fact of the entire separation of church and state.

"To ascertain the cause," says he, "I interrogated the faithful of all communions. I sought particularly the society of the priests, the depositaries of the different forms of belief, and possessing a personal interest in their permanence. The religion which I profess brought me particularly into connexion with the Catholic clergy, and I hastened to form some kind of connexion with several of its members. To each of them I expressed my astonishment and unfolded my doubts; I found these persons differing only as to details, and all ascribing mainly to the complete separation of church and state, the peaceable empire which religion exercises in their country. I do not fear to assert, that during my residence in America, I did not find a single man, priest or layman, who did not agree in this."— p. 224.

M. de Tocqueville engages in a philosophical analysis of the idea of a separation of church and state, in the course of which we meet with several judicious and profound remarks.

"As long," says he, "as a religion derives its power from the sentiments, the instincts, the passions, which are reproduced in the same manner in all periods of history, it braves the efforts of time, or at least it cannot be destroyed but by another religion. But when religion seeks to rest on the interests of this world, it becomes almost as frail as the powers of this earth. Alone, it may hope for immortality; connected with ephemeral powers, it follows their fortune, and falls often with the passions of the day which sustain it. In uniting itself to the different political powers, religion can but contract an onerous alliance. It has not need of their aid to live, and in serving them it may die." — p. 228.

But we have no time to pursue these extracts. The chapter is full of instruction, which our readers must seek in the volume of M. de Tocqueville himself. His remarks are made for the meridian of Europe and particularly of France; but they rest on a correct estimate of the facts of the case as existing in this country.

Perhaps there is nothing in which the guiding hand of a Superior Wisdom is more plainly traced in the affairs of this country, than in the general adoption and the unanimous ap-

proval of the principle, to which our author ascribes so much importance. One might have expected from the fathers of New England, at least, the foundation of an ecclesiastical establishment. Their notions of personal rights did not forbid it, the doctrine of toleration was not well understood by them, and their practice naturally, not to say necessarily, led for the time to the erection of one of the most rigid church systems ever known, — not so much a state religion as a theocracy. But many happy conspiring causes prevented its taking root in the state, and not the least curious was the relation of the colonies to the mother country, as a settlement of Dissenters watched with jealousy by the hierarchy at home, and compelled to purchase toleration by toleration. From the moment the colonies became important enough to attract the notice of the government of the mother country, every attempt to invest their own opinions with legal preference must have proved abortive. Meantime the austere fathers were compelled to fight the hard battles of liberty. They felt every day, that freedom was but one idea ; that it must be embraced or repudiated ; and that conscience could not be shackled and unrestrained at the same time. They were satisfied with a moral influence, in matters of faith, which was as absolute as they wished, and wisely forbore to grasp at a shadow of legal strength, which they could not have obtained, and the struggle for which would have sown bitterness among themselves. Thus the doctrine of liberty of conscience silently grew up and ripened, till, when the revolution conferred the power of creating a church establishment, a unanimous opinion was found existing, that it would be madness to attempt it.

Art. IX. — *A Narrative of the Shipwreck, Captivity, and Sufferings of Horace Holden and Benjamin H. Nute, who were cast away in the American Ship Mentor, on the Pelew Islands, in the Year* 1832 ; *and for two Years afterwards were subjected to unheard-of Sufferings among the barbarous Inhabitants of Lord North's Island.* By Horace Holden. Boston. Russell, Shattuck, & Co. 1836. 18mo. pp. 133.

A very peculiar interest attaches to this little volume, both as it is a narrative of extreme and otherwise extraordinary

individual suffering, and as it introduces us to a condition of life, in some respects without a parallel in the annals of nautical discovery. The account of what its author saw and learned must be owned to be not so copious and detailed as could be wished. That it has not, as yet, been made so, is no matter of surprise. He is an intelligent young man, but modest, and not sufficiently aware of the importance of many particulars of information, which it is likely a judicious questioning would draw from him, to produce them of his own accord. He has not had the habit of composition, nor advantages for becoming trained to the power of generalization, or even of exact expression in speech ; nor has he means which would authorize a large speculation on the fearful uncertainties of the book-market. We intend no reflection upon his present editor, who has executed the task very commendably, on the limited scale which was proposed ; but now that repeated editions of the work are called for, we cannot but hope that he will place himself in the hands of some one who is qualified, and who will take pains, to extract from him many more of the curious particulars which cannot but be stored in his memory, while as yet it may be fully trusted. The following statements embrace a few facts obtained from him in conversation, along with others recorded in his work.

Horace Holden, a native of the town of Hillsborough, in New Hampshire, and now about twenty-six years old, entered for his first voyage, in the year 1831, on board the whaleship Mentor, of New Bedford ; Edward C. Barnard, master. The ship's company, officers and men, consisted of twenty-two persons. The Mentor doubled the Cape of Good Hope, traversed the Indian Ocean, was prevented by adverse winds and currents from touching at Ternate, and on the twenty-first night of May, 1832, having been three days without an observation, and laboring with a violent storm, while running for the Ladrones, struck on a coral reef, which afterwards proved to make off from one of the Pelew Islands.

Here was the beginning of sorrows. Ten of the crew took to a boat, and were never heard of more. Another was drowned before morning by the swamping of a boat in which the captain with three hands was attempting to leave the wreck. At daybreak, land was seen at the distance of twenty or thirty miles ; and this the eleven survivors, with a few arms and a small stock of provisions, in their only remain-

ing boat, decided to attempt to reach. They left the vessel, and, after rowing three miles, landed on a rock, presenting a surface of fifteen or sixteen rods in length. Here they remained over night, and refreshed themselves with food and sleep. At sunrise the next morning, a canoe, containing twenty-two natives, came off to them from the next island, from which it seems they had been watched.

"They were entirely naked. Each one was armed with a spear and tomahawk; some had battle-axes. They were fantastically *tattooed* on different parts of their bodies. Their hair, naturally coarse and black, like that of the Indians of America, was very long, and hung loosely over their shoulders, giving them a singular and frightful appearance. Their teeth were entirely black; rendered so, as we afterwards found, by chewing what they call *abooak*." — p. 32.

The seamen were fortunate enough to open a friendly communication with their visitors, who gave them cocoa-nuts, and bread made of that fruit, and boiled in a liquor extracted from the trunk of the tree. Their friendship, however, though, under the circumstances much better than their hostility, proved to be of a very qualified character. They took possession of all of the small stock of rescued property which they could find, part having been secreted in a crevice of the rock, and then, returning to their boat, made signs to the party to follow to the wreck.

The latter had, however, by this time, determined to drop the acquaintance, if possible, and with this view, as soon as the savages were gone, took to their boat, and steered for the open sea. They were interrupted in their purpose by the appearance of about thirty other canoes, filled with natives, from whom, however, they succeeded in extricating themselves after a little skirmish with those in one boat, the rest seeming to be more intent on an examination of the wreck. Rowing all that day and night, they reached another island on the following afternoon. Here they were discovered and visited by two savages from a neighbouring point of land, whom, exhausted and dispirited, they consented to follow to a harbour within sight. Approaching this, they were met by a large number of canoes, and taken on shore in triumph, and not without some violence, of a kind and degree, however, which seemed not so much intended to injure, as to intimidate.

In the island in which they were now prisoners, one of the Pelew group, they were treated, on the whole, with no great severity. They were first conducted into the presence of the dignitaries of the island. These they found seated on a platform, on a rising ground, at a little distance from the harbour.

"This platform was twelve or fifteen feet square, and was situated between two long buildings, called '*pyes.*' These, as we afterwards learned, were used by the chiefs as places of carousal, and as a sort of harem for their women. They were constructed in a rude manner, of bamboo sticks, and covered with leaves. They were sixty or seventy feet in length, and about twenty-four in width.

"That something like a correct conception of this scene may be formed by the reader, it may be well to give, in this place, a brief account of the appearance, manners, and customs of the natives of this island. This was the island known to navigators as Baubelthouap, the largest of the group of the Pelew islands. It lies not far from the eighth degree of north latitude, is about one hundred and twenty miles in length, and contains probably not far from two thousand inhabitants.

"The men were entirely naked. They always go armed, in the way before described, and carry with them a small basket, containing generally the whole amount of their movable property. The women wear no other clothing than a sort of apron (fastened to the waist by a curiously wrought girdle) extending nearly to the knees, and left open at the sides. The material of these garments (if such they can be called) is the bark of a tree called by them '*karamal.*' This tree grows from thirty to forty feet high, and is two or three feet in circumference. The hair of both males and females is worn long; it is coarse and stiff, and of a color resembling that of the natives of North America. They make free use of the oil extracted from the cocoa-nut; with this they anoint their bodies, considering it the extreme of gentility to have the skin entirely saturated with it. Their arms, and sometimes the lower parts of their body and legs, are ingeniously tattooed. Their complexion is a light copper. Their eyes have a very singular appearance, being of a reddish color. Their noses were somewhat flat, but not so flat as those of the Africans; nor are their lips so thick. They are excessively fond of trinkets. It would cause a fashionable lady of America to smile, to observe the pains taken by those simple daughters of nature to set off their persons. In their ears they wear a sort of ornament made of a peculiar kind of grass, which

they work into a tassel; this is painted and richly perfumed. In their noses they wear a stem of the *kabooa* leaf, which answers the double purpose of an ornament and a smelling bottle; and their arms, in addition to being tattooed in the manner above mentioned, are adorned with a profusion of shells. Our fair readers may judge how much we were amused, on finding that the copper-colored females of the island cut up our old shoes into substitutes for jewelry, and seemed highly delighted with wearing the shreds suspended from their ears." — pp. 46 – 49.

A block for beheading stood before the platform, and the question discussed seemed to be whether it should do its office for the strangers. The wailing of the women, which before long became obstreperous, was perhaps decisive of the issue. After an hour's suspense, a large bowl, richly ornamented with shells, was brought to them, out of which they drank sweetened water from a wrought cup of cocoa-nut shell. They were then conducted to another village, the residence of a prophetess, who, they afterwards learned, had interfered in their behalf, and from whose house, on arriving, they received a sufficiency of palatable food. Here

"An interesting incident occurred. Just at the time when the servant of the prophetess brought out the materials for our repast, we observed, at a little distance, a singular-looking being approaching us. His appearance was that of a man of sixty. His hair was long and gray, unlike that of the natives. His legs, arms, and breast were tattooed. His step was quick and firm; his motions indicating that he felt himself a person of not a little importance. His teeth were entirely gone, and his mouth was black with the use of 'kabooa.' Judge of our emotions on hearing this strange being address us in broken English! His first exclamation was — "My God, you are Englishmen!" He immediately said, "You are safe now;" but he gave us to understand, that it was next to a miracle that we had escaped being killed on the water.

"This person was by birth an Englishman, and had been on the island about twenty-nine years. He told us that he had been a hatter by trade, and that his name was Charles Washington. He had been a private in the British naval service, on board the Lion man-of-war. Cruising in those seas, he had, while on duty, been guilty of some trifling offence; and, apprehending that he should be severely punished for it, had left the ship, and taken up his residence upon the island. He seemed

to be contented with his situation, and had no desire to return to his native country. He had attained to great celebrity, and was the sixth chief among them. His authority seemed great, and he exercised it with exemplary discretion.

"Observing the provisions before us, he told us that they were for our use, and desired us to partake of whatever we preferred. Seeing that we were likely to be somewhat annoyed by the crowd of young persons who had collected around us, he swung his battle-axe over their heads, and giving them to understand that we belonged to *him*, immediately caused them to disperse." — pp. 55–57.

From this time, things went on by no means amiss. A 'pye,' with mats and other accommodations, was appropriated to the use of the party, and they were regularly supplied with plenty of provisions, such as hogs, goats, fish, yams, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, preserved almonds, and sweet potatoes. At length, having acquired some tolerable knowledge of the language, they naturally used it to open a treaty of emancipation, and, in the sequel, succeeded in persuading the natives, that it would be for mutual advantage to release them in consideration of a ransom which was promised. The stipulation was, that, should they reach their homes, they would send out two hundred muskets, ten casks of powder, a corresponding quantity of balls and flints, and an accompaniment of beads, belts, combs, and trinkets. These preliminaries arranged, no difficulty remained, except in making provision for the voyage. The natives (having consulted their prophetess, implored the aid of their divinity, and held a solemn feast on the occasion,) entered cordially into the plan; and, with their help, the ship's boat was repaired, and a large canoe hollowed out, which proved the better sailer. The men collected the timber, and wrought it with a few old inch chisels, having neither augur nor gimlet, while the women made mats for sails. Meanwhile a quantity of fish had been obtained for the voyage, and the women brought abundance of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and yams. An old compass, belonging to a ship wrecked fifty years before, had most fortunately been preserved on the island, and this they obtained. So furnished, they put to sea on the 27th of October, 1832. The boats proved leaky, and they returned the same night. Another month having been employed in refitting, they tempted the treacherous deep once more. Four were in the boat, and as many in the canoe.

In the latter were also three natives, two of them chiefs, who, in their confiding simplicity, were leaving their homes, to go they knew not whither, and bring back the stipulated reward. The remaining three of the crew stayed behind on the island as hostages. The object was to get into the open sea, in the hope of falling in with some vessel in the China trade.

Bad weather soon came on. The rudder of the canoe was unshipped, and rudely and with difficulty replaced ; the boat was dismasted, and, apparent *comble de malheurs*, the canoe sprung a leak, which was hardly kept in check by baling, and stuffing clothes into the seam. After five days of such gloomy fortune, a sudden gust overset the canoe, and, having vainly attempted to right it, the whole party crowded into the boat. The provisions and water, which were not thus lost, were now mostly exhausted, and distribution was made of what remained. At the end of nine days they were still alive, and, with good weather, might have hoped in two days more to reach a place of safety. At this juncture, however, they unexpectedly discovered land. What follows, is best given in extracts from the volume.

"When within six miles, we saw, approaching us, a fleet of eighteen canoes, filled with the natives of the small island we were approaching. At first the small canoes came near us, for the purpose of ascertaining who and what we were. The appearance of these natives was such as to excite at once our astonishment and disgust. Like the inhabitants of the island we had left, they were entirely naked ; and, as our subsequent experience proved, they were infinitely more barbarous and cruel. Very soon the large canoes came up, when the wretches commenced their outrages. They attacked us with brutal ferocity, knocking us overboard with their clubs, in the mean time making the most frightful grimaces, and yelling like so many incarnate devils. They fell upon our boat and immediately destroyed it, breaking it into splinters, and taking the fragments into their canoes. While this was going on, we were swimming from one canoe to another, entreating them by signs to spare our lives and permit us to get into their canoes. This they for a long time refused, beating us most unmercifully, whenever we caught hold of any thing to save ourselves from sinking.

"After they had demolished our boat, and kept us in that condition for some time, they allowed us to get on board. They then compelled us to row towards the land. They stripped us of all our clothing immediately after we were taken in ; and the

reader may form some idea of our distress in this condition, under a burning sun, from the fact, that before night our shoulders were blistered by being thus exposed to the heat.

"On approaching land we discovered no habitation; but after going round a point of the island, we saw near the beach a row of small and badly constructed huts. We were compelled to jump from the canoes into the water, and wade to the shore. By this time the beach was lined with women and children, who caused the air to resound with the most horrid yells and screams. Their gestures and violent contortions of countenance resembled the frantic ravings of Bedlamites.

"The reception we met with on land was no more agreeable than that upon the water. Judging from the treatment we had received from the females of the island which we had left, it was hoped that the gentler sex would extend to us some proof of their commiseration; but in this we were sadly disappointed. If possible, they were more cruel than their inhuman lords and masters. We were soon separated from each other, and dragged about from place to place; our brutal captors, in the mean time, contending with each other to see who should have us as his property. Frequent contests of this kind occurred; in one of which, during the first day, I was knocked down. The question of ownership was at length settled, and we were retained by those into whose hands we had at first fallen. Some of us were taken to their house of worship, called by them *Verre-Yarris*, — literally, *God's house*, where they went through with some of their religious ceremonies, and we received a few mouthfuls of food, which was the first we had tasted through the day.

"We were now upon the small piece of land called by the natives *To'bee*, but known to navigators by the name of *Lord North's Island*, situated between the third and fourth degrees of north latitude, and in longitude one hundred and thirty-one degrees twenty minutes east. It is also known by the name of *Nevil's Island* and *Johnston's Island;* and it has been hitherto considered by navigators and others as uninhabited. This is not surprising; as we were told by the natives, that no white man had ever visited the place; though it seemed, from the pieces of iron in their possession, and from other circumstances, that they had had some communication with the Spaniards and Portuguese in that quarter of the world. Like many other islands in those seas, this is surrounded by a coral reef, which is from an eighth to one half of a mile wide; but outside of the reef, the water is apparently fathomless, the water being as blue as it is in the middle of the ocean; and the largest vessels may in many places approach within a quarter of a mile of the beach.

The whole island rises so little above the level of the sea, that the swell often rolls up to a considerable distance inland. It is about three quarters of a mile in length, and not far from half a mile in width." — pp. 77 – 83.

"The complexion of these islanders is a light copper color; much lighter than the Malays, or the Pelew islanders; which last, however, they resemble in the breadth of their faces, high cheek bones, and broad flattened noses. They do not color their teeth, by chewing any thing, as many of those islanders do; but their teeth are so strong that they can husk a cocoa-nut with them instantly.

"Their principal food is the cocoa-nut. They occasionally succeed in procuring fish, though the supply obtained during our residence there was exceedingly small. Their fish-hooks are made of turtle-shell, and not well contrived for the purpose; but we could not induce them to use our hooks, till they had heated them and altered their form so that they would not hold the fish. They did this, because they said that Yarris (God) would be angry with them, if they used our hooks without preparing them according to their fashion. Sometimes they are so fortunate as to obtain a sea-turtle. It has, I may add, something of a sacred character with them. They also raise small quantities of a vegetable somewhat resembling the yam; but while we were with them they were unsuccessful in cultivating it. These constitute the slender means of their support; and they are thus barely kept from actual death by famine, but on the very verge of starvation. When any one of them begins to fail for want of food, so that his death is pretty certain, they inhumanly turn him off from among them, to starve to death." — pp. 84, 85.

"While we were on the island several earthquakes happened, and some of them pretty severe. On those occasions the natives were much terrified; they would not let their children speak a word; and they said among themselves, — *zahbee'too Yarris, To'bee yettah'men*, that is, 'Yarris (God) is coming and To'bee (the name of the island) will sink.' They were also very much alarmed at thunder and lightning; and used to say at such times, *Yarris tee'tree*, God is talking. I do not know how they would be affected by an eclipse, as none happened, that I noticed, while we remained there." — pp. 87, 88.

"They kindle their fires, as they informed me, by rubbing two pieces of wood together, as is common in the islands of the Pacific ocean; and they cook their turtle or other meat, (when they are so fortunate as to have any,) as well as their vegetables, by covering them with heated stones. I should state, however, that during the whole time we stayed among them, fire was

always preserved in some part of the island, so that there was no necessity for kindling it in the manner here mentioned.

"They take pride in their hair, and are particularly careful about it, washing and cleansing it almost every day. They do not color it, however, as the natives of some islands are said to do; but they moisten it with the juice pressed out from the cocoa-nut, which gives it a very glossy appearance; and it is frequently so long as to reach down to their waist.

"Their mode of salutation is to clasp each other in their arms, and touch their noses together, as is practised in many other islands.

"In their names, I could not find that they had any thing like a family name, but only a single one, (corresponding to our Christian names,) as is the case, I believe, throughout the islands of the Pacific. I could not learn that the names were significant either of animals or other objects, as the Indian names of America are, and I never found any two persons of the same name. The names of the members of the family with which I lived were as follows;

"Pahrahboo'ah, the father of the family.

"Nah'kit, the mother.

"Buhwur'timar, the eldest child, a son, ten or twelve years old.

"Kobaw'ut, the second, a daughter.

"Kobahnoo'uk, the third, a daughter.

"Wah'reboo, the fourth, a son.

"The children do not address their parents by any word corresponding to father or mother, papa or mamma, but by their names. Their parents treat them on the footing of equality; they are generally well behaved, and are never punished, except occasionally, when impatient for their food.

"This island, unlike the Pelews, is one of the most horrible and wretched on the face of the globe. The only product of its soil worth mentioning is the cocoa-tree; and those are of so dwarfish and miserable a growth, as to bear but very few nuts. These few, however, constitute the food of the inhabitants, with the exception of a species of fish caught occasionally near the shore.

"The character of the inhabitants much resembles that of the islands itself. Cowardly and servile, yet most barbarous and cruel, they combine, in their habits, tempers, and dispositions, the most disgusting and loathsome features that disgrace humanity. And, what may be regarded as remarkable, the female portion of the inhabitants outstrip the men in cruelty and savage depravity; so much so, that we were frequently indebted

to the tender mercies of the men for escapes from death at the hands of the women. The indolence of the natives, which not even the fear of starvation itself can rouse to exertion, prevents their undertaking the least toil, although a little labor, well applied, might be made to render them infinitely more comfortable." — pp. 88 – 93.

In this miserable spot, Holden and one of his companions remained nearly two years. Four of the party, and two of the Pelew islanders who had accompanied it, died meanwhile of the shocking hardships to which they were subjected. Two, namely, the captain and Rollins, one of the hands, succeeded, after having been about two months on the island, in prevailing upon the savages, by the promise of iron and other articles of value, to put them on board an English ship. The vessel which took them off, the Sabina, Captain Somes, was three hours in sight, during which time those who were detained on shore were vainly hoping that some effort would be made for their relief. The dissatisfaction occasioned among the natives by the small quantity of iron sent back from the ship, brought upon the captives still more barbarous treatment. When Holden, after his escape, reached Lintin, he found that the captain of the vessel had excused himself for making no further exertion, on the grounds, that it would have caused a detention of twenty-four hours; that his men were already on an allowance of water; and that the crew, being composed partly of Spaniards, and partly of Malays, were afraid of the natives, and only imperfectly under his control. For the credit of his British birth and his human nature, we hope that he is able to substantiate the last of these reasons. And we cannot but think that Captain Barnard owes to his own character fuller explanations of his course on this occasion, than have as yet, as far as we can learn, been given to the public. We have no prepossession against that gentleman. We do not presume that he is unable to clear himself from all question. But if he can do it, he ought. No one will read the story of this poor sailor's horrible captivity, without wishing to know three or four things which he cannot tell; as whether his captain did all that was possible to prevent the person who rescued himself from abandoning his companions in misfortune; how he came to suffer the natives' boats to return with presents so trifling, as to bring further cruelties upon those still in their power; and above all, what he did, after he got back within the borders of

civilization, to save his men from a prolonged imprisonment, from which most of them were only delivered by death, and the rest, after two weary years, by a merely singular and unhoped-for good fortune. These are questions, we say, which it concerns his credit to answer, and we persuade ourselves that he is able to do it. He knows, as well as we do, that New England does not expect to commit her sons to hands, which will not be careful to render an account of them.

The community of men, if they are to be called so, into which the unfortunate mariners were thus thrown, was insulated from the world, on a spot, as was mentioned above, three quarters of a mile long, and half a mile broad; about half as large, we suppose, as the peninsula of Nahant. The number of inhabitants, distributed into three little villages, Holden thinks might amount to between three and four hundred. Here, apart from the rest of the race, they had lived, generation after generation, no man may guess how long. They had no traditions touching the first settling of their island. For aught they had heard, their ancestors may have occupied the spot for thousands of years, the increase of population being kept down by the recurrence, at intervals, of a like pressure of famine to that which reduced it, not much less than a quarter, (as was thought,) during the time our seamen were there. As far as could be learned, they knew nothing of any other human beings, except from some rare communications with European ships under sail, in bartering cocoa-nuts for iron, and from three visits of strangers, the memory of which was preserved by tradition, as having taken place at distant times. One of these was of a man, copper-colored like themselves, and named by them Peeter Kart, who, they declared, came anciently to their island from *Ternate*, as he said, taught them their religion and arts, and closed his life among them. Another of these stories related to an individual, who, they reported, arrived alone from a different island at the north-west, bringing a basket of the *tarrow* root, which he taught them how to cultivate. He too finished his days on the island. The third tradition commemorated three men and three women, who came in a canoe from yet another direction, and after a time departed, taking three of the islanders in their company.

The island is a coral rock, with only a sprinkling of sandy soil. In this grow some trees of the bread-fruit and cocoa-

nut. During the time that Holden and his companions were on the island, the supply of food from the former source was entirely cut off by the trees' dying, and that from the latter was much diminished, by a storm which blew the trees down. Fishing, which had generally been a great resource, had, for some unknown cause, almost entirely failed. Five or six turtles were taken at different times. The only thing cultivated was what the natives called *correi*, an inferior species of the tarrow root, which makes so common a food in the whole region of Polynesia. This was principally raised in an artificial cavity in the centre of the island, into which was conveyed such soil as could be obtained, mixed with brakes and leaves. It was irrigated by water, which reached it through crevices in the rock; and the labor of Holden and his companions consisted in conveying this compost in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, and, when the root was planted, turning up the mud about it with their hands. It was cooked in a smothered fire, made in a kind of oven, in a shallow cavity, scooped out for the purpose. Fuel was laid at the bottom, and kindled; and upon this was spread a layer of stones. When these had been heated, and fell upon the embers, the pieces of root were placed upon them, with a little water, in cocoa-nut shells. Over these were spread mats of the leaves of the same tree, and over all a layer of sand. Fish was simply broiled on the hot stones, and turtle was cooked in both ways. There were no animals on the island except rats and lizards, neither of which were eaten in any extremity. There was abundance of musquitos, flies, and more odious vermin, the last of which made a favorite article of food. Sea-birds were sometimes seen, but nothing winged larger than a fly was known to breed upon the island. The chief drink was the milk of the cocoa-nut. Some brackish springs percolated the rock. Rain-water they took no care to save.

Huts are constructed in two ways. The better sort are built on a frame begun by two pieces of timber, each consisting of a stock and two branches, somewhat in the form of a Y. These are placed upright in the ground, opposite to each other. Then from the arms of one to the corresponding arms of the other, timbers are extended, fastened at both ends by cords, twisted from the cocoa-nut husk. From these horizontal timbers descend others to the ground to make the side. From the same, on the other hand, ascend timbers, meeting in

an angle at top for the roof, which roof is generally continued at the same angle, so as to reach within two or three feet of the ground, admitting the free passage of the air beneath it. It is covered with a rude thatching of leaves. The smaller huts are constructed of two rows of stakes, driven slanting towards each other in the ground, and seized at the top to a ridge-pole. The ends are closed in the same manner, an opening being left at one, sufficiently large to creep in and out. These dwellings are thatched in the same manner as the better sort.

Canoes are hollowed from the bread-fruit tree, and another tree resembling it in appearance, which is not a native of the island, but often drifts on shore. Sails, of a triangular shape, are made of mats of the leaf of a tree called the *sook*. The mast is secured by cordage twisted from fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, one rope extending from the mast-head to the stern, another to the bow, a third to one side. The halliards of the sail are of the same material.

No weapons are in use, except clubs in a state of nature, without finish or ornament, and spears with points rudely set with sharks' teeth. The dress of men is merely a kind of sash, about a fathom long, which they call *vetivet*, fastened round the loins. It is made of the fibres of the bark of a tree called *curramung*, which admit of being separated into threads, then tied together and wound in a ball. This done, the women weave it into a flexible fabric, on a wooden frame, which may not unfitly be called a loom. What corresponds to the shuttle is not thrown, and rather resembles the reel of a fishing line. The women wear an apron of platted leaves. Both these draperies are dyed with a light yellow coloring substance obtained from a root. Neither sex wears any thing on the head. Holden, with a sailor's versatile invention, made himself some hats with the long palm-like leaves of the *sook* tree, sewed together with threads of the *curramung*, by means of a needle of fish-bone. But, as often as he finished them, the natives would take them away, and tear them to pieces, as soon as the novelty was over. Yet they have both the Spanish and French names for hat, learned, no doubt, from passing vessels. Bracelets of turtle-shell are a choice article of female finery. The nose is not ornamented with any pendant. Necklaces are in fashion, made of polished pieces of cocoa-nut shells strung together ; sometimes these alternate on the cord with pieces of *keem* shell, (which the

shore supplies,) so as to show two white and two dark rings successively. The cartilage of the ear is bored, and the orifice, enlarged with much pains to a monstrous circumference, is filled with grass and leaves, and often with an ornament of wood, painted on the face presented to the beholder. Wreaths of flowers like poppies, and of cocoa-nut leaves, are often tied about the body.

There was little like division of labor, though persons remarked for particular skill in some handicraft, as the building of canoes, would sometimes get the name of *sennup*, or master-workman. When a hut was to be built, the meeting of neighbours, to join their forces in putting together the frame, under his direction, was not unlike an old-fashioned New-England raising ; and their civility was acknowledged in like manner, by the provision of a repast of cocoa-nuts. There were no musical instruments ; a conch-shell was sometimes used for a summons to the place of worship. The natives could not be taught to whistle a tune, but they had a low monotonous chant, uttered sometimes together, and sometimes apart. They had dances, consisting more in motions of the body than in changes of place.

As to their religion, no indication was seen of a belief in a future life. They seem to speak of but one God, whom they call *Yarris ;* but they have twelve images in their temple, and they appear to have one in or about every house, which is not always treated with any degree of reverence. These are rude imitations of the human form in wood, always in a standing posture, and about four feet high. The name *Yarris* is also given to whoever is thought to be visited with the inspiration of their divinity. It was observed to be habitually given to a priest of high consideration, but who appeared to have at least one superior in sacerdotal rank. The Yarris now in question had a son-in-law, who was also a person of special note, being generally the arbiter in disputes, and the adviser in cases of supposed malversation. Laws, sheriffs, scaffolds, prisons, stocks, judges, trials even, — it would seem they have none. The social system is as near as may be to an anarchy. The right of property seemed to be recognised, and that even in land ; for individuals had their own beds of correi parted off by boundaries ; but when a theft took place, the punishment came from the neighbours in such forms and measures as seemed meet in the neighbours' eyes.

Lord North's Island is, in short, the very pattern realm of "Lynch law." If the offence is of sufficient aggravation, the transgressor is forced into an old canoe, and pushed off to sea, without a paddle, and sometimes with his hands tied, to choose between drowning and starving. Burning has not been introduced.

The word *taboo* is found among these people, and in the same sense of religious consecration or separation, as in the other Australian islands, thus confirming the tradition of the religious ceremonial's having been brought by some copper-colored visitor. It is applied, as elsewhere, to places and to other objects. As to the latter, a person who touches a dead body, for instance, and he who conveys one to sea, is taboo fully for four days, and less strictly for three more, and lives apart in a hut fenced round with stakes, his food being conveyed to him so as to avoid all contact. The places under taboo are, the burial-place of infants ; the women's lying-in-hospital ; a grove of cocoa-nut trees, where a kind of worship sometimes took place ; and the great temple itself. This hut, called the Vennee Yarris, was distinguished from the private mansions by its size and its floor. Women were never admitted. The men met in it, in larger or smaller numbers, to eat together, every new moon ; and once in about every five months, it was the scene of a protracted meeting of three days, the occasion being celebrated with dancing. Here, as often as a particularly solemn act of worship was intended, an offering of six cocoa-nuts, with a wooden bowl to receive them, when broken, was laid beside an altar suspended from the roof. The people sat by, apparently without any feelings of awe, carrying on their conversation in loud tones, till the priest seated himself in a mat on the floor, and began with fierce contortions of frame and countenance to howl out the response with which he professed to be charged. When he had ceased and retired from the altar, a few trifling ceremonies were gone through by an assistant, with the breaking of four of the cocoa-nuts into the bowl. Upon this, one of the assembly, designated it did not appear how, but ostensibly full of the God, advanced with gestures and outcries of tremendous fury, drank part of the milk, poured the rest on the floor, and threw two or three pieces of the nut towards the priests, who ate them. The unbroken nuts were then presented to the officiating priest, the murmur of the assembly

directly began again, and they departed each at his own pleasure. To these ceremonies the prisoners were freely admitted. But no one was allowed to approach after the priest's evolutions began.

In such a place, time has not very many uses. Eating, sleeping, fishing, lounging, and the Neapolitan benevolence of a mutual examination of the head, for the most part make up the variety. It did not appear that any games of chance or skill, or athletic exercises, were in use, though a wrestling, which might better be called scuffling, was sometimes witnessed. Time was reckoned by lunar months. There were words for to-day, yesterday, to-morrow, the day after to-morrow, and the day next further on, but not, as far as could be ascertained, any seven, or other number of names, answering to a less cycle of days, like our division of the week. There were no measures of quantity or surface. There was no money, or medium of exchange of any kind.

Polygamy was fully authorized, though not usually practised. The Yarris above mentioned had two wives ; his *influential* son-in-law had three. Chastity in single, or in married life, was unknown and unlooked for, though infidelity in wives was rather connived at, than consented to. Females, before the birth of children, retired to a house consecrated, under taboo, to that use, where they remained ten days. As to match-making, the sages of Tobee were much of Dr. Johnson's mind, that it was too serious a thing to be left to the discretion or indiscretion of the parties. For want of a Lord Chancellor to oversee it, they resorted to a permanent rule, which had the advantage, in their view, of committing it to a higher disposal. It was, that children of different sexes, born at the *taboo* at the same period, were to be looked on as betrothed, and they were consequently brought up with that mutual understanding. Nothing appeared in the nature of a marriage ceremony.

The process of *tattooing* as here practised is thus described.

" We were in the first place securely bound down to the ground, and there held fast by our tormentors. They then proceeded to draw with a sharp stick the figures designed to be imprinted on the skin. This done, the skin was thickly punctured with a little instrument made of sharpened fish-bones, and somewhat resembling a carpenter's adz in miniature, but having teeth, instead of a smooth, sharp edge. This instrument was held with-

in an inch or two of the flesh, and struck into it rapidly with a piece of wood, applied to it in such a manner as to cause it to rebound at every stroke. In this way our breasts and arms were prepared; and subsequently the ink, which was made of a vegetable found on the island called by them the "*savvan*," was applied. The operation caused such an inflammation of our bodies, that only a small portion could be done at one time; as soon as the inflammation abated, another portion was done, as fast as we could bear it, till our bodies were covered. It was effectually done; for to this day the figures remain as distinct as they were when first imprinted, and the marks will be carried by us to the grave. They were exceedingly anxious to perform the operation upon our faces; but this we would not submit to, telling them that sooner than have it done we would die in resisting them. Among themselves, the oldest people had the greatest quantity of tattooing, and the younger class less." —pp. 102, 103.

Holden escaped with being tattooed on the breast and upper arms only. The coloring is a blue, lighter than what we see on the arms of our mariners, who have tattooed themselves, from choice, with India ink. The figures on the arms are alike. That on the breast is different, part of it being composed of wedges, spreading in breadth from a point, like a fan a little opened. Unlike the practice in the Tonga and other islands, the pattern of figures tattooed is here in all instances the same. In all cases, if we remember right, except that of the widening stripes, in which, of course, there will be a little variation, the angle, at which the lines of different width meet and cross each other, is either of 90° or 45°. By all means, there should be given in another edition a print of the figures. Their shape may prove an aid of special importance in determining the original relations of these islanders. It is said in Cook's Third Voyage, that tattooing in the New Zealand group is done in spiral volutes, while in the Sandwich islands the lines are always straight, and meet or cross at right angles.* It has been thought that in these regions alone the face was tattooed; but there was one old man on Lord North's Island distinguished in the same manner. To be tattooed was looked on as a religious obligation.

Only infants were buried. Other bodies were pushed off in an old canoe to sea.

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* For some further facts of this kind, observed in the early discoveries, see North American Review, Vol. XVIII. p. 349.

The Vocabulary, given in the Appendix, is, for its extent, of great value and curiosity. We desire much to see it enlarged in a future edition. There is no appearance of any inflexion of verbs or nouns ; in which defect we believe we are correct in saying, that there is a correspondence with the New Zealand dialect, with the Tonga and the Malay. Of course the variations of meaning, which the more skilful construction of other languages is meant to convey, are here expressed, as far as expressed at all, by contiguous words. The word *peepee*, *many*, for instance, is prefixed, where the plural number is intended, and prepositions serve the use of cases. Something like a grammatical sign of the feminine gender may be thought to appear, in the fact that the men's vestment is called *vetivet*, and that of the women, *vetivetee*. A person, who has cast a glance on the vocabulary, has not failed to observe, that it exhibits only the pronouns of the first and second persons singular. Holden is positive that they had no other, and accordingly that when they wished to say, *he*, *we*, or *they*, a specification of the individual persons referred to was indispensable. Even the place of possessive pronouns was supplied by personal pronouns, preceded by the preposition *ah*, "of"; as, *ah nang*, "of me," "mine." These are the peculiarities of a speech inartificial, perhaps, beyond any example. And again, the dulness of the power of abstraction in this tribe appears remarkably in their having no less than three sets of numerals to count up to ten ; one employed in numbering fishes, one in counting cocoa-nuts, and the third in more general use. There were three different names for the cocoa-nut, in different stages of its ripeness. This has, however, an analogy with some of our own distinctions, as calf, steer, ox. They had but one or two words in common with the Pelew islanders, who accompanied the American party, and could no more converse with the former than with the latter.

The sufferings of our unfortunate countrymen were of the most cruel description, constantly kept at work, under a broiling sun, at no one time having a sufficiency of food, at different times reduced to all but the last extremity of famine, and at all times groaning under other inflictions, some of which it would not be good taste in us to specify. Under these hardships, three of the six who remained after the departure of the Captain and Rollins, namely, Sedon, Boukett, and Hewlett,

pined to death. The two first named, when so exhausted by hunger and suffering as to be unable to move, were each set adrift in a canoe, while yet alive. Another, Andrews, for some trifling offence, was beaten to death ; and, in the excitement against him, Holden and Nute were pursued, and very narrowly escaped, the former being protected by his master, the latter by the women. One of the three Pelew islanders died by starving ; another, charged with stealing food, was set adrift in a canoe with his hands tied ; the third, to whom the surviving Americans had become much attached, was left behind by them on the island. Having become so enfeebled as to be past labor, and not worth feeding, their masters began to suffer themselves to be persuaded that their release might be for the common benefit, and agreed for a promised present of iron, to put them on board some vessel. This was effected on the 24th day of December, 1834, when the British Barque Britannia, Captain Short, hove in sight, bound to Canton river. The details of the escape, which are not sufficiently pursued in the book, are of the most touching interest. This part of the narrative ought by all means to be expanded in a future edition. Captain Short says that Nute came on board in such a condition, that two or three days more of captivity would probably have terminated his life. The weather was calm, the Americans looked enough like savages to be very suspicious subjects, and the captain, being short of hands, was naturally quite uneasy about his situation. The consequence was, that, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of our men, he refused to receive their Pelew fellow-captive on board, and there is small reason to hope that he has not, long before now, come to his dismal end.

Within a few weeks, the Senate of the United States, by a nearly unanimous vote, made a large appropriation for an expedition to the South Sea Islands ; and (in no small degree, we are proud to say, through exertions of gentlemen from our own neighbourhood in the other house) the Representatives have since passed the bill. An officer of high accomplishments is currently named as designated for the command of the expedition, and it is understood that it is to be accompanied by the sailor, whose sad adventures we have been reciting. Fair winds and fresh, speed its gallant course ; rich be the contributions it brings home to the scientific wealth, the common treasury of man. But still more, let its proud

flag fly, on every remotest wave, the sign of justice and fidelity. Our government lately thought itself under a dismal necessity to show itself to the poor barbarians of those seas in visitations of its angry might. It will not forget, we feel assured, that it has now in hand another business. In a wise, parental forethought for other unhappy countrymen of ours, whom similar disasters to what we have now been describing may await, let it show itself to the savages of Tobee in its dignity and wisdom, and to the gentle islanders of the Pelews in its grateful and liberal good faith. It is not for us to urge the considerations, which make the restoration of the poor Pelew exile, Kobac, if by any strange chance, he yet survives, to his home, and the payment, to the last doit, of the ransom which was there engaged for, to be dignified matter of national policy and obligation.*

ART. X.—1. *A Visit to Texas, being the Journal of a Traveller through those Parts most interesting to American Settlers.* New York; Goodrich & Wiley. 1834.

2. TEXAS. *Observations, Historical, Geographical, and Descriptive, in a Series of Letters written during a Visit to Austin's Colony, with a View to a permanent Settlement in that Country, in the Autumn of* 1831. By Mrs. MARY AUSTIN HOLLEY. Baltimore; 1833.

3. *An Address delivered by* S. F. AUSTIN, *at Louisville, March,* 1836.

THE history of the present century offers no subject of inquiry more curious and interesting, than that series of con-

* While the proof sheets of this article are on our table, we learn that the Sloop-of-war Vincennes has arrived at Norfolk, having on board Davis and Meader, two of the three seamen of the Mentor, who were left in the Pelew Island as hostages The Vincennes also found the Pelew, Kobac, alive on Lord North's Island, and conveyed him to his home. The newspapers state other particulars respecting the negotiation at the Pelew Islands, which we refuse to credit, till they come to us on some less questionable authority. We wait for a sight of the orders given to Captain Aulick, and his report to the Navy department, before we will believe that our government sent to higgle for a reduction of the stipulated ransom of American citizens, with the battery of a man-of-war for the negotiator. As a matter of thrift, if that were all, it might do very well for the present purpose; but what would become of the next unfortunate countrymen of ours, who should fall into the savages' hands?

vulsions and revolutions, which have agitated and still continue to agitate the former dominions of Spain and Portugal on this continent. From the pampas of La Plata to the confines of Louisiana, on both sides of the great chain of the Andes, and on either ocean, through the whole extent of the southern continent, its plains, its mountains, and its valleys have been, with short intervals of repose, during the last twenty-five years, the theatre of continual revolutionary struggles or civil discord. The vibrations of those tremendous earthquakes are still felt, and continue to excite new interest, not unmixed with alarm, as they touch the southwestern border of the Union. The moment appears to us not inappropriate, to invite the attention of our readers to the past and existing state of things, more particularly in the portion of Mexico in our immediate neighbourhood. In Texas, the emigrants from the United States, who have formed extensive colonies under the authority of the Mexican Republic, have taken up arms against what they call the usurpation of the central government, and a declaration of Independence has been published to the world. On the other hand, the Mexican commander's proclamation, at the commencement of the present extraordinary campaign, denounced the insurgents as a mob of ungrateful adventurers, on whom the authorities of Mexico have incautiously lavished favors which they had failed to bestow on Mexicans, and who have raised the standard of rebellion in order that that extensive and fertile department may be detached from the Republic.

In order to understand and appreciate the state of the question, it is proper to go back and take a view of the remarkable events which have occurred in Mexico within the period above mentioned, from the first rising under Hidalgo to the present day, and more particularly of some occurrences in the internal provinces of New Spain, of which no authentic account has ever been given.

Hidalgo, the curate of Dolores, it is well known, was the first who raised the cry of independence in Mexico, as early as 1810. Failing, through an unaccountable infatuation, to take advantage of the first panic, produced by his rising and the first partial triumphs of his arms, by advancing on the capital and taking possession, partly paralyzed by the terrors of an excommunication denounced against him, and ultimately defeated and betrayed, he fled to the internal provinces, and in

the following year was executed at Chihuakua, in the province of New Biscay. Some of his followers and associates in different parts of the Vice-royalty, particularly Morelos and Rayon, still held out at the head of small bands. Ultimately in 1814, after the defeat of Toledo, to whose part in those transactions we shall soon have occasion to advert, all opposition was put down, and Mexico sunk back into its former state of dependence upon Spain. The gloom which ensued was unbroken save by the meteor inroad of Mina, until the celebrated plan of Iguala, which ended in the independence of Mexico and the elevation of Iturbide to the imperial throne in 1822. The power of Iturbide was but temporary. He was driven from his throne into exile, and the Federal Republican Constitution was established in 1824, and Guadaloupe Victoria was elected the first President of the Republic. The devoted patriotism of Victoria, and the eminent services rendered by him to his country in its struggle for independence, gave assurances of tranquillity and freedom. The first Congress of Mexico under the federal constitution assembled on the 1st of January, 1825.

The continued agitations and repeated revolutions by force of arms in the administration of the government, since that period and up to the present time, induce us to pause for a moment, and to consider whether it be not, after all, questionable, how far the model of a federal government adopted in our happy country, and we may add the only one to which the people would submit, was adapted to the habits, genius, and intelligence of the people of Mexico, and whether a more simple machinery would not have been better calculated to secure their happiness as well as liberties. The previous condition and habits of the two nations were totally different. In each of the British colonies before the revolution there existed a separate local legislature; each had its chartered privileges and rights; the laws, which regulated hereditary succession and other important matters, differed in the several colonies. When the connexion, which bound them to the mother country was severed, they were distinct communities, except so far as they had united by common consent to repel a common danger. The federal form of government was therefore the natural result; any other form would have been incongruous in the extreme.

In Mexico it was far otherwise. The whole population was governed by the same laws, emanating from the same

source, whether in the Vice-royalty, or the Captain-generalship of the Internal provinces. The division of provinces was for the greater facility of governing the subject multitude. The people had no voice in the making of their laws, and even the Cabildos and Ayuntamientos were mere machines for the better regulating the local police. The Viceroy was the supreme head of the kingdom, as it was always called. There was therefore an apparent incongruity in cutting up the whole territory into States, in order to reunite them under a federal head, and in assigning to the separate States the power to legislate on certain matters of local concern, to which they had been previously strangers. It was a blind imitation of the United States, under circumstances totally different. After more than three centuries of the most debasing servitude and misrule, it could not be expected that sufficient materials would be found among the people, to form, in the first place, a State legislature with two branches for each State, executive magistrates, and a judiciary, and then representatives to both branches of a federal congress. The enjoyment of regulated freedom and the distinct exercise of political powers require a kind of apprenticeship. The great mass of the population of Mexico were absolutely ignorant of the simplest elements of popular self-government. It was difficult to make them comprehend what an election meant. The very best form of government for us might be a very bad one for Mexico ; and, although centralism is now in unreflecting minds confounded with despotism, we are by no means satisfied that the Federal, as contradistinguished from the Central, or simple Republic, was adapted to the condition of the Mexican people. In mechanism, that machinery is not necessarily the best which is the most complicated, and most difficult to understand, or most difficult to repair, when deranged ; but that which is best calculated to attain the end for which it is designed. We are sensible that there is in politics, as well as religion, a species of bigotry and spirit of exclusiveness, if we may so express ourselves ; and yet we should question the wisdom of any constitution of government, which should pay no regard to the actual condition and habits of the governed. It is at all events certain, that the same system, in its general features, which has for nearly half a century secured the greatest tranquillity and prosperity to the United States, has failed to produce the same results in Mexico.

We cannot better illustrate this position, than by a cursory review of the principal disturbances and insurrections which have not ceased to distract the country, since the second year of the administration of Victoria. To the essential weakness of the executive head, the bitter animosities against the European Spaniards or Gachupines, and the rival lodges of Escoseses and Yorkinos, by which names the supposed aristocratic and democratic parties were designated, may be attributed most of the disorders and horrors which have marked this period of Mexican history. We will not dwell on the cruel expulsion of the Spaniards, the sack of the capital by an unbridled mob, the repeated triumphs of brutal force over regularly constituted authority, and the frequent executions for suspected treasons or conspiracies; but proceed to examine those movements, which have prevented any regular election of President according to the forms of the Constitution.

Since the success of what was called the "Plan" of Iguala, every new project or scheme of reform, either in the organic laws or their administration, has been styled a "plan." They have been almost as numerous, as the visionary but harmless propositions to amend the constitution of the United States. The first of these plans, which disturbed the administration of Victoria, was set on foot in 1827, by Montano, at Ottumba. He proposed the total suppression of secret societies, an entire change in the administrative functions of the government, and the expulsion of the Minister Resident of the United States. This blow aimed at Mr. Poinsett, at that time our Minister in Mexico, was attributed to the part taken by him in aiding to establish the Yorkino Lodge. Early in January, 1828, Colonel Rinero attempted to excite a revolt against the government, in support of Montano; but he was put down by a proclamation, declaring Montano guilty of treasonable designs. Don Nicholas Bravo, Vice-President of the Republic, became involved in these intrigues. He suddenly left the capital, and, stationing himself at Zalancingo, published a manifesto, in which he avowed himself in favor of the plan of Montano, although he was Grand Master of the Escoseses. He was proclaimed a traitor, and, although at the head of a considerable military force, he surrendered without any serious opposition to Guerrero, who had been sent to suppress the revolt. Bravo was found guilty of treasonable

designs against the government, and was banished for a period of seven years.

The time was now approaching when it became necessary to find a successor to Victoria as President of the Republic. Two candidates presented themselves, General Guerrero and Gomez Pedraza; the former supported by the Yorkinos, and the latter, who was at the time Minister of War and Marine, by the Escoseses. The canvass was conducted with the greatest zeal and even rancor on both sides. Pedraza was elected by a majority of two votes. The disappointed party were loud in their denunciation of the successful candidate; his friends were charged with bribery and corruption, and even with procuring the interference of the military in some of the States; and there is no doubt a resort to arms was concerted, if necessary to annul the election.

It was at this time that Santa Anna began to play a distinguished part in public affairs. He was popular with the army and the people, and had been previously driven from the office of Vice-Governor of the State of Vera Cruz, and had taken refuge in Jalapa. As soon as he learned the result of the election, he seduced the troops at that place, and marched early in September to Perote, having previously seized upon the military chest and stores. Finding himself in possession of Perote, at the head of about eight hundred troops, he issued his manifesto in the shape of an address from the liberating army to the people of Anahuac. He denounced the legislature as secret abettors of the plan of Montano, and as intriguing against the liberties of the people in favor of a Bourbon prince. He charged Pedraza with having, while Minister of War, and even previously, shown himself inimical to the interest of the people, with having succeeded in his election by fraudulent means, and contrary to the wishes of the majority; and declared it to be the will of the people that General Guerrero should be placed at the head of the executive government. His "plan" recommended no middle course. It proposed that the people and army should annul the election of Pedraza, and that the Spanish residents should be banished; that Guerrero should be declared President, and that the legislature should proceed to a new election. It is hardly necessary to add, that this daring revolt was crowned with success. Pedraza fled, Guerrero was proclaimed President after being at first appointed Minister of War and Marine,

Victoria resigned the Presidency, Bustamante was continued as Vice-President, and Santa Anna was appointed commander-in-chief. This revolution was not effected without the perpetration of the most frightful disorders. Mexico was given up to pillage ; and it has been estimated that property was plundered or destroyed to the value of five millions of dollars, principally belonging to the European Spaniards, who, in consequence of this revolution, were expelled from the country. It is not a little remarkable that Santa Anna, the prime mover of this "plan," took no active part in its execution, but remained besieged at the head of the liberating army until the revolution was completed, and then laid down his arms to General Calderon, to be immediately invested with the supreme military command of the Republic.

In the summer of 1829, the invasion of Mexico by Barradas, induced the legislature to invest the President, Guerrero, with extraordinary powers. Barradas was captured by Santa Anna, as is well known, and thus ended the hopes of Spain to recover her lost possessions in Mexico. But Guerrero was destined to taste the cup he had mixed for his predecessor and rival. His alleged reluctance to lay down the powers of dictator, which had been conferred on him on the emergency above alluded to, led to various revolts and insurrections in different parts of the Republic. The State of Yucatan declared against the Federal Government, and in favor of the Central system. Early in December, 1829, Bustamante, then Vice-President, flew to arms, and, placing himself at the head of the army of Mexico, which was stationed in the State of Vera Cruz, advanced upon the capital, denouncing the abuses and usurpations of Guerrero. Santa Anna, the commander-in-chief, issued a proclamation in support of the government ; but long before he could reach Mexico the revolution was complete. Guerrero first laid down his dictatorial powers, then convoked the Congress, and appealed to it for support. But he was at last compelled to abdicate. Bustamante was elected by the army, as the successor of Guerrero, and Santa Anna followed the example of Guerrero, and retired to his estates. Tranquillity was soon restored.

It was not at this period hazardous to predict, that even the shadow of the constitution of 1824 would not long survive. Mexico had already the substance of a military despotism ; and a pretext or a cause for prostrating Bustamante in his turn

could not long be wanting. It was enough, that the daring, the crafty Santa Anna, the conqueror of Barradas, was in disgrace at his favorite Manga de Clavo. From that period till the present, Mexico has presented the very kaleidoscope of factions and parties. We will not pretend to detail the series of manœuvres, of *gritos*, and insurrections, which seated Santa Anna ultimately in power, and made him the representative of that amalgam of parties, which has been aptly called the *aristo-bello-teo-canallacratic*. In May, 1833, Santa Anna assumed the reins of government. In April following, he drove out the Congress ; and in 1835 the good Gomez Farias, who had been elected Vice-President, was forced into exile, and the revolution was completed by creating a new office, — that of president *ad interim*. Another individual was designated for that office, but all the effective power of the state was confided to Santa Anna ; centralism and a dictatorship succeeded *de facto* to the Federal Republic. Since that period Santa Anna has been, down to the time of his late disaster, the undisputed master of the destinies of Mexico ; the States were converted into departments, and the legislatures cut down to a council of five. It is not a little remarkable that the people of Texas, and especially the Americans settled there, took sides with Santa Anna in putting down Bustamante. Such was the infatuation which prevailed, that while it was apparent to indifferent spectators, acquainted with the character of Santa Anna, that he aimed at the assumption of all power, and that he was opposed to all the great reforms which had been projected for the country, yet those who were just now struggling for their existence against him, coöperated with him in prostrating, by force of intrigues and arms, the administration of Bustamante, and in fact the constitution of 1824. In July, 1832, the Ayuntamiento and people of San Felipe de Austin unanimously gave in their adherence to the plan of Vera Cruz, and to the principles of the Republican party, headed by General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. So zealous indeed were they in anticipating the wishes or designs of Santa Anna, and by force of arms expelling the troops in Texas then under the command of Bustamante, that their motives were suspected ; and a force actually arrived at the mouth of the Brazos, which had been sent to suppress any movement towards independence on the part of the American colonists. Such intention

was distinctly disclaimed at the time by the colonists, and tranquillity was restored.

But before we proceed to an examination of the causes which led to the present position of things in Texas, we must take a hasty survey of the events which have occurred in that region, and, as intimated above, give some account of the military operations of which it was the scene during the struggle of Mexico for her independence, in which many citizens of the United States coöperated, and not a few sacrified their lives. It must not be forgotten that these transactions occurred previously to the treaty of 1819 with Spain; at a period when the United States had not given up their pretensions, under the treaty of cession of Louisiana, to the sovereignty of the country, as far as the Rio del Norte. We will not assert that the administration of that day (1812 and 1813) were disposed to step forward and take possession of the country, as soon as it should have been wrested from the dominion of Spain; but thus much we assert as a fact, that William Shaler, afterwards the Consul-general at Algiers, did, after the fall of San Antonio, in the spring of 1813, proceed into the territory, and, under the flag of the United States, assumed and acted in the official character of "agent of the United States near the constituted authorities of New Spain." At that time, the American people and government were wearied with the protracted negotiation with Spain, its interminable delays, and the evident reluctance of the cabinet of Madrid, to do justice to the United States; and there was a strong disposition among the people to seize upon that part of the territory which was still in dispute. But these considerations are nothing to our present purpose, and are mentioned only to explain why so many of our citizens were engaged in that conflict.

Among the followers of Hidalgo, who found themselves exposed to the vengeance of the Spanish authorities in Mexico, was Don Bernardo Gutierrez. He had been a white-smith in Revilla, near the Rio Grande, and had accumulated a handsome estate. All his property was confiscated, but he effected his escape to the United States. He was a man of perseverance and enterprise, but without the qualities necessary for a military commander; rather savage than brave, and of a stern and revengeful disposition. He was however devoted to his native country, and vindictive against its oppressors. His first object, on reaching the United States, was to create an interest

in the cause of Mexican independence. Although he labored under great disadvantages, being rather uncouth in his manners, and speaking no language but Spanish, he at last succeeded in inducing many Americans to join him in an enterprise, having for its object to create a division on the side of Texas in favor of Morelos and Rayon, then in arms in the interior. Having visited Washington, he returned to Natchitoches early in the year 1812, and with a few followers crossed the Sabine, and organized his little army. The American volunteers, who had rallied to his standard, elected as their first immediate commander, Lieutenant Magee, who had served in the American army, and at the time of his election was the commanding officer at Fort Claiborne in Natchitoches. Gutierrez was invested with the command in chief. The little army, thus organized, raised the standard of Mexican Independence, and pushed forward into the interior of Texas. Nacogdoches was first taken, and the few Spanish troops stationed there joined the army of Gutierrez. They marched forward to the river Trinity, and took the small town of Salcedo. From that point to San Antonio de Bejar, there were two routes; the one passing by La Bahia del Espiritu Santo, now called Goliad, and the other more direct, and higher up the river. The army, increasing daily by the arrival of fresh volunteers, took the lower route and arrived at La Bahia.

This town stands on an eminence upon the right bank of the San Antonio river, which unites with the Guadaloupe some distance below, and empties into the Bay of Metagorda. A little stone fort stands, or stood at that time, in the centre of the town, having four bastions, and one of the curtains consisting of a stone church. The garrison was taken by surprise; or, being composed of Mexicans disaffected to the existing government, yielded without a struggle.

The principal military force of Spain in Texas, was stationed at San Antonio de Bejar, under the immediate command of Don Simon Herrera. Don Manuel Salcedo was at that period governor of the province. Soon after the capture of La Bahia, the governor and the military chief of the province left San Antonio, and advanced to the siege of La Bahia. With vastly superior forces, all their attempts to carry the place by assault, or reduce it in any other way, were fruitless; and, after a siege of several months, they were compelled to retreat upon the capital.

During the siege, Colonel Magee, who commanded the American volunteers, died, and Colonel Samuel Kemper was elected to succeed him. The Republican army shortly afterwards marched upon San Antonio. The whole royal forces came out to meet the enemy, and they met at the Salado, about two leagues from the town. The royalists were defeated with great slaughter, and in a few days the capital of Texas surrendered upon capitulation. Salcedo, Herrera and his brother, and all the officers under the Spanish authorities, gave up their swords, under a solemn promise that they should be treated with the urbanity usual among civilized nations. This pledge was most barbarously violated. Thirteen prisoners of distinction, at the head of whom was Don Manuel Salcedo, were sent off under a strong guard mounted on horseback, and under pretext of putting them on board a vessel at Metagorda, bound for New Orleans, were taken a short distance from San Antonio to a retired place, and inhumanly butchered in cold blood. Most of them had their throats cut. Their bodies, after being rifled of their watches and trinkets, were thrown into a deep ravine. It is due to the American officers, some of whom were men of honor and character, to say that they were ignorant of any design to commit so foul an outrage on the part of Gutierrez, and that they resented it, some by immediately returning to the United States, and others by subsequently depriving Don Bernardo of the command and conferring it on Don Jose Alvarez de Toledo.

Most of the royal troops captured at San Antonio, together with many of the subaltern officers, were natives of Mexico, and readily joined the Republican army. The fall of San Antonio, by adding greatly to the force of the liberators, not only in men, but a train of artillery, military stores, and horses, might have led to important results, if it had not been followed by a relaxation of discipline and a spirit of insubordination, which proved ultimately fatal to the cause. Instead of pushing forward to the Rio Grande, and raising the revolutionary standard in the populous parts of the Internal provinces, in which the people were deeply disaffected, and ready to throw off their allegiance to Spain, the commander-in-chief appears to have considered the great object accomplished. A provisional government was organized, at the head of which Don Bernardo was placed as governor, assisted by a Junta composed of a few Creoles and two Americans, chosen by the people of the

capital and the army. In the mean time, the volunteers began to absent themselves, while no adequate preparations were made to repel any further attack, which might have been anticipated. Notwithstanding the disorder and laxity of discipline, a considerable force of provincial troops, under the command of Colonel Ilisonda, which had been raised in New Biscay, was repulsed and completely routed within two miles of San Antonio. The exultation and confidence, which followed this victory, were ultimately fatal to the expedition. The army, thinking itself invincible, made no preparations to meet any further efforts on the part of Spain ; and time was given to the Viceroy, and the Captain-General of the Internal provinces, to organize and concentrate a force sufficient to overpower the Republicans. This battle was fought about the 20th of June, 1813 ; and was shortly afterwards followed by the expulsion of Don Bernardo from the command, and the promotion of Toledo. The circumstances attending this change require some notice. The butchery of the Spanish prisoners by Don Bernardo, had created a feeling of horror and disgust in the United States, and great disaffection in the army ; and, without a prospect of speedy change, it is probable the volunteers would have abandoned an enterprise stained with so foul a crime. The army, the Junta, and the most respectable people of the province were prepared for a change.

Don Jose Alvarez de Toledo, who was destined to succeed Don Bernardo in the command, was a native of the Island of Cuba. Very early in life he received a warrant of midshipman in the Spanish navy, and continued in that service until he was appointed a lieutenant. During the invasion of the Peninsula, he joined the land service, and acted as the aid-de-camp of General Blake, during the retreat of Sir John Moore upon Coruña. Toledo afterwards took his seat in the Cortes of Cadiz, as the supplying member for the Spanish part of St. Domingo, and being detected in some correspondence with the governor of that Island, in which he advocated the independence of Spanish America, he was compelled to fly. He took refuge in the United States, and arrived at Philadelphia in 1812. He brought with him an authority, signed by many of the members of the Cortes, who represented the Spanish provinces on this continent, to take command of any forces which might be in arms to sustain the independence of Spanish America. He was authorized at the same time to draw

on Cadiz for such sums as he might need. He did draw bills of exchange at Philadelphia for some thousands of dollars, which were duly honored.

Having learned the auspicious commencement of the enterprise under Don Bernardo, and being disposed to coöperate with him, Toledo, after visiting Washington City with a view of propitiating the government, set forward towards Pittsburg with a few followers and friends. They took with them, among other things, a printing-press and a font of types, and the printer himself formed one of the party. His name was Moore, a man of singular versatility of talent, possessing a vast amount of practical knowledge, and at the same time brave, enthusiastic, and enterprising. This little party embarked at Pittsburg for Natchez in the month of December, on board a small flat-boat, which had been constructed for that purpose. Nothing can be conceived more heterogeneous than this little party. There were Toledo, and his two aids, the one an American, and the other a Frenchman. Don Juan Picornel was an old Spaniard, a native of Majorca, who had been buried in the dungeons of the Inquisition ; whose ankles had been rendered callous by chains, with which he had been loaded as the conspicuous enemy of Godoy ; who had been engaged in the first revolution in Caraccas, and had escaped from the earthquake and the counter revolution ; wrinkled with age, and yet full of zeal in the cause. Another of the party was a Frenchman from Marseilles, by the name of Colonie. He boasted of having been a *chef de brigade* in the republican armies of France ; but, such was his ardor in the cause, that he accepted the humble rank of *chef de cuisine* in the service of Toledo. These, together with an honest, intrepid, and faithful Gallician boy, and an American shoe-merchant, who had advanced some funds for the enterprise, and who accompanied the general by way of collateral security, formed the *personnel* of the outfit. The *materiel* consisted of provisions, a few arms, baggage, and some books.

It was not until the month of March, 1813, that Toledo and his party reached Natchez, after suffering greatly from cold, and from the breaking up of the ice on the Ohio. From Natchez he proceeded by land to Natchitoches. From that point a messenger was despatched to San Antonio with letters to Don Bernardo, tendering to him the coöperation of Toledo and his friends, in the enterprise in which he was en-

gaged. In the mean time Toledo and his party, in company with William Shaler, Esquire, proceeded to Nacogdoches, and established his head-quarters. Here the printing-press was set up; and the first paper ever published in the Internal provinces of Mexico was issued in Spanish and English early in May, 1813.

The party of Toledo increased daily by the arrival of fresh volunteers, and he was already at the head of a considerable reinforcement, carefully organized and disciplined, and making preparations to proceed to San Antonio, when, to the utter amazement of everybody, an express arrived from Don Bernardo, with letters for Toledo, together with a formal and peremptory order to him to quit forthwith the territory of the Republic. This repulse, from such a quarter, was an enigma which none could explain at the time. Toledo, after consulting his friends, determined to obey, rather than hazard the success of the enterprise by pushing forward in despite of Don Bernardo. While he retired across the Sabine, his friends organized themselves into a company of about forty well-armed men in uniform, under the command of one of his aids, and took up the march for San Antonio.

On their arrival, the mystery which accompanied the expulsion of Toledo was soon explained. It appeared that one Cogswell, who had been discarded by Toledo and his party at Pittsburg on account of some dishonorable intrigues, had written to Don Bernardo in terms highly derogatory to the character of Toledo, representing him as secretly in the pay of the Spanish minister at Washington, and on his way to the Internal provinces for the purpose of betraying the cause. Although Don Bernardo knew that the whole story was false, yet he thought it a good pretext to rid himself of a rival, whose influence he dreaded. The persons who had accompanied Toledo from Philadelphia, and who knew the motives of Cogswell and the falsity of his statements, represented to Gutierrez the truth of the case, and urged him to revoke the order expelling Toledo from Texas. He peremptorily refused, still persisting in charging Toledo with correspondence with the enemy. The officers of the American volunteers then united, and distinctly announced their intention to abandon the enterprise, unless Gutierrez would retire from the command. After a variety of movements, it was finally determined that an election of a commander-in-chief should be

held, in which the officers of the army, the members of the Junta, and the *notables* of the capital should vote. The result was the election of Don Jose Alvarez de Toledo, and Gutierrez immediately retired to the United States. Toledo, having in the mean time approached near San Antonio, then made his appearance, and was invested with the command in chief. This change took place in July, 1813.

Preparations were immediately made to meet any further force which might be sent from the interior, and for this purpose the train of artillery was mounted and fitted for service, and the troops reviewed and better organized. While these preparations were making, a rumor reached head-quarters that the regular garrison at Vera Cruz, composed of the regiment of Estramadura, had landed at Tampico, and was about to advance on San Antonio ; and that Ilisonda had collected another army in New Biscay and Coahuila, destined to coöperate with Arredondo, the commander of the *fijos* of Vera Cruz. Their plan of operation was readily apprehended. Their intention was to concentrate their force at the distance of three or four days' march from San Antonio, Arredondo crossing the Rio Grande at Laredo, and Ilisonda at the Paso del Norte ; the point of concentration being the junction of the two roads, leading to the capital of Texas from those two places.

In this state of things, the Republicans had the choice of only two courses. The one was to put San Antonio in a state of defence, and await the arrival of the combined forces of Arredondo and Ilisonda ; the other to advance at once towards the Rio Grande, and attack them in detail before they could form a junction. It was confidently thought that the forces of the Republican army were more than a match for either division of the royalists, if not sufficient to offer battle to both united. The latter plan was agreed on, and preparations were made for advancing towards the Rio Grande. The army marched early in August, with a train of eight pieces of artillery. Its force amounted to about fifteen hundred, of which about four hundred were American volunteers. But it was soon ascertained, that the two divisions of the Spanish army had formed their junction, and were advancing on San Antonio. Under these circumstances, it became necessary to change the plan of operations, and to place the Medina, a small branch of the San Antonio river, between the army and

the town. The Medina is rather a deep ravine than a river, and at that season is almost dry ; but its banks are so steep, and the passes so narrow, as to impede the crossing of artillery. The republican army crossed this stream, and occupied such a position as to watch the only two fords, by which San Antonio could be approached from that quarter. No sooner had Toledo crossed the Medina, than it was ascertained by the report of the scouts, that Arredondo was within half a day's march, and approaching on the great road. Toledo advanced about two miles, and on the morning of the 13th of August the army was drawn out in order of battle, having the road in the centre, the artillery on each side, and a corps of cavalry and some friendly Indians on each wing, concealed in skirts of woods. In front of the line was a small prairie ; and such was the position of the troops, that the enemy might approach within rifle shot without suspecting their presence. The intention of Toledo was to take Arredondo by surprise on his march, while encumbered with a train, which always accompanies a Spanish army. At daybreak the enemy's drum was heard; it was known that they had taken up the line of march, and confident expectations were entertained that the plan would succeed. It was defeated by an untoward accident. While waiting anxiously for the approach of the royalists, a single horseman, well mounted, rode slowly through the centre of the prairie, and approached within a short distance of the republican lines, apparently without suspicion of finding an enemy there. As soon as he perceived his situation, he turned suddenly and disappeared, notwithstanding many rifles were discharged at him. It was then concluded, that, as the position of the republican army was discovered and would immediately be reported, it would lead to no result if they continued in the same position, as the enemy would certainly have time to form in battle. It was consequently concluded to advance, and endeavour to attack them before they could make any new disposition of their forces. The whole line advanced at the same moment, and very soon after the right wing engaged the enemy. It proved to be an advance party, and was soon dispersed. The republican army continued to advance, and soon after encountered another force, which was confidently believed to be the main body of Arredondo's army. A smart skirmish ensued, during which a few prisoners were taken, together with two or three pieces of artillery.

The rest effected their retreat. It was now discovered that Arredondo had amused the republicans by sending forward these two parties with a view to check their advance, while he prepared for their reception in a position more favorable to his views. His true position was then ascertained at a distance of two or three miles, and that the intervening space was so sandy as to render it almost impossible to drag along the cannon, and that there was no water to be had. Under these circumstances a council was called on the field, and it was determined that the army should retire to the position first occupied in the morning, and await the movements of the enemy, and at all events attack them if they should attempt to cross the Medina. This plan, the only one which could have saved the army, was thwarted by the obstinacy of Colonel Manchaca, who commanded the provincial cavalry, a brave, but headstrong man, who had great influence over his countrymen. He positively refused to obey the order ; and such was the danger to be apprehended from his defection, that Toledo yielded to the wishes of a majority of the officers, and the impetuosity of his troops, and gave orders to advance upon the enemy at all hazards. The battle which ensued was obstinately contested ; and although the republicans fought under great disadvantages, being already exhausted with heat and want of water, and obliged to leave several pieces of artillery behind on account of the sandy nature of the ground, yet the battery of the enemy was twice silenced by the American rifles, and the singular spectacle presented itself of two armies flying from each other, each thinking itself defeated. The defection of one Musquis, with a squadron of provincial horsemen, late in the afternoon, changed the fate of the day. Turning the left of the enemy's line, he advanced to the rear, and surrendered to Arredondo, whom he found mounted on a fresh horse, having already given orders to retreat. The information conveyed by Musquis induced him to return to the charge ; the whole line advanced with little further opposition, and no quarter was given on the field.

It was found impossible to rally the flying republicans. A feeble remnant of the American volunteers escaped to the United States, and the province was almost depopulated. The following spring (1814), an attempt was made to renew the enterprise, but it totally failed, and after the restoration of Ferdinand the Seventh, no hope was entertained of securing

the independence of Mexico until the plan of Iguala was formed. In Texas the settlements were almost entirely abandoned ; and there only remained a scanty population, dependent almost exclusively on the military force, in San Antonio, La Bahia, and Nacogdoches.

The region which formed the theatre of these operations, extending from the Sabine to the Rio del Norte, is one of great natural beauty and fertility. It is intersected by the Trinity, the Brazos, the Colorado, the Guadaloupe, and some smaller streams, which rise in the springs of the Rocky Mountains, forming a ridge generally called the Sierra Morena, and, after a comparatively short course, fall into the Gulf of Mexico. The country is very open, being principally composed of extensive prairies ; but the alluvion upon the water-courses, covered with wood or cane, is admirably adapted to the culture of cotton and sugar, and the open plains to the raising of cattle to an unlimited extent. During the existence of the Spanish Government, the natural resources of this beautiful country appear to have been wholly unknown, or never appreciated. The Mexican people do not possess the enterprise and industry, necessary to profit by such decided natural advantages of soil and climate. At the period we speak of, those extensive and woodless plains were the haunts of innumerable droves of horses "desert-born" ; and nothing can be imagined more grand than their movements in squadrons of thousands, when frightened by the approach of the solitary traveller.

> "A thousand horse, and none to ride, —
> With flowing tail and flying mane,
> Wide nostrils, never stretched with pain,
> Mouths bloodless by the bit or rein,
> And feet that iron never shod,
> And flanks unscarr'd by spear or rod.
> A thousand horse, the wild, the free,
> Like waves that follow o'er the sea,
> Come thickly thundering on."

The scanty population of this beautiful province, after the counter-revolution in 1813, remained for many years subject to the constant depredations of the Camanche Indians, encouraged by traders from Natchitoches, who furnished them with arms and ammunition, and took in exchange the horses and

mules, and, in some instances, captive Mexicans, plundered from the defenceless inhabitants. This trade was prosecuted by none with more avidity, than by some Mexicans, who had taken refuge in Louisiana; and Don Bernardo Gutierrez himself was engaged for several years in fabricating spear points for those Indians.

The lately flourishing colonies of Texas owe their origin to the perseverance and enterprise of Colonel S. T. Austin. His father was in treaty with the Spanish authorities of the Internal provinces, before the revolution in Mexico; and, early in the year 1821, he was authorized to introduce and settle three hundred families on favorable conditions. But he died before he was able to make a commencement of his settlement, and his son succeeded to his right, and prosecuted his enterprise. The first settlement was made on the Brazos, in December, 1821. The original grant was confirmed by the new government of Mexico in 1824. Since that period, Colonel Austin has entered into several new contracts for establishing colonies. All the other grants in Texas, except a few in favor of Mexican citizens, were modelled upon those of Austin. The nominal grantee is called the *empresario*. He is considered, by the terms of the contract, merely as a trustee of the government, having no title himself to the land within the limits of his future colony, except upon condition of settling a certain number of families. The settlers themselves receive a title for each family, for a league square, upon the express condition of settlement and cultivation, and the payment of certain very moderate charges, within a limited period. It is believed that these conditions were, by the colonization laws of Mexico, the basis of all the land titles in Texas, together with the further condition that all right and title should be forfeited, if the grantee should abandon the country, or sell his land, before having cultivated it. An inspection of the various maps of Texas will show how numerous have been these privileges conceded to various *empresarios*. The face of the province from the Nueces to Red River, and from the Gulf to the mountains, is nearly covered by them. It became at last a matter of greedy speculation; and it is a notorious fact, that many of the *empresarios*, forgetting the contingent character of their own rights to the soil, and the conditions upon which their future colonists were to receive allotments of land, proceeded at once to make out scrip, which has been

sold in the United States to an incalculable amount.* In addition to this we are informed, on the best authority, that the manufacture of land titles, having no foundation whatever, has been carried on as a regular business. That frauds of these different kinds have been practised on the cupidity and credulity of the people of the United States, is beyond doubt. Had the close of the present campaign been what its opening seemed to portend, and the colonies been broken up, it would be impossible to calculate the losses which would be sustained, by those who have never seen the land which they have bought. It is not hazarding too much to say, that millions have been expended in the southern and south-western States.

Among the exciting causes of the present troubles in Texas, may be set down the unsuccessful efforts of the colonists to separate themselves from Coahuila, and to establish a constitution of government for Texas alone. The Union of Coahuila and Texas as a State of the Mexican federal republic, had become odious to the colonists of American origin, who were now numerous, because the seat of government was too remote, being fixed at Saltillo, and the inhabitants of that part of the State were almost exclusively of Spanish descent. The Americans began to think and to feel, that they were strong enough to manage their own State affairs, in their own way. Heretofore, it cannot be denied, that they had been treated with great liberality and indulgence. They were entrusted with the administration of their laws, and it is difficult to say what laws they did administer ; it was, certainly, any thing but the ancient laws of Mexico. But they felt that a separation from Coahuila was essential to their prosperity. Ultimately a constitution was adopted for Texas alone, and submitted to the general government in Mexico. Colonel Austin was charged with this negotiation. Finding it difficult, if not impossible, to effect the object, he wrote a letter to some of his friends in Texas, (which was intercepted,) in which he intimated that it was time for Texas to

* The production first mentioned, at the head of this article, gives many curious details on the subject of these speculations by agents and assignees of the *empresarios*, in New York, and extensive sales of scrip, a kind of stock which some of them told the disappointed purchasers was deliverable not in Texas, but in Wall Street. We have no space for quotations, but refer our readers generally to the work in question.

take matters into her own hands, and do herself justice. The consequence of this indiscretion was the immediate imprisonment of Austin, charged with treasonable designs. The scheme was defeated, and Austin was released. It is certain, that this attempt on the part of the American colonists excited the jealousy of the Mexican government.

Before we mention the next link in the chain of events, it is necessary to premise, that the unappropriated lands, although the property of the State, cannot be granted without the sanction of the general government. At the time we speak of, the rage for land speculation, having "grown by what it fed on," was insatiable. The seat of the State government had been changed, and the archives removed from Saltillo to Manclova, a position more central, on the west of the Rio Del Norte. In 1834, a company of land speculators, by means never distinctly known, induced the legislature of Coahuila and Texas to grant them, in consideration of twenty thousand dollars, the extent of four hundred square leagues of public land. This transaction was disavowed, and the grant annulled, by the Mexican government; and led to the dispersion of the legislature, and the imprisonment of the Governor, Viesca. And yet this unauthorized, and, perhaps, corrupt grant of public lands formed the basis of new speculation and frauds. A new scrip was formed; and, according to the best information we have been able to obtain, four hundred leagues became, in the hands of speculators, as many thousands. The extent of these frauds is yet to be ascertained; for such is the blindness of cupidity, that any thing, which looks fair on paper, passes without scrutiny, for a land title in Texas.

This interest in the soil of Texas, whether real or fictitious, so widely diffused among a speculating people, extending from Boston to New Orleans, could not fail to create a sympathy and a bias, which, in the event of another rupture between the colonists and the government of Santa Anna, might compromit the neutrality of the United States. Such a rupture was soon brought about, and the colonists flew to arms. It would be altogether premature, at this time, to give any thing like a history of even the comparatively early incidents of the present struggle. We content ourselves with a few leading facts, about which there can be no mistake.

An attempt to establish custom-houses on the expiration of the privilege of exemption from the payment of duties for two

years, granted to the colonists, which was forcibly resisted by them, and a demand for the persons concerned in the grant of the four hundred leagues of land, were the immediate precursors of hostilities. Colonel Gonsales had been first sent, with orders to arrest the obnoxious members of the legislature, and others concerned in that proceeding; but is said to have betrayed his trust. General Cos, the confidential friend and brother-in-law of Santa Anna, was next despatched for that purpose. He landed in September last, at the mouth of the Brazos, at the head of four hundred men, destined to reinforce the garrison of San Antonio, and to accomplish the purpose first announced. General Cos, on his arrival, disclaimed any intention to disturb the great body of the colonists. But his proceedings roused the people to arms, and the war began in earnest.

These events, as we remarked, are so recent, and the particulars rest so much upon rumors, or *ex parte* statements, made in the heat of the moment, that it would be idle to attempt to give any thing like a connected narration of them. Nor is it at all material to our present purpose. It seems to have been the intent of the colonists to prevent the junction of Cos with the troops already at San Antonio. La Bahia or Goliad was first taken by them; but they failed of intercepting the march of Cos, who finally reached his point of destination. He immediately prepared for the defence of the capital, by establishing barricados and other works of defence. But the people of Texas, with even a smaller force than the enemy, finally succeeded in carrying the place; General Cos, late in October, capitulated; and his troops, as well as himself, were permitted to retire from the province. He has been accused of violating the terms of the capitulation, and of forfeiting his parole. It is certain that he has been engaged in the second invasion of Texas.

The expulsion of Cos, with the fall of San Antonio de Bejar, was considered by many as an event of the greatest importance. But it is certain that it had, for a time, its unfavorable effects on the cause of the colonists. It emboldened the leaders of the army, and produced that confidence in their own courage, and inspired them with that contempt for their enemy, which often lead to the most fatal consequences. The military force began to melt away. They had assembled for a *coup de main*, and could not be brought upon a regular

military establishment. They relied with too much confidence on the internal divisions of Mexico, supposing that Santa Anna would find constant employment in repressing the spirit of revolt against his authority, which had been manifest in some of the central States. There was one consideration, which never seems to have entered into their calculation; that there exists in Mexico an inveterate prejudice against the American colonists, if not against the whole people of the United States, and that, if any thing could unite the Mexicans, it would probably be the success which had at first attended the struggle of the colonists, and the growing suspicion that they intended to strike for a total separation from Mexico, instead of adhering to their first claim, — the reëstablishment of the constitution of 1824. It soon became apparent, that the authority and influence of Santa Anna were actually strengthened by the recent defeat of Cos, and that he would be enabled to bring to bear on the revolted colonies all the resources of Mexico. Whatever differences of opinion might exist as to the form of government, one feeling at least was national; and that was, that Mexico must not submit to dismemberment, and that strangers professing a different religion, and who had been treated at first with great liberality and indulgence, should not be suffered, without a vigorous struggle, to seize upon one of the most fertile provinces of the Republic. It is well known, that there existed a strict alliance between Santa Anna and the clergy; and it was not to be expected, that a body of Protestants would be permitted with impunity to oppose the national religion. It soon became apparent, that religious intolerance was mixed up with political animosity against the American colonists, and thus they had every reason to expect a furious and desperate conflict. Whatever may have been said to the contrary, it is certain there were great differences of opinion among the colonists, and even violent party dissensions. Many, who were in the quiet enjoyment of their property, were opposed to all these hostile movements; some were in favor of the constitution of 1824, and some for a total separation and independence.

The first public declaration of independence which appeared, except perhaps one on the 7th of November, was adopted in December, 1835, at La Bahia or Goliad, not by persons assuming to act in a representative capacity, but by about ninety individuals, all, except two, Americans, if we may

judge by their names, acting for themselves, and recommending a similar course to their fellow citizens. That declaration furnishes proofs of the dissensions and jealousies of which we have spoken, as the following extract will show.

"They have seen the enthusiasm and the heroic toils of an army bartered for a capitulation humiliating in itself, repugnant in the extreme to the pride and to the honor of the most lenient, and no sooner framed than evaded or insultingly violated. They have seen their camp thronged, but too frequently, with those who were more anxious to be served by, than to serve their country; with men more desirous of being honored with command, than capable of commanding. They have seen the energies, the prowess, and the achievements of a band worthy to stand by Washington and receive command, and worthy to participate in the inheritance of the sons of such a father, frittered, dissipated, and evaporated away, for want of that energy, union, and decision in council, which, although it must emanate from the many, can only be exercised efficiently when concentrated in a single mind. They have witnessed these evils with bitter regrets, with swollen hearts, and indignant bosoms. They have seen the busy aspirants for office running from the field to the council-hall, and from this back to the camp, seeking emolument and not service, and swarming, like hungry flies, around the body politic."

This document proves another fact; that the ancient population of the province was favorable to the views of the new government of Mexico. The authors of this declaration recommend the convocation of a convention for the whole province, for the purpose of deciding upon ulterior measures, and the formation of a constitution.

They seem to have had a correct view of the probable future operations of Santa Anna. They deprecate, in no measured terms, the favorable capitulation which Cos had obtained, and proceed to say,

"An army recently powerless, and literally imprisoned, is now emancipated from a comparatively harmless, passive, and inactive attitude; they have been transferred to one preëminently commanding, active, and imposing. The north and east of Mexico will now become the strong-hold of centralism. Thence it can sally, in whatever direction its arch-deviser may prefer to employ its weapons. The counter-revolution in the interior smothered, the whole fury of the contest will be poured on Texas."

It is matter of amazement, that, with such forebodings, with such a knowledge of the views of Santa Anna, and of his resources, the early operations of the Americans of Texas were so feeble and ill-advised ; that they neglected to make the most obvious provisions and preparations for the contest ; that no line of defensive operations was established, but, on the contrary, the military force was divided for the purpose, worse than useless, of maintaining the two posts of La Bahia and San Antonio, too distant from each other to afford mutual support, too remote from the settlements of American origin to promise any thing like protection, and themselves in the centre of a population hostile to the views of the colonists. Instead of concentrating the whole effective force on some natural line of defence, withdrawing the artillery and ammunition, and dismantling the little forts which were equally useless to them and to the enemy, they persisted, as the storm approached, in cooping themselves up in these two places, cut off from reinforcements and supplies, and left the colonies themselves exposed to the attacks of the invaders, who might with perfect impunity have left La Bahia and San Antonio in the rear. As soon as it was ascertained that the Dictator was preparing for the invasion of Texas, it was obviously the policy of the colonists, to secure, for the defence of the important settlements on the Brazos, the cannon and military stores in the two forts above mentioned, which could not long be maintained, and to establish a line of defensive operations on some one of the rivers, with the double view of covering the settlements, and of keeping up a communication with the Gulf of Mexico. No precautions of that kind were adopted, and the most fatal consequences were to be anticipated,—the speedy reduction of those two forts, and the total loss of the feeble detached garrisons, and of all the valuable *matériel* so important for the successful defence of the country.

It was soon ascertained, that Santa Anna was on his march, at the head of a powerful army, towards the Rio del Norte, and early in February, 1836, he established his head-quarters on the River Nueces, on the east of that river, and there issued the proclamation alluded to in the commencement of this article. His plan of operations, so far as it could be divined or learned by the first steps taken by him, was precisely what the Americans, as we remarked above, ought to

have counteracted in anticipation. It was to advance in two columns, one directed against San Antonio, and the other proceeding lower down the coast to La Bahia, thence to cut off the Americans from all communication with the Gulf. His effective force has been variously estimated, from five to ten thousand, including a fine corps of cavalry, believed to be under the immediate command of Felisola, an Italian officer of experience, and himself an *empresario* in Texas.

Early in March, a convention of delegates, from the various settlements of Texas, assembled at a place called Washington, and issued a more formal declaration of independence, setting forth the grievances which impelled the people to take that step, to some of which we have already alluded. This declaration is signed by forty-four delegates, of whom three or four appear to be Mexicans, and particularly Don Lorenzo de Zavala, who has given to the world a history of Mexican affairs, and who has himself participated in some of its revolutions.

The convention prefaced the detail of their grievances by a general assertion, that,

"The Mexican government, by its colonization laws, invited and induced the Anglo-American population of Texas to colonize the wilderness, under the pledged faith of a written constitution, that they should continue to enjoy that constitutional liberty and republican government, to which they had been habituated in the land of their birth, the United States of America. In this expectation they have been cruelly disappointed, as the Mexican nation has acquiesced in the late changes made in the government, by General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna; who, having overturned the constitution of this country, now offers the cruel alternative, either to abandon our homes, acquired by so many privations, or submit to the most intolerable of all tyranny, the despotism of the sword and the priesthood."

With every sympathy for suffering countrymen who have become citizens of a foreign state, we cannot forbear saying, that there is in this sentence something which requires to be analyzed. They admit, that the people of Mexico have acquiesced in the late changes, and that they are citizens of Mexico. They will probably not contest the principle, that the people have a right to change their form of government; and we see nothing in the colonization laws, which promises to the colonists the perpetuity of the Constitution of 1824, which

they themselves had aided in prostrating, as we have already remarked. If a majority of the people of Mexico has preferred a different form of government, we always supposed that in a republican government the majority must govern. By those same colonization laws, it was distinctly provided that the Catholic religion alone should be tolerated. The colonists subscribed, either expressly or tacitly, to that condition; and their complaints on this head appear to us further unreasonable, inasmuch as it is well known that no persecution has ever taken place, on account of the profession, on the part of the colonists, of a different creed.

Another subject of complaint was the failure, and refusal, "to secure on a firm basis, the right of trial by jury; that palladium of civil liberty, and only safe guarantee for life, liberty, and property, to the citizen." If the Mexican government had promised to the colonists the introduction by law of the trial by jury, a thing utterly unknown to their jurisprudence, the complaint would be just. But we are not aware of any such assurance, and we do know that the colonists, in the administration of justice among themselves, have been tolerated in that mode of trial.

The convention enumerated, as among their grievances, and the causes going to justify their separation from Mexico, the refusal to separate Texas from Coahuila; the forcible dispersion of the legislature; the imprisonment of Colonel Austin, to which we have already alluded; that the military commandant among them had been suffered to exercise arbitrary acts of oppression and tyranny; that the government had demanded the surrender of a number of citizens, and ordered military detachments to secure them, and carry them into the interior for trial; that they had made piratical attacks upon their commerce, and had demanded a surrender of their arms; that their country was invaded by sea and by land; and that attempts had been made to excite the Indians to massacre the defenceless inhabitants of the frontiers.

With respect to the justice of these complaints, we have nothing to say. We are sensible that no calculations can be made, in such a country as Mexico, upon the durability of any particular form of government, much less upon the manner in which it will be administered. With such a people, the written constitution is but little better than a dead letter; the government, as administered, is essentially military; and

it was amusing to see Santa Anna reporting to the minister of war, to be laid before the nominal President, the details of his military movements, as Augustus kept up the show of consuls and a senate, long after he had become master of the destinies of Rome. But, whether reasonable or not, these complaints, and the redress they claim, now seem likely enough to be enforced by the *ultima ratio*. That which seemed hardly possible, a few weeks ago, has come to be among the most probable things. That the extraordinary victory of the 21st of April will prove immediately decisive of the contest, is much more than, with our present information, we would venture to predict. The best opinions appear, as yet, even to be divided on the question, whether the capture of Santa Anna will strengthen or enfeeble the Mexican cause. But the check, which has been given, allows time for volunteers to pour in; and that it is to be presumed they will, in great numbers. The attraction, which for various causes is felt towards that field of gain and glory, extends widely into the neighbouring regions of our territory. The indignation, which was excited through the whole country at the atrocities committed by Santa Anna in the flush of his short-lived victories, naturally was accompanied by the strongest sympathy with the sufferers, and seemed to supersede the consideration of the original grounds of dispute, making resistance to him, in that stage at least, an honorable cause; though it is true, that this rising of outraged humanity against a savage thirst of blood will not take part against the Mexican miscreant alone, if the intelligence which has obtained currency in the newspapers should be confirmed, that the victory was decided within twenty minutes, and that all of six or seven hundred Mexicans, who had not fallen in that time, were the victims of a mere butchery afterwards. When our government is satisfied that the revolutionary party is in possession, *de facto*, of the sovereignty of Texas, it will of course be at liberty to enter into relations with it, and be released from the obligation to restrain its citizens from volunteering in the war. But, before and until it is so satisfied, volunteers will continue to go, whether with its connivance, or in its despite. They will go, we say, because they have gone, under circumstances less favorable, as to their impunity, than what now exist. They have gone, in great numbers, on the self-same errand for which Burr, in 1807, was brought to his trial for high treason; in numbers

so great, that (according to a responsible and accredited account) of the eight hundred men, more or less, who won General Houston's victory, not more than fifty were citizens of Texas, having grievances of their own to seek relief from, on that field. The sacred obligation imposed on the United States, by the Law of Nations, to maintain, and compel its citizens to maintain, a strict neutrality in that contest, was enforced, if possible, by the spirit of their treaty stipulation with Mexico, to restrain *Indians*, within their limits, from committing acts of hostility to that government. The obligation was acknowledged in Mr. Forsyth's notes to Mr. Gorostiza. It was the ground of the circulars from the State office to the District Marshals, directing the prosecution of offenders. The government had some strong selfish motives for strictness and decision in the case. The contest in Texas weighed heavily on the prosperity of our contiguous States. Until recently, New Orleans was the focal specie market of the South. At the period of the late crisis in Texas, its supplies were extremely scanty, to the degree that, with a banking capital of enormous amount, there were not two millions of specie in the vaults of all the banks of that city. In the mean time, volunteers had been leaving it openly, with the avowed design of engaging in the contest against Mexico, and armed vessels had been fitting out for the purpose of cruising against her commerce. What has been, in this thing, will continue to be. The volunteers, under existing circumstances, will not be less eager for the enterprise than they have been, nor will the government find itself under stronger motives to exercise a rigid restraint.

Nothing, then, is more likely, in our view, than that Texas will be overrun by a volunteer American force. It may be, after all, that Mexico will make exertions which are not generally anticipated. It would be mere folly to suppose, that her resources have been exhausted in her late disastrous campaign; the feeling of religious rancor is as strong as ever; the national pride is quite as likely to be stung, as to be humbled, by such a defeat as has been sustained; and if accounts are to be credited, which come in no particularly questionable shape, the course, in which Santa Anna has just been arrested, was not so much his own, as one that was demanded of him by the popular voice. But we cannot but think, that, as things stand, the most she can be expected to do is to prolong the struggle.

The late occurrences cannot have failed to give strength to the settlers in Texas, by putting to rest the lately existing causes of dissension. Many of the leading men were of opinion, that the contest was engaged in prematurely ; that, however just were the complaints which had been urged, however severely the colonists might have been made to feel the weight of power, and the caprices of a revolutionary government and bigoted people, they were now putting every thing at hazard on too small chances of success ; and that, if they had contented themselves for the present with demanding the reëstablishment of a constitutional Republic, other States would have made common cause with them, and created such a diversion as to paralyze all the efforts of the Dictator. An end being put to these questions, — the war being entered on, and already successfully waged, — that vigor which comes with unanimity may be looked for in the councils of Texas. It is true, that its population, not exceeding, according to the highest estimate, twenty thousand persons of all ages and both sexes, of American origin, would still seem to have a desperate enterprise in hand, if they were left to fight their own battles. But that they will be so left, there is, for reasons which we just now glanced at, extremely little reason to suppose.

But will not our Government arrest further operations, by treating with Mexico for the purchase of Texas ? Mexico, if she had the best good-will for such a treaty, is not competent to enter into the negotiation. According to the theory of her government, the Congress and President of Mexico have no more right to dismember her territory, than the President and Senate of the United States have to cede to her the State of Louisiana or Missouri. But to speak of what, as things now are, is more to the purpose, what do the United States want of Texas, that they should be willing to pay money for it ? What great national interest would its purchase subserve ? It contains, it is true, large bodies of fine land, enjoys a temperate climate, and is, in every way, worthy of being inhabited by an industrious and free people. But, on the other hand, it is remote, and without a single seaport, into which a sloop-of-war could enter. Many wise and reflecting statesmen are fully persuaded, that the territory of the United States is now sufficiently extended. Great national objects were attained by the acquisition of Louisiana and of Florida ; — the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the best naval station on

the Gulf of Mexico, the port of Pensacola. But, if Texas should be acquired by purchase, would the extensive grants of land, already made, be recognised as valid? and if so, of what great value is the residuum? Is the treasury of the Union to be drained for the exclusive use of the numerous speculators in those lands?—An important consideration, touching this policy, relates to the Indians. We have already mentioned that there exist, within the territory extending from the Red River to the Rio del Norte, numerous tribes of Indians, some of them powerful and warlike; the Camanches, the Conshattees, the Taneahuas. All these are, as it were, appendages to Texas, and, in the event of its acquisition by the United States, would pass with the territory. Our Indian relations are already sufficiently embarrassing, and our line of frontier too extensive for any thing like adequate protection.—And further, it may be, that the question would revive an old, and not altogether settled controversy. At the time Louisiana was acquired, Mr. Jefferson himself was deliberately of opinion, that the treaty-making authority, under the Constitution of the United States, was incompetent to make such an acquisition from a foreign power, and annex it to the Union; and that an amendment of the Constitution would be necessary to sanction it. In a letter to Governor Lincoln, he even furnishes the formula of a proposed amendment, for the purpose of admitting Louisiana into the Union; but adds, that the less that is said about the constitutional difficulty the better. Very little *was* said about it, and there was a general and tacit acquiescence, in consequence of the great and incalculable advantages expected from the acquisition in a national point of view. The purchase of Texas, under existing circumstances, might present a very different question.

But will not our government acknowledge the independence of Texas? Yes, when that independence is established, if it pursues its ancient policy; soon after it is established; and not an hour before. When it is to be rightfully held to be established, may possibly become a delicate question of fact; but the principle, we presume, may be taken to be as distinctly recognised by our government, as it is unquestionably sound. And then, when Texas is an independent power, and shall ask for admission into our Union as a State or States, if so it should, grave questions will be raised, touching the balance of power between the different portions of our con-

federacy, as obvious as they are likely to be exciting ; and the bearings of the measure upon our relations to foreign powers, may prove to be of the most complicated character.

If we are to discuss matters of the import last intimated, it must be at some future time. The publications, of which we have given the titles above, throw but little light on the political events of the day. Mrs. Holley has given an agreeable account of her visit, in her own femininely graceful style, yet by no means destitute of expression and force ; and her statements, as to the natural features of the country, are, in substance, correct. In support of the statements made by us, in reference to the land speculations, we refer to the first-named production, written by a sufferer ; and we have other proofs, that his statements, so far as they go, are true. We wish there was less, in the authentic story of the transactions we have had in view, of a nature to damp the ardor we should feel in the cause of free principles, struggling against antiquated bigotry and the grasping ambition of a ferocious soldier.

Art. XI. — *Didactics, Social, Literary, and Political.* By Robert Walsh. In two volumes. 12mo. pp. 258 and 268. Philadelphia ; Carey, Lea, and Blanchard. 1836.

With matter already in type to follow this, we have exceeded our limits, and yet we cannot refrain from expressing, in a few words, the satisfaction which has been afforded us by these volumes. They belong to a class of publications, of which we may hope hereafter to see frequent specimens. Many of our countrymen, the most capable of profiting the present times and the future, by the fruit of their minds, pass their lives amidst engagements, forbidding them to think of any long, connected work. The few who can be authors by profession, do not enshrine all their brilliancies in forms of elaborate treatise ; but often are prompted to their expression by the occasion or the humor of the hour. It is well that both should from time to time look back, and select, from what they have been producing for the public use, whatever seems most worthy of preservation. That the volume so formed will

be a Miscellany, makes no objection. Miscellanies are excellent compositions in their place; and there are more of us than are always willing to avow it, who like to take up a book, which will soon and easily release our attention. The fashion has lately been set among us, in the highest quarters. The "Miscellanies" of Dr. Channing have been the principal means of extending the fame of that distinguished writer. To the similar volumes by Mr. Webster, posterity will appeal in justifying the reputation of the illustrious New England statesman and jurist. And lately, in the midst of his immense labors, in contributions to legal science, Mr. Justice Story has found time to arrange a collection of writings on a variety of subjects, and in a variety of forms, which show the large range of his pursuits, and the success of his devotion to the less severe Muses. Mr. Walsh is one of those, from whom the American reading public is prepared most gratefully to welcome such a gift.

Mr. Walsh has, from early manhood, been prominently before the public view. His writings, sent out from Baltimore, about the time of the revival of learning in this quarter (under the auspices of Mr. Buckminster and his friends), suddenly attracted an attention and a favor, such as few American writers have ever enjoyed. His "Letter on the Genius and Dispositions of the French Government," was published in 1810, previously to which time he is understood to have been a contributor to the Edinburgh Review. Rarely has any American work created such a *sensation*, if that be the word. The affluence of the writer's information respecting cotemporaneous events, and their analogies in other times; the forcible, clear, and sparkling current of his style; the manliness of his political philosophy; the bold, and, at the same time, sagacious and sober grasp of his views into the future; and the extraordinary copiousness and felicity of his allusions, — showing an extent of reading, very uncommon in those times, and far from common in any, — directly won for him a consideration of the most flattering kind. He was lifted at once, in our hitherto rather lonely Pantheon of letters, to a niche of the *Dii Majorum Gentium*.

To none of our readers can we be conveying information, when we say that Mr. Walsh's more recent writings have been numerous, and have not failed to fulfil the early omens of his fame. In 1811 he instituted the "American Review and

Repository." In 1813 he published his "Correspondence respecting Russia," with General Harper, and his "Essay on the Future State of Europe." In 1817, he undertook the management of the "American Register," a work, of course, of great labor, of which far the greater part fell to the editor's share. We have just now been looking over the volumes, with new surprise at the amount of intellectual resource which they display. In 1819, appeared his "Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States of America;" a production of which we fully expressed our sense, at the time, in the tenth volume of this Journal. He became editor, in 1821, of the Philadelphia "National Gazette"; in 1822, of the "American Magazine of Foreign Literature and Science"; and, in 1827, (having resigned the charge of the last-named periodical,) of the "American Quarterly Review." It is with great regret, that we have lately seen it announced, that he is compelled, by enfeebled health, to intermit his editorial labors. That it should be so, can surprise no one. That any mind should have elasticity enough, to bear, alone, the perpetual pressure of a daily Gazette, to say nothing of a Quarterly Journal for its rider, is, to us, a standing marvel. That it should not only sustain the weight, but preserve its vigor and vivacity in full play, such as the columns of these works exhibit, is a thing which cannot be "without our special wonder." But Mr. Walsh, all this done, has found time, faculty, and spirits to do much more, as various important publications testify. We say enough, in specifying the mass of most valuable contributions to American Biography, scattered through the thirteen volumes of the "Encyclopedia Americana," single compositions of the same class for Delaplaine's "Repository," and the continuation of the American edition of the British Poets, commenced by Mr. Sanford.

Of the contents and arrangement of the present publication, and others like, with which he proposes to follow it up, Mr. Walsh says, in his advertisement,

"The materials, which have been collected for the whole series of Didactics, date since 1810 to the present time, and are scattered over a quantity of inedited manuscript, a multitude of articles written for reviews, several pamphlets, and the files of a daily newspaper for fifteen years. The juxtaposition, under one general head, which has been made in various instances in the

present volumes, of paragraphs relating to that head, that were before altogether separate, must give additional force and some degree of novelty to the whole. The coherence is sufficient, and the occasional repetition of topics, presented however under different aspects, favorable for my chief purpose.

"To be made to think and learn without refreshment for the story appetite, is too great a hardship for some people. Therefore, and in order to relieve the austerity of so many solemn homilies as these volumes may be thought to contain, I have deemed it well to insert some narratives, and theatrical criticisms, — contributions from me to public journals at different times, — and illustrative cases, such as those of Caroline of England, Fauntleroy, and others." — p. viii.

The collections under the several titles are, for the most part, quite short, not often exceeding a dozen pages, and frequently only occupying one or two. Some of the weightiest, and of the lightest, subjects are treated; the former in the spirit of a comprehensive and grave, but benignant philosophy, the latter often with singular gracefulness and wit. A work so put together of course defies analysis. Enough for critic and for reader, that it is full of bright and solid sayings on a large variety of important and curious things, and that whoever keeps it by him will be at no loss for something to think of and enjoy. The sagacity of remarks, which page after page exhibits, on life and on morals, the greater and the less, is worthy of all praise; and the copiousness and felicity of quotation are of a quite rare excellence. But what is matter of yet higher commendation, is the firm, discriminating, and elevated moral tone which pervades the series of discussions. The specimens of this first excellence of writing, which occur in the articles entitled "Moral Courage," "Slander," "Breach of Confidence," and "Sensibility Awry," are but just samples of the rest; and, coming especially from such a source, the sound views, which in different connexions are exhibited, of the moral obligations of the periodical press, are entitled to, as we hope they will not fail to command, the most attentive consideration. Upon this theme, of exceeding moment in our country, and growing more momentous every day, we should enlarge, if we had the space, with some views suggested by Mr. Walsh's pregnant hints. We wish we could think, that the delay of what we might have to submit, will make it at all unseasonable.

We had marked some passages in these volumes for extracting; but even this omission we find ourselves compelled to make. We are bound to own, that, in not a few instances, a greater simplicity of style would have pleased us better. We will not complain of an occasional complicated structure of sentences. It is, perhaps, a natural incident enough to the variety and fulness of the author's thoughts. At all events, something of mannerism in composition is to be indulged to men of a marked character of mind. Who shall tell, how much the form of a thought has to do with its conception, and accordingly how far a man, who thinks for himself, is bound to adopt the shapes of expression, which other thinkers have preferred? Or, this told, who can say further, how much of animation in writing may be lost, if a fervid thinker is to be compelled, in writing, to do constant violence to impulses which urge on him some peculiarity of language? But we fear that there are clearer deviations, on Mr. Walsh's part, from a perfect taste, in the occasional use of unauthorized words, and even, in some instances, of a word, of which one can hardly say, like the civil French arbiter of such a question, "S'il n'est pas *Anglais*, il mérite bien de l'être." We had marked some such cases; but it would not be just dealing to bring them together, out of the connexions, to which they might severally appeal for justification. For ourselves, we are free to confess, that we would fain have them discarded, even at some sacrifice of conciseness and point.

Mr. Walsh says, in his Advertisement;

"In case this, the first selection, should win that degree of favor which the publishers anticipate, it may be followed by others of greater variety and scope in the topics, and possibly more worthy of attention and success, by general interest and value. But a small share, comparatively, of the Literary and Political Didactics has been used on the present occasion. They are reserved for a future opportunity." — p. ix.

For our own and the common benefit, we heartily wish him confirmed health to prosecute the undertaking, and to his publishers that patronage to the present experiment, which a community, wisely regardful of its own interests, will not fail to afford.

Art. XII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *A System of Universal History in Perspective; accompanied by an Atlas, exhibiting Chronology in a Picture of Nations, and Progressive Geography in a Series of Maps. Designed for Schools and Academies.* By Emma Willard, Principal of Troy Female Seminary, Author of "The Republic of America," &c. Hartford; F. H. Huntington. 1835. 8vo. pp. 384.

The author of this work has for some time been known as the Principal of the Female Seminary at Troy, N. Y., an institution which ranks among the first of its kind. From the long experience and success of Mrs. Willard in teaching, we might expect from her a work of no ordinary merit. In this, our anticipations are not disappointed. Her History evinces careful research, skill in combining and arranging the materials, and an acquaintance with the best method of imparting her knowledge to others. The work does not purport to be a minute history of the different nations of the earth, but a concise account of the most prominent and remarkable events and characters. The style is simple and clear, and at the same time free from that dry and uninteresting detail too apt to be met with in works of this kind. Mrs. Willard has adopted both the ethnographical and the chronographical method. When a nation has been but little connected with any other, its history has been treated separately. When it has intimate relations to others in the way of war, commerce, &c., the history of all has been so blended as to give one a very good notion of them, both individually and connectedly. The reflections upon characters and events are judicious, and always true to the great interests of morality and religion. Profane history and tradition are made to illustrate and verify many of the events of holy writ. The Atlas appears to us to be judiciously designed. First, we have the chronological picture of nations, in which are represented the different empires, and the most remarkable persons who have flourished in them, together with the dates of the most important events both before and after Christ. As these present themselves to the eye, they cannot fail to make an impression upon the mind of the scholar, and thus assist him essentially in the accomplishment of his task. Secondly, we have the Progressive Geography of the World in a series of maps adapted to the different epochas of the history, in which the gradual progress of knowledge and

civilization in their work of discovery is presented to the eye. In the first map, but a small portion of the globe is represented as inhabited by man. In the second and succeeding, the gradual spreading of population over larger portions of the earth, down to the present time, is exhibited; and lastly all those countries that modern discoveries have made known. These maps show, in a striking manner, by what slow and painful steps the great work of civilization and refinement has ever proceeded. We like the author's division of her subject into three grand parts instead of two; the ancient, the middle, and the modern. This arrangement will assist the scholar to dispose, in respect to time, the different events that he reads of, more correctly than he could otherwise do. Apart from the idea of the progress of discovery to be gained by such maps, they are of the greatest use to any one who would read history understandingly; for surely it is of but little consequence to know that an event took place at a certain time, unless we also know the part of the globe in which it happened, and are thus able to trace its connexion with other events contiguous in time or place. Such an exercise will improve the whole mind, and not strengthen the memory alone, like the treasuring up of mere dry historical details. Such a work as this History cannot of course be expected to give a scholar all the historical knowledge he will want; but it will be found of great assistance to all, both in acquiring and classifying the general facts of history.

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2. — *Letters, Conversations, and Recollections of S. T. Coleridge.* New York. 1836.

We have read this publication with regret and wonder. It has some pleasant anecdotes and agreeable letters. It gives us an occasional glimpse of the private life of Lamb, Wordsworth, Southey, and others, for which we owe the editor some thanks. But there is so much mystification in the book, it is so full of indirections, accusations, and reproaches, aimed at we know not whom, and founded on we know not what, that we are tempted while reading to throw it away in disgust. The parts furnished by the editor, who appears to have been an intimate friend of Coleridge, are indescribably silly. With none of Coleridge's fervid thought, brilliant imagination, and acute discrimination to sustain him, he is perpetually striving to express his vapid commonplaces in the favorite phraseology of the Coleridge school. This phraseology is bad enough in the hands of the great master; at best, it is but a vigorous affectation. But when

a reverential and weak-minded disciple essays to talk in the teacher's dialect, the disproportion between the meaning and the expression reduces the latter to a laughable cant. The book is dedicated to the editor's children, in a strain of foolish fondness, which is well enough perhaps in the nursery, but anywhere else is worse than wasted. It is very well for him to have children, and to entertain a very sincere affection for them; but to thrust on the public attention his paternal love for the little dears, is, to say the least, in bad taste. The reading public, especially on this side of the water, have but little anxiety to be edified with a volume of amiable yearnings, even towards the "Fairy Prattler," and the "Still meek Boy," of Coleridge's letters. As to the instruction and advice that this exemplary father communicates to his babies through the press, we should be greatly surprised if they were to have any distinct idea of its meaning, at least after they have come to years of discretion.

The letters of Coleridge, in this volume, are wholly deficient in grace, simplicity, and beauty. The sentences are long, awkward, and sometimes utterly unintelligible. Compared with Cowper, Swift, Bolingbroke, Byron, or Scott, how vastly inferior they are in every excellence of style and thought. But the volume gives us some curious and amusing views of the ways and manners of the Initiated. How amazingly fond they all are of the *child-like;* what adepts in universal love, *towards all who think exactly as they do.* And what a charming vein of baby talk runs through their profoundly philosophical discourses on the nature of man.

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3. — *Memorial of Francis Lieber, Professor of History and Political Economy, in the South Carolina College, relative to Proposals for a Work on the Statistics of the United States.* 8vo. pp. 17.

Dr. Lieber has submitted a memorial to the Federal Senate, on the very important subject of collecting, arranging, and publishing the Statistics of the United States. The plan he has drawn up is printed among the documents of Congress, and is well worthy of the serious attention of that body. The clearness and thoroughness of Dr. Lieber's arrangement are admirable. He presents a comprehensive view of all the subjects, the facts of which can be useful to the statesman, the philosopher, or the historian. If the work were executed in the spirit of Dr. Lieber's plan, we hesitate not to say, that it would be one of the most valuable contributions that have ever been made to the materials

of political philosophy. It would exhibit the elements of American prosperity, and the blessings of a free government, in a most impressive light. We really hope that the din of party conflict will not make our countrymen turn a deaf ear to a scheme of such immense practical utility, even though it has nothing to do with putting down the Bank, or putting up Mr. Van Buren. There are things besides party politics, which Congress and the country may constitutionally support; and it is not very extravagant to say, that a work so useful to every American citizen, and so honorable to the government of the United States, as that proposed by Dr. Lieber would be, belongs to that number.

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4. — *Antiquitates Americanæ; or a Collection of the Accounts extant in Ancient Icelandic, and other Scandinavian Manuscripts, relative to Voyages of Discovery to North America.* Copenhagen. 1835.

A VERY important work is about to be published at Copenhagen, under the superintendence of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. It is no less than a collection of Icelandic documents, consisting of ancient Sagas, and selections from geographical works, concerning the early voyages of the Northmen to North America. These are accompanied by Latin and Danish versions, and with Latin notes and disquisitions respecting their first landing-places and settlements on the American continent. It is said that these documents "comprise testimony, the most authentic and irrefragable, to the fact, that North America was actually discovered by the Northmen towards the close of the tenth century, visited by them repeatedly during the eleventh and twelfth (some of them even settling there as colonists), rediscovered towards the close of the thirteenth, and again repeatedly resorted to in the course of the fourteenth; and that the Christian Religion was established there, not only among the Scandinavian emigrants, but in all probability, likewise, among other tribes, previously, or, at all events, then seated in those regions."

The Society also propose publishing a similar but more extensive collection on the British and Irish Antiquities. A list of the principal works included in this collection is given in the prospectus. They will undoubtedly furnish important illustration of the early history of the British Isles. We hope measures will be taken to secure copies of both these works for our public libraries, and particularly for the library of Harvard University.

5. — *Report on the State of Education in Bengal. Published by the Order of Government.* Calcutta; G. H. Huttman. 1835. 8vo. pp. 137.

This Report is drawn up by Mr. W. Adam, of Calcutta, a gentleman well known in this country for his labors in the East. It is a document full of very curious information, most, if not all, of which will be quite new to American readers. It is evidently prepared with great labor, and embodies the results of minute and widely extended researches. The author, in the discharge of an important commission from the Government, has availed himself of every accessible source of information, and presented a picture of the state of education in Bengal, evidently delineated with scrupulous fidelity. It is a picture which must excite feelings of surprise and pain; surprise at the number and variety of schools which are scattered over that country, and pain that so little is actually accomplished, through their instrumentality, towards educating and elevating the native population.

Mr. Adam takes the districts of Bengal in order, beginning from Calcutta, and gives a systematic view of the means and institutions of education in each. The institutions may be divided into two general classes, namely, those established, managed, and supported by the native Bengalese, and those introduced by the English into the province. It appears from an authority cited by Mr. Adam, that throughout the provinces of Bengal and Behar, there is a village school to every four hundred inhabitants. This system of native instruction, considered in respect to its universality, is a striking phenomenon. But the character of the knowledge imparted by it is not such, as to afford the friends of East India civilization very strong ground of congratulation. The instructors are represented as generally incompetent men, and their offices and characters are held in great contempt; which is in itself an unerring mark of barbarism. The extent of the learning, acquired under the tuition of these personages, is to write their native language but imperfectly, and a little knowledge of agricultural and commercial accounts. Such, it is stated, is the general character of native schools throughout Bengal.

The efforts of the Calcutta School Society, which was formed in 1818–19, are represented as having been energetic and successful. They were the means of introducing many improvements, both in the manner of teaching, and the materials for the mechanical part of instruction.

Mr. Adam gives an extremely interesting account of the Hindoo Colleges throughout Bengal. The studies pursued in

these institutions are grammar, general literature, rhetoric, mythological poems, logic, and law. A small portion, only, of the students learn the Sanscrit. The means employed by the Mahommedan population to educate their children, though not inconsiderable, are by no means systematic.

The English residents have, of course, introduced, so far as they have been able, the elements of European education. Among the institutions they have established in Bengal, the most important is unquestionably the Bishop's College. The object of this college is to prepare young men, both natives and others, for the Christian ministry, and for being teachers; and to extend the benefits of learning generally. In this college are taught, theology, with the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages; history, both ancient and modern, ecclesiastical and civil; the elements of philosophical and mathematical knowledge, and the Oriental languages. Native students are also taught English. The further details of this institution are highly interesting, but we have not space to treat them more at large. It seems clear, that the only hope of essentially improving the intellectual condition of the Bengalese, as a nation, is in the prospect of breathing into the old system of native instruction the spirit of European education, by means of model institutions like Bishop's College; and even their usefulness may be, and probably is, somewhat diminished by a too exclusive regard to the interests of a religious sect.

We have thus selected two or three facts from the great mass which Mr. Adam has presented us, not to convey any adequate idea of the extent of labor expended in his work (which reached us at a late hour), but to give a glimpse of the state of things which that work indicates. We shall probably take some future occasion to return to the subject.

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6. — *Sparks's American Biography.* Vol. V. *Life of John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians.* By Convers Francis. Boston; Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1836. 16mo. pp. 357.

Of the remarkable men with whose names the early period of our annals is adorned, no one shines with a purer lustre than John Eliot. He had the vigor of character, the stern adherence to duty, the strictness of daily conduct, and the high religious faith, which belonged to the Puritans; but these noble qualities were softened by and blended with a gentleness of temper and charity of feeling, which are commonly supposed to belong to a more liberal and enlightened age. His mind was adorned with

all the learning of the times; yet he was content to give his best energies to the improvement of the lowest forms of savage life. His heart was filled with the warmest domestic affections; yet he never hesitated to go forth into the wilderness and expose himself to every hardship, at the call of duty.

It is well that the fame of such a man should be rescued from the oblivion to which it has long been partially consigned. The task of writing his life could not have been assigned to better hands, than those of Mr. Francis. To habits of unwearied literary research, Mr. Francis adds a grasp and healthy vigor of mind, not often found. His language is marked by many of the best qualities of a copious and nervous English style. It is strong, full, harmonious. It is the natural expression of a mind enriched with profound and various learning, and controlled by a sound and delicate, but not over-fastidious taste. This life of Eliot is, therefore, as might have been foretold, composed with a scrupulous and careful regard to facts. Every thing in the history of the period in which Eliot lived, that has any connexion with his character or labors, is brought together and introduced in the proper place. The order and arrangement of events are clear, and a just proportion is preserved between the several parts. The narrative is perspicuous, and interspersed with many appropriate philosophical reflections. The whole is written in a tone of mild warmth and temperate enthusiasm, which a mature and richly endowed mind always feels in contemplating the examples of moral and intellectual excellence furnished by the past. A just and discriminating appreciation of Eliot's character pervades the whole narrative, and makes us feel, while reading it, that Mr. Francis has made a valuable addition to the biographical literature of our country.

Mr. Francis has gone, with great propriety, into a careful account of Eliot's doings among the Indians. The history of his labors, his patience under fatigue and disappointment, his exhausting and almost superhuman toil in translating the Bible into the Indian language, is more thrilling than any romance. This great work will remain an ever-during monument of the vastness of human energy, when roused by a sense of religious duty and an ardent love of mankind.

We are struck, in reading this narrative, with the remarkable good sense of all Eliot's proceedings among the savages; we say remarkable, for good sense is any thing but a common trait in missionary enterprises. He devised the only rational mode of introducing Christianity among barbarous tribes. He gathered them into communities, taught them the elements, and made them feel the blessings, of civilized life, while he was

preaching to them the leading and simplest doctrines of Christianity. He did not expect the interposition of a miracle to overcome the stubbornness, and enlighten the darkness, of the savage heart; but set himself patiently to work in removing the prejudices of the Indians, softening their rudeness, and gradually attempering their characters to the mild spirit of Christian love. The luminous statements of Mr. Francis, in this part of his work, suggest many grave reflections; and we trust they will receive that attention among the friends of Indian civilization, which their intrinsic interest and philosophic value deserve.

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7. — *The Year Book. An Astronomical and Philosophical Annual.* By Marshall Conant. Boston; Munroe & Francis. 1836.

This is the first of a series of volumes, which the author states it to be his intention to publish annually. It is divided into three parts. The First Part contains a popular introduction to the science of astronomy; the second is devoted to astronomical calculations; and the third is made up of a collection of selected articles, relating to science and its applications to the arts.

The introduction to astronomy contains a popular statement of the elementary principles of the science, together with an explanation of the principal terms. It is brief, condensed, and clear, and is extremely well adapted to the use of beginners, especially such as are not well versed in mathematical studies. Indeed the author seems to have carried his attempts at great simplicity too far, having given definitions of the *angle*, *inclination of planes*, *ellipse*, and other terms which ought to be supposed to be familiar to every person when commencing the study of astronomy. We mention this particularly, because we think there is a strong tendency among instructors and pupils to hurry forward into the different departments of Natural philosophy, without first acquiring a sufficient knowledge of elementary mathematics; a tendency which cannot be too severely reprobated, since it necessarily precludes the possibility of acquiring any just or clear ideas, and renders wearisome and disgusting, departments of learning, which are highly interesting when properly presented to the mind. This fault, however, if it be one, does not render the work less valuable to those whose previous acquirements have fitted them for commencing the study of astronomy.

Throughout the whole, the author insists strongly upon the necessity of *actual observation* of the various phenomena of the

heavens; and he has taken considerable pains to give such information as will assist the beginner in his attempts to acquire knowledge, and obtain distinct ideas, by his own observation.

Part Second, devoted to astronomical calculations, contains, in addition to those things usually found in the almanac, a variety of interesting matter.

The Third Part is made up of articles selected from various scientific journals, relating to science and its applications to the arts. They are most of them on subjects of interest; and it will be found convenient to those who do not enjoy access to the various periodicals of the day, to have thus brought together, in one volume, so large an amount of useful matter, which otherwise they might not be able to obtain.

The work appears to us to be valuable, and we hope the author will be encouraged to proceed with it.

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8. — *Il Progresso delle Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti.* (*The Progress of the Sciences, Letters, and Arts.*) Naples. Nos. 18 — 22, inclusive. 1835, 1836.

This journal is one of much interest and value. Under the three heads mentioned in its title, the writers in it treat of a great variety of topics, and generally with knowledge and ability. The first part of each number is taken up with essays, reviews, &c., on various branches of moral and natural sciences, and sometimes political economy. Practical and local politics the writers carefully avoid. The journal may lose some piquancy by reason of this caution, but perhaps little or none of its permanent value. There is an excellent review of the Baron D'Haussez's "England," in Numbers eighteen and nineteen. As a critique upon, and an abstract of, the Baron's work, in point of understanding of the author's character, and candor in treating his book, it is very much to be commended. The brief sketch of the works published by preceding travellers, with which the article opens, shows that the writer is at home in his subject. In the nineteenth Number, we find a very well written review of an Italian translation of Professor Heeren's profound work on the Politics and Commerce of the Ancients. The writer (Signor L. Blanch, probably a mistake of the press for Bianch., i. e. Bianchini, the principal editor,) introduces his review with a series of very elegant and discriminating remarks on the literary character of the present age, as compared with the preceding. In doing this, he shows a just appreciation of those who have gone before, and an unprejudiced estimate of the circumstances in

the history of the times, which impress on the literary and scientific labors of our day a character in some respects of decided superiority.

It would be impossible to notice particularly all the papers in these Numbers. We can say, in general, that the tone of criticism, both upon the native literature, and the literature of France, England, and Germany, is at once intelligent and fair. Some of the papers we have read with great pleasure, and all with instruction. So far as we can judge of style in a foreign language, we should say that this journal, particularly in the portions we have specified above, is written with purity and elegance.

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9. — *Continuazione degli Atti dell' I. e R. Accademia economico-agraria dei Georgofili di Firenze, &c.* Firenze. G. P. Vieusseux. 1834.

This journal is devoted mainly to agriculture. It is the organ of a Florentine Academy of the friends of agriculture (Georgofili), and is partly occupied with an account of their doings. The managers of the work show unwearied industry in collecting facts connected with the state of agriculture in Italy, particularly in Tuscany. It is full of essays on the theory, and details of the practice, of farming. Accounts of the productions of Italy and foreign countries and of exports and imports, prices current, and a great variety of other statistical statements are found in its pages. The subject of education is occasionally touched upon. We notice several essays on "Mutual Instruction." The writers in this journal have a great deal to say also on the planting of trees, not only on farms, but by the road-sides; and their remarks, on this latter topic, would furnish some useful hints to road-projectors in this country. Correspondence from foreign parts, containing sketches of agriculture and trade, gives variety to the work. The notices of improvements in the methods of farming, descriptions of improved agricultural implements, accompanied by lithographic drawings of ploughs, harrows, &c., are calculated, we should think, to do much good among the farmers of Italy.

It is a pleasant thing to find the thinking men of a country preëminently the home of the Fine Arts, in a spirit of enlightened liberality, devoting their time and studies to the advancement of the *useful.*

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10. — *A Pleasant Peregrination through the Prettiest Parts of Pennsylvania. Performed by* Peregrine Prolix. Philadelphia; Grigg & Elliot. 1836. 12mo. pp. 148.

In spite of its affected title, this little book is both amusing and instructive. It presents, in a series of playful letters, a great many important facts in relation to the internal improvements of Pennsylvania. Roads, railroads, canals, &c. are intelligently described. With all this attention to the useful, Mr. Prolix has an eye to the picturesque, and a quick perception of the ludicrous. Some of his pictures of the natural beauties of Pennsylvania are drawn with liveliness and taste. Many of the witticisms are amusing; but the author must pardon us for not relishing *all* his puns. Puns are good things at proper times and places, but they should be like "angels' visits." There is no species of wit which grows flat so soon. Our author indulges his vein in this way until we are fairly provoked and worried out. He is too bad even for a Philadelphian. For so small a book there is *rather* too much Latin in it; but perhaps this should not be quarrelled with in our unclassical times. In spite, however, of puns and Latinity, the reader will be pleased with Prolix's clever and sparkling pages.

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11. — *The Chinese Repository*, for 1835. Nos. I. — XII.

The contents of this periodical are various and interesting. It is published at Canton, under the superintendence of English residents, and is devoted almost entirely to China. The plan is a good one, and the execution of it corresponds in ability to the importance of the object. The articles are well written, showing on the part of their authors, a thorough knowledge of the topics they undertake to handle. A great variety of subjects are treated in each number. We have notices of historical personages, sketches of Chinese literature, accompanied by excellent translations of some of the most important Chinese classics, and very curious essays on the manners and customs of the people. But perhaps the most singular portion of all the numbers we have seen, is the account of Chinese education, contained in No. 1 and the sketch of the literary examinations in No. 3. The essays on government and the administration of justice, are clever and full of important information. An article in No. 5, on "the thousand character classic," will give the reader a very good

notion of the intellectual grasp of one of the most celebrated Chinese authors. In No. 6, there is an exceedingly interesting account of the efforts which have been made to translate the Scriptures into Chinese.

We have been struck with the proof, which these numbers offer, of the amazing weakness of the Chinese intellect. The tone of thought, in the specimens of poetry here translated, never rises above a contemptible mediocrity; the construction of sentences and the succession of ideas, utterly deficient in the graces of composition and the strength and point of logical arrangement, are singularly like the awkward efforts of a schoolboy, in writing his first theme. As to poetical beauty, ideal elevation of character, choice expression, and sublime imagery, which are necessary elements of poetical literature, these seem never to have dawned upon the solemn and ceremonious dulness of the Celestial Empire.

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12. — *A New Dictionary of the English Language.* By Charles Richardson. Part. I. London; William Pickering. New-York; William Jackson. 1836. 4to. pp. 80.

We have examined the first part of this new dictionary with considerable attention. The author has adopted the principle of Horne Tooke, as to the original meaning of words, and has attempted to illustrate the secondary and derivative meanings in chronological order. The series of quotations, arranged on this principle, are judiciously selected, and present an interesting historical view of the words which they are cited to illustrate. In regard to the definitions, it strikes us that they are too scanty; a defect which is perhaps inherent in the method adopted, of arranging the derivative words under their respective primitives. A dictionary constructed on this plan, will be unquestionably of great use and interest to the philosophical reader, who consults it mainly to learn the varying shades of meaning through which a word has passed, in the usage of different writers and of successive ages. But we apprehend that those who look for precise, compact, and yet full definitions, — such as, perhaps, a new dictionary of the English language ought to supply, — will experience some disappointment. Still, a work of this kind, planned and executed with the ability which this specimen manifests, will be a valuable contribution to the accessible stores of English philology.

13. — *Tracts and other Papers, relating principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, from the Discovery of the Country to the Year* 1776. Collected by Peter Force. Vol. I. Washington. 1836. 8vo. pp. 364.

We hardly know of a more important service that can be rendered to the cause of useful knowledge in this country, than the collecting and reprinting of scarce documents relating to its early history. Of these the number is vast, far exceeding what any one whose attention has not been particularly drawn to the subject, would be led to suppose. No nation, indeed, ancient or modern, possesses such abundant materials as ours, for an authentic and minute account of its origin and growth. From the very first planting of Virginia and New England, many of the leading colonists were accustomed to keep journals of the daily occurrences and transactions, that attended their hard and perilous enterprise. Individuals too, who, from curiosity, or for purposes of traffic and gain, occasionally visited these parts, drew up narratives of the condition and progress of the new settlements; and both of these classes of papers were, from time to time, sent home, and printed in small pamphlets in England. Passing over Governor Winthrop's "Journal," which remained in the country, and was preserved to lie in manuscript, we would now simply refer to the document which passes under the name (for what reason, is at this time unknown,) of "Mourt's Relation," and to Edward Winslow's "Good News from New England"; which two papers present a detailed and most interesting narrative of the affairs of Plymouth Colony, for the first three years after the landing of the Fathers. These and similar documents relating to the discovery and colonization of the New World, it is well known, were collected, at the time they were printed, by the indefatigable Purchas, and published by him in an abridged form, in that invaluable storehouse of historical knowledge which he entitles, his "Pilgrimes." The number of these tracts and pamphlets, however, was so great, that even that immense repository could contain but a small part of them. After Purchas's day, what with the settlement of new colonies, and the outbreaking of the Indian wars, and the multiplication of colonial relations and interests, the works relating to this country accumulated to such a degree, that in the year 1713, a bare catalogue of their titles, published by Bishop Kennett, under the name of *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia*, filled a quarto volume of 275 pages.

Having, for the most part, been printed in England, these early tracts have always been exceedingly rare in this country, very few of them probably having been imported; and of some of them, even to this day, not a single copy is known to exist on this side of the Atlantic. Who among us, for instance, has ever seen John Brereton's "Brief and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia, (i. e. New England,) made this present year 1602, by Captain Bartholomew Gosnold," which contains a particular account of Gosnold's discovery and naming of Cape Cod, and of his attempt to effect the first settlement in New England by establishing a colony upon that one of the Elizabeth Islands, now known by the euphonious appellation of Cuttyhunk? Who has ever seen John Clarke's (physician of Rhode Island,) "Ill News from New England, or a Narrative of New England Persecution, wherein it is declared, that while Old England is becoming new, New England is becoming old," —a work which the learned editor of Winthrop's "Journal" tells us he has sought for in vain in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and fears it is irrecoverably lost; though we happen to know that this, as well as the other work just mentioned, is perfectly safe in London, in Colonel Aspinwall's valuable collection of books relating to America? Who in this country has ever seen the Apostle Eliot's "Christian Commonwealth," a book which the General Court of Massachusetts, in their prudence, ordered him to retract, and took effectual measures to suppress, but one copy of which, however, escaped, and is preserved in the same collection?* Who has ever seen William Pinchon's "Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption," which the General Court ordered to be burnt on Boston Common? Who has ever seen the notorious Sam. Gorton's book, with the quaint, lengthy, and, to us, somewhat unintelligible title, "Saltmarsh returned from the dead in Amico Philalethe, or the Resurrection of James the Apostle, out of the grave of carnal glosses, the correction of the universal apostate, which cruelly buried him who yet liveth, appearing in the comely ornaments of his fifth chapter, in an exercise, June 4th, 1654. Having laid by his grave clothes, in

* This collection, comprising 771 distinct works, ought, in some way or other, to be obtained for the Library of Harvard College. That institution is indebted to the munificence of two of the citizens of Boston, for securing for its use, the valuable historical libraries of Ebeling and Warden. Is there no one among us, equally enlightened and patriotic, who will complete that almost perfect department of the Library, and fill up its few remaining chasms, by adding Colonel Aspinwall's Collection to those just mentioned, and at the same time enroll his own name, with those of Israel Thorndike and Samuel A. Eliot, among the principal benefactors of the University?

a despised village, remote from England, but wishing well, and heartily desiring the true prosperity thereof"? A hundred similar books, of great interest and rarity, might be mentioned, the possession of which is indispensable to one who would undertake to write the history of the country, or would understand thoroughly the character and spirit of our forefathers. Yet where will he go to find them? The only depositories in this country where he could look for them with any reasonable prospect of success, (and for many of them, we know by experience, that he would there search in vain,) are the libraries of Harvard University, the Boston Athenæum, and the Massachusetts Historical Society.

It is to the Society just named, that we are indebted for the first attempt to multiply copies of these early papers. From its establishment in 1790, when their first volume was published, down to the present day, when their twenty-fifth volume is just ready to appear, the members of that Society, amidst their other judicious and praiseworthy labors, have kept this object steadily in view; and their Collections, accordingly, contain reprints of many rare and curious historical documents, which persons in general can have access to in no other form. In this useful work, they have had faithful and industrious followers, in the Historical Societies of New York, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Maine.

Although we are of opinion, that such publications can be conducted with more judgment, and with a much greater prospect of continuance, by a body of men, associated from their common interest in historical inquiries, yet, at the same time, we are not unmindful of what has been done in this department by individuals, nor are we insensible to the value of the papers collected by Governor Hutchinson, Hazard, and more recently by Messrs. Farmer and Moore of New Hampshire. We are always glad to see new laborers entering into this wide field of historical investigation; and we therefore welcome the appearance of the volume, which is named at the head of this article, and which has just issued from the press under the direction of Mr. Peter Force, a gentleman well known for his love of antiquarian research, and his extensive and familiar acquaintance with the sources of American history. It appears to be the first of a proposed series of volumes, that shall embrace pamphlets and smaller tracts, relating to the origin, settlement, and progress of the North American Colonies. The present volume contains thirteen distinct papers. The first five, occupying more than half the volume, relate to the planting and growth of the colony of Georgia, and, with a single exception, are reprints from tracts

published in London, from 1717 to 1742. Of the eight remaining papers, six relate to the settlement of Virginia, and detail the affairs and troubles of that colony from 1609 to 1676. Two of the thirteen documents, are now for the first time printed from the manuscripts; they are, however, brief, one containing only four pages, and are, comparatively, of little value.

Considering that the materials for a volume of this sort are so abundant, as we have already shown, we deem it a subject of regret that the editor should have thought fit to insert any document which had previously been reprinted in this country. This, however, he has done in three instances, and in two of them without informing his readers of the fact. In regard to the Narrative of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion in Virginia, (a tract of forty-eight pages, originally published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,) he may, indeed, plead as an apology, that the reprint was necessary from its connexion with the new matter, on the same subject, which he has now, for the first time, brought together in a volume. We are, however, inclined to the belief, that a simple reference to the volume where the Narrative might be found, would be quite enough for all useful purposes. At any rate, we can see no good reason for reprinting "The New Life of Virginea," and Francis Higgeson's "New England's Plantation," both of which are included in the Collections of the abovenamed Society. If reprinted at all, they ought certainly to be reprinted entire. Yet in the former of these tracts, the letter of Graves, the Engineer, appended at the close, is omitted; and four pages, appended in like manner to the latter tract, share the same fate; so that the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society furnish not only the prior, but the more accurate copy of these two papers.

With these slight abatements, we regard the volume before us as a very valuable contribution to the materials of our early history, and as highly creditable to the capacity and diligence of the editor. We are not unacquainted with the difficulties and vexations that attend the publication of works of this kind, and we therefore the more cheerfully accord to him the praise which he deserves, for what he has so generously undertaken and so faithfully executed. We sincerely hope, that he will meet with sufficent encouragement to induce him to go on with this laudable, though not lucrative, enterprise; and all that we would request is, that in his future volumes he would go a little further back for his materials, and reprint nothing that is already accessible in other forms.

We intended, had the limits of this article permitted, to

give some account of another work projected by Mr. Force, in connexion with Matthew St. Clair Clarke, under a contract with the Government of the United States, to be entitled, "The Documentary History of the Revolution," a work, the plan of which is gigantic, and the execution of which would be a task truly Herculean. The plan contemplates the publishing of every document relating to the history of the United States, whether printed or manuscript, from the origin of the colonies down to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The work will occupy at least twenty folio volumes, and the cost of fifteen hundred copies is estimated at four hundred and eight thousand dollars. We hope that the work, in some modified form, will go on; although we very much fear that this large historical drag-net will sweep up some rubbish, as well as much valuable material. Should the first volume ever appear, we shall take an opportunity to go more at large into the subject.

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14. — *Boston Journal of Natural History; containing Papers and Communications, read to the Boston Society of Natural History, and published by their Direction.* Vol. I. Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Boston; Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1834 — 1836.

That the Boston Society of Natural History have only published three numbers of their Journal, comprising three hundred and sixty pages of the first volume, in three years, is pretty conclusive evidence, that there is as yet no very strong interest in our community, in the objects and researches of natural science. Few can write, with the requisite knowledge, in any department of Natural History; and those few who can, and who do, must be content to read and to pay for their own writings, with very little coöperation from the public. This is not stated, however, as a matter of complaint, but of fact only. We are perfectly aware that in a new, busy, driving community like ours, Natural History must wait patiently, and for a long while, before it receives any great share of attention. Its growth must be slow, because there are so many other things which overtop and overshadow it. We are not surprised, therefore, that we so rarely see a number of the Boston Society's Journal. But we shall certainly be surprised, if in the next three years we should see no more than three other numbers, and shall be disposed to enter a complaint, either against the Society, or against the public.

The uses of a Journal of Natural History must be obvious on the least consideration. It is a depository of facts and observa-

tions, which might otherwise be lost. It is a means of securing to original inquirers and discoverers, their right to whatever may first be elicited by their labor, or presented to their good fortune. It is a convenient and profitable medium of correspondence between societies and men of science. That Journals of a similar character with the one under notice are supported in Philadelphia, New Haven, and perhaps other places, so far from being a reason why none should be issued in Boston, is a reason why one should be issued there. Boston is the centre of a territory belonging peculiarly to itself, a geographical, literary, and moral territory of its own; and Boston and Cambridge are not places which ought to be left behind, in any intellectual career. In the career of natural science, Cambridge has been loitering; but we hope to see her presently making up for lost time.

We have but one main fault to find with the Boston Journal, as it has been thus far conducted. It is not popular enough. It does not contain short and interesting articles enough. We would not have the editors exclude such articles as Say's descriptions of new American insects, and Curtis's enumeration of the plants of Wilmington, North Carolina; for such articles are exceedingly valuable to the entomologist and botanist. Much less could we spare the papers of Professor Hitchcock and Dr. Charles T. Jackson; for they are important to all who would be informed of the geological character and mineral wealth of this part of our country. But we would have them introduce more articles like some of the shorter ones they have printed, which shall meet the wishes of those who are interested generally in Natural History, without being profoundly versed in any one of its branches. Why can they not publish some of the papers which are occasionally read before the Society? Why can they not give accounts of the annual meetings of the Society? Why can they not report a little of the current news of the scientific world? They must do something of this sort, if they mean that the Journal shall be purchased or read.

We must be excused if we notice one or two minor faults, which are mere editorial inadvertencies. Plates III., IV., V., and VI., are not designated as such. The third number contains no list of contents, though the first and second are provided for in this respect. Such omissions, though small, give to the work an aspect of heedlessness, which it is desirable to avoid.

It is but due, however, to the editors, to observe, in conclusion, that they have been careful to publish nothing which is not creditable to themselves, to the writers, and to the Society. Of the sixteen articles embraced in their numbers, there is not one which is not of scientific value. Such being the intrinsic

merit of the work, we trust that it will be continued, and that it may meet with the patronage which it deserves.

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15. — *Sketches of Switzerland.* By An American. In Two Volumes. Philadelphia; Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 1836.

These two volumes contain many passages of fine description. Indeed, Mr. Cooper's most marked talent is his power of setting before his readers, with admirable distinctness, striking views of natural scenery. In this work he records the impressions left on his mind by the mountain scenery of Switzerland, during a more protracted visit than is common for American travellers. Some agreeable notices of the manners and character of the people are interspersed; but the main interest of the work consists in the vivid pictures of Swiss nature, which fill the greater part of its pages.

Mr. Cooper's political mania breaks out in some places, to mar the beauty of the work. It is a profanation of the noble scenery to which the book is devoted, to intrude the passions of the politician, among the feelings such scenery is calculated to excite. Mr. Cooper has condescended to the petty work of repeating the ten times refuted political scandal against one of the great parties into which our countrymen were divided at the earliest period of our national existence. To support this foolish prating, he mystifies his readers with an idle story told him by some nameless European, of some nameless American, who was a distinguished member of the Federal party, but disliked the republican institutions of his own country, because he could not decorate his person with certain gewgaws which two crowned heads of Europe had bestowed on him. It is a curious instance of what profound nonsense even a man of genius will sometimes utter, with all the solemnity of apparent belief.

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16. — *Terrible Tractoration and other Poems.* By Christopher Caustic, M. D., &c. Third Edition. Boston; Russell, Shattuck, & Co. New York; J. H. Weeks.

The re-appearance of this poem, after an interval that covers half the age of man, is almost as much like a resurrection, as was the advent of Lafayette among those who had but known him in history. We are old enough to remember, when the argument for the existence of an American literature was

held incomplete, without a reference to the "Terrible Tractoration." "With *it* were the dreams of our earliest love." It does our heart good to learn from the new matter in this edition, that the worthy author, in his important walks of more recent and homely devotion to the public welfare, has still kept the Muse by his side. To judge by the vivacity of her inspirations, as this volume records them, doubtless "much has he owed her strains on life's long way."

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17. — *Discourse before the Historical Society of Louisiana.* By Henry A. Bullard. President of the Society. New Orleans; Benjamin A. Levy. 8vo. pp. 30.

This address of Judge Bullard should have a different sort of comment, from what the advanced state of our Number permits. It is full of authentic and curious information respecting the early history of Louisiana; and the taste, force, and sprightliness of the composition, and the spirit of enthusiasm for letters which it breathes, would lead one, who knew no better, to suppose himself reading the production of a scholar by apprenticeship, by trade, and by exclusion of all other things, and not of one whose early life was passed in stirring scenes of the most romantic adventure, and whose matured powers, in a place of high responsibility and perpetually urgent claims, have been bent to the tasks of one of the austerest sciences. We congratulate the Historical Society of Louisiana on its choice of a presiding officer, and we shall not fail to watch its labors with a lively interest, corresponding to the importance of the field it occupies.

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18. — *Visit to Constantinople and Athens.* By the Reverend W. Colton, U. S. N., Author of "Ship and Shore." New York; Leavitt, Lord, & Co. 1836.

The author of this book has shown rather uncommon power of observation, and considerable skill in writing. The volume records the incidents of a visit to Athens and other parts of Greece, Constantinople, the Troad, &c., in an American ship of war. Many of the descriptive passages are executed with feeling, taste, and power. Sometimes the language is highly elegant and even poetical. But the beauty of these passages is strangely marred by, here and there, an awkward or unauthorized construction, or an inelegant use of a single word. The author

evidently has a cultivated mind, and no small share of classical learning. Several of his quotations are new and happy. He gives us a good deal of information, particularly about Constantinople, in a very pleasant way. His character of the Turks is elaborately drawn, particularly of the Turkish women; but we are not told how he was enabled to seize upon so many traits of the Mussulman mind, during his very short residence in the Turkish capital. Indeed, some parts of the passage here referred to, bear, on their face, proofs rather of the romancing turn of the author, than of their own probability; for they describe feelings and sentiments, which are obviously beyond the reach of a traveller's observation. The passage about the "Maid of Athens," with whom the author had a short interview, is written in a similar strain. From an occasional sadness that flitted over her countenance (a sadness which one would suppose might naturally enough be caused by the horrors of the Greek Revolution, still freshly remembered,) our author weaves a web of speculation, upon the ingenious and affecting hypothesis of an early love for Byron, followed by disappointed hopes and blighted affections; and then indulges himself in a sort of retrospective prophecy of the happy influence a union between the Athenian maiden and the noble poet would have exercised on both their destinies. This is, of course, sheer midsummer madness.

A few scraps of poetry are scattered over the volume, which show a happy turn for versification. The images and sentiments are selected and arranged with taste, and the lines flow smoothly and sweetly. But about a fourth part of the whole book is filled with digressions, which have nothing to do with the subject, and which have a most disagreeable effect. They are awkward and tasteless excrescences, the imposition of which upon the reader is an act of mere boyish absurdity. Sometimes a humorous touch is introduced with good effect; but it is sure to be followed by such an unmerciful worrying out of the joke, that the reader's patience is fairly broken down, before he has done with it.

But, with all its strange jumble of elegance and tastelessness, profound feeling and the merest frivolity, pathos and bombast, the book shows lively and promising talent. We may revert to it at another time.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

Williams's New York Annual Register, for 1836. New York. E. Williams.

The Stranger's Gift, a Christmas and New Year's Present. Edited by Herman Bokum, Instructor in Harvard University. Boston. Light & Horton.

American Annual Register for 1832–33. New York. William Jackson.

The Presidential Tablet, a Fourth of July Annual, for 1836. New York. Wm. L. Ormsby.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoir of the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. By Stephen H. Tyng. A new edition, enlarged and improved, in 1 vol. 12mo. Henry Perkins.

Memoir of Mrs. Mary M. Ellis. By Rev. Wm. Ellis. Boston. Crocker & Brewster.

Life of Washington, by J. K. Paulding. 2 vols. Harper & Brothers.

Professional Years of Bishop Hobart, being a Sequel to his "Early Years." 1 vol. By John McVickar, D. D. N. Y. Protestant Episcopal Press.

The Life of Rev. Samuel Green, late Pastor of Essex Street Church. 1 vol. 12mo. Boston. Perkins & Marvin.

A Memoir of Slater, the Father of American Manufactures, connected with the History of the Cotton Manufacture in England and America, with Remarks on the Moral Influence of Manufactures in the United States. By George S. White. Philadelphia. Kay & Brothers.

EDUCATION.

The Scientific Class Book, or a Familiar Introduction to the Principles of Physical Science, for the Use of Schools, &c., on the Basis of Mr. J. N. Moffat's, with Additions by Walter R. Johnson, A. M. Part 2d. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle.

A Treatise on Astronomy, by Sir John F. W. Herschell, a new Edition, with Questions, &c., by Sears C. Walker. 1 vol. 12mo. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

Gradations in Reading and Spelling. By the Author of "The Scholar's Companion." 1 vol. 18mo. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins.

A Grammar of the Latin Language. By E. A. Andrews and S. Stoddard. Boston. Crocker & Brewster.

Progressive Exercises in Rhetorical Reading. By R. G. Parker, A. M. Boston. Crocker & Brewster.

Sallust's Jugurthine War and Conspiracy of Catiline, with an

English Commentary and Indexes. By Charles Anthon, LL. D. 6th edition, corrected and enlarged.

Elements of Geometry. New York. W. E. Dean. 1836. 8vo. pp. 114.

GEOGRAPHY.

A New and Commodious Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia, by Joseph Martin; to which is added a History of Virginia, from its first settlement to the year 1754, with a map. Charlottesburgh, Va.

HISTORY.

A Narrative of the Affair at Queenstown, in the War of 1812; with a Review of the Strictures on that Event in a book entitled "Notices of the War of 1812." By Solomon Van Rensselaer. 1 vol. New York. Leavitt, Lord, & Co.

Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. III. Providence; Marshall, Brown, & Co. New York.; Leavitt, Lord, & Co.

Old Indian Chronicle. By S. G. Drake. Boston Antiquarian Institute. 12mo. pp. 208.

The titles of the five tracts, (contemporaneous with that most critical period of our history, the period of Philip's War,) of which a reprint, from London editions, is given in this neat little volume, are as follows: 1. The Present State of New England with Respect to the Indian War, from the 20th June to the 10th November, 1676; 2. A Continuation of the State of New England, being a further Account of the Indian War, from the 10th November, 1675; 3. A new and further Narrative of the State of New England, being a further Account of the Bloody Indian War, from March till August, 1676; 4. The War in New England visibly ended; 5. A true account of the most considerable Occurrences that have happened in the War between the English and Indians, from the 5th May, 1676, to the 4th August following. They have all the particularity and freshness of cotemporaneous journals. The "Chronicles of the Indians" appended, occupy more than sixty pages of brief statements, arranged in chronological order. They cannot be supposed to be complete, as an exhibition of every thing in the relations of the Aborigines to one another and the whites, which we should like to know. But if they are as correct, as from a superficial inspection we incline to think, they make a collection of much value. Some well-executed wood cuts, partly copies of ancient drawings, accompany the volume for illustration.

LAW.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. By Octavius Pickering. Vol. XIII. 8vo. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

New edition of Bayley on the Law of Bills of Exchange, Cash Bills, and Promissory Notes, with Notes and References to American and recent English Decisions. By Willard Phillips and Samuel E. Sewall. 1 vol. 8vo. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

Report of Cases argued and determined in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the first Circuit. By Charles Sumner, Reporter of the Court. Vol. I. 8vo. (Continuation of Mason's Reports.) Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

Reports of Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the Eastern District. By Thomas I. Wharton. Vol. I., containing

Cases decided in the September Term, 1835, and in the March Term, 1836. Philadelphia. P. H. Nicklin & T. Johnson.

A Course of Legal Study, addressed to Students and the Profession generally, by David Hoffman. Second Edition, re-written and much enlarged, in two Volumes. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

A Treatise on the Principles of Pleadings in Civil Actions, by James Gould. New York. B. & S. Collins. pp. 526. Second Edition, revised and corrected.

The early call for another edition of this elaborate work, indicates the estimation in which it is held, by those most competent to pronounce upon its merit. Chief Justice Marshall, who was not lavish of praise, said of it, on its first appearance; "I have read the work through, with advantage to myself, and with some surprise at finding that a subject, which had employed so many pens, should still admit of being presented in a form, that may make the book an acquisition, certainly, to the law student, and, indeed, to the profession."

MEDICINE.

Louis on Fever. Translated by H. I. Bowditch. 2 vols. 8vo. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky, proposing a Plan for the Instruction and Emancipation of their Slaves. By a Committee of the Synod of Kentucky. 36 pages, 12mo. Newburyport. Charles Whipple. 1836.

Memoirs of an American Lady; with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution. By the Author of "Letters from the Mountains." New York. Geo. Dearborn.

The Laws of Etiquette, or short Rules and Reflections for Conduct in Society. By a Gentleman. 1 vol. square 18mo.

Dialogues, Stories, and Conversations between Parents and Children. By Marianne, Author of "Right and Wrong." Boston. Wm. Pierce.

Clark's Lectures to Young People in Manufacturing Villages. 1 vol. 18mo. Boston. Perkins & Marvin.

The Young Mother, or Management of Children in regard to Health. By W. A. Alcott. 1 vol. 12mo. Boston. Light & Stearns.

Letters on American Slavery. By John Rankin. Newburyport. C. Whipple. 1 vol. 18mo.

A Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Navigation. By M. F. Maury, Passed Midshipman U. S. Navy. One vol. 8vo. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle.

The Hebrew Wife, or the Law of Marriage examined in Relation to the Lawfulness of Polygamy. By S. E. Dwight. 12mo. Carey & Lea.

The American Traveller, or Guide through the United States, containing brief notices of the several cities, principal towns, canals, railroads, &c., with tables of distances, by stage, canal, and steam-

boat routes. The whole alphabetically arranged, with direct references to the accompanying map of the roads, canals, and railways of the United States. Second edition. By H. S. Tanner. Published by the Author, Shakspeare Buildings.

The Young Citizen's Manual, being a Digest of the Laws of New York, and of the United States, &c. &c., to which is added an Essay on the Principles of Civil Government, designed for the Instruction of Young Persons in General, and especially for the Use of Schools. By Alfred Conkling. 1 vol. Albany. Oliver Steele.

A Letter to Lord Brougham, on the subject of Slavery. By an American.

Life on the Lakes; being Tales and Sketches, collected during a Trip to the Pictured Rocks of Lake Superior. By the Author of "Legends of a Log Cabin." 2 vols. New York. Geo. Dearborn.

Practical Phrenology. By Silas Jones. 18mo. Boston. Russell, Shattuck, & Co.

Miscellanies. By Harriet Martineau. 2 vols. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. Boston.

Nimrod's Hunting Tours, with Characteristic Anecdotes, &c. 2 vols. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

The Seventh Annual Report of the Directors of the New York Institute for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, to the Legislature of New York.

A View of the American Slavery Question. By E. P. Barrows, Jr., Pastor of the First Free Presbyterian Church, New York. New York. John S. Taylor.

Rosamond, or a Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of an American Female in the Island of Cuba. Written by Herself. New York. Leavitt, Lord, & Co.

Boy's and Girl's Library of Useful Knowledge, Vols. XXVI and XXVII. New York. Harper & Brothers.

Traits of Indian Character, as generally applicable to the Aborigines of North America. Drawn from various Sources and Observation. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle.

The Young Man's Book of Elegant Prose. 1 vol. 18mo. Desilver, Thomas, & Co.

Sartor Resartus, in three Books, 1 vol. Boston. James Monroe & Co.

Remains of Melville B. Cox, late Missionary to Liberia, with a Memoir. Boston. Light & Horton.

A Practical Treatise on the Culture of Silk. By F. G. Comstock. Hartford. W. G. Comstock.

The Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. By John Oswald; revised by J. M. Keagy. 1 vol. 12mo. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle.

New York City Guide, and Guide to the Environs of New York. New York. J. Disturnell.

History of Marcus Aurelius, Emperor of Rome. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. 18mo. Hartford. Belknap & Hammersley.

The Philosophy of Living. By Caleb Ticknor, A. M., M. D., being Vol. LXXVII. of Harper's Family Library. New York. Harper & Brothers.

Ups and Downs in the Life of a Distinguished Gentleman, by the Author of "Tales and Sketches, such as they are." 1 vol. New York. Leavitt, Lord, & Co.

The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains, &c. By a Dragoon. 1 vol. New York. Wiley & Long.

Sketches of a Seaport Town. By H. F. Chooley. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart.

Letter to the Friends of Temperance in Massachusetts. By Justin Edwards, D. D. Boston. Seth Bliss. 8vo. pp. 28.

Proceedings of the Temperance Convention held in Boston, 23d September, 1835. Boston. John Ford. 8vo. pp. 45.

NEW PERIODICAL.

Christian Review, (Quarterly,) Nos. I and II. Boston. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 8vo. pp. 160 and 164.

This Review is conducted by the Reverend Professor Knowles, of the Baptist Theological Seminary in Newton. It proposes to treat of matters of general literature and science, as well as of theology. It had its origin in a persuasion, "that the great and increasing denomination of Baptists need a work of this kind, through which they may hold intercourse with each other; may explain and defend their principles; may utter their opinions on subjects of general interest; may express their judgments respecting books, and especially those which, in any manner, affect themselves; may record facts which are worthy of a permanent record; a work, in short, which shall, at once, be suited to the wants of the denomination, and which shall enable them to contribute their due proportion to the immeasurable power of the periodical press." Under the auspices secured for it, it may be expected to reflect honor on the denomination which it represents; a denomination, which, in this country, as well as abroad, has shown itself, of late, fully sensible to the duty of making liberal provisions for intellectual culture.

NOVELS.

Herbert Wendell; a Tale of the Revolution. 2 vols. 12mo. New York. Harper & Brothers.

Koningsmarke, or Old Times in the New World. New edition, revised and corrected. Vols VII. and VIII. of the works of J. K. Paulding, Esq. New York. Harper and Brothers.

ORATIONS.

Anniversary Oration before the South Carolina Society for the advancement of Learning. By the Hon. William Harper. Washington. Duff Green. 8vo. pp. 24.

Address before the Bowdoin-Street Young Men's Peace Society. By Rufus P. Stebbins. Boston. William Pierce. 8vo. pp. 32.

Address of the Young Men's Colonization Society. Baltimore. John W. Woods. 8vo. pp. 12.

Address delivered before the Alumni of Bowdoin College. By Charles S. Davies. Portland. Smith & Waterhouse. 8vo. pp. 67.

Here is a beautiful tribute, from one who never fails to write freshly, gracefully, fervently, and strongly, to the worth of pursuits from which the world's ways and tasks have not divorced him, and the interest of early associations, which life's later wear and tear have "spared to unbind." The argument, too, for societies of Alumni of the respective

Colleges, though "calculated for the meridian" of Brunswick, will serve, we think, in the phrase of the Almanacs, "with a little modification, for all the rest of New England."

Address delivered before the Franklin Society of St. Louis. By William G. Eliot, jr. St. Louis. Charless & Paschall. 8vo. pp. 24.

It is a striking thing to see a young man, without a particle of that presumption which would forfeit his claim to a hearing, addressing a great community upon its intellectual and moral wants and dangers, with a clearness and force, which show that he has a philosophical insight into their nature, and with a resolved, though chastened ardor, which manifests that he intends to be among the foremost in providing the means of improvement and security. Such is the position occupied by Mr. Eliot in this Address. After a warm, and some may think highly colored exhibition of the prospects of relative greatness opening to the community beyond the mountains, he naturally proceeds to urge a consideration of the vast mischief, to the whole country, which could not fail to attend the exertion of any barbarian influence, on the part of that rapidly growing section. The present is the time, he says, to take precautions against such a result; and after some fine remarks upon the peculiar tendency, which is witnessed in this country, to court the sovereign people with honeyed guile, and the peculiar obligation which ought to be felt here to pursue an opposite course, he proceeds to point out, with a discriminating and vigorous freedom, "some dangerous tendencies" in the condition and character of the population of the West, "that need to be checked by strong counteracting influences." He divides that population into three classes. "First," he says, "although the fewest in number, and the last in respectability, are those who left their old homes, because they could not maintain a respectable standing in society; who, by immoral and lawless actions, have forfeited the esteem of those who knew them, and therefore fly, as their only resort, to a land of strangers, and a new community." "Another division is of those, who are brought here by a roving disposition. They left their homes because they were tired of them, and sought change for its own sake; not because they were sure, that their condition would be better here than there, but because it would certainly be different; and because, from their love of excitement and adventure, they hoped to find a great deal to amuse and interest them in a newly settled country." "The third division comprises the best, and that which is fast becoming the largest class of the community; viz. the enterprising and industrious, who, from every part of the older States, and many parts of Europe, have come to occupy the fertile fields and navigate the great rivers of the West, because here their enterprise finds full scope, and their industry meets with adequate reward." "These are the bone and sinew of the West, who must give to society its form and character." "Upon them, all hopes for the improvement of society must now, and always, depend." "But the motives which chiefly actuate this better class in locating themselves here, are such as to divert their minds from the best interests of society, namely, purity of public morals and feeling, and the general diffusion of knowledge." "The grand motive, which actuates all who come here, is furnished by the natural advantages of the land; it is, in other words, to make money." "And in the universality of this motive, and the eager activity, to which it excites all alike, is discerned the greatest danger, which is now threatening our whole country, but to which the West is peculiarly exposed." The conclusion is, that "the influences that are needed to advance the true interests of society, must be provided by the exertion, — the individual, active exertion, — of such part of the community, as are awake to the dangers threatened. They

who value literature and religion, and feel the importance of education and morality, must come forward, and establish institutions, by which public opinion may be elevated, public feeling and taste purified, and the community saved from forgetting that there is something real in the world, besides money; that there are intellectual pleasures which money cannot buy, and intellectual and moral wants, that money cannot satisfy." Forms which such exertion ought to take, are then judiciously pointed out, and the obligation of attention to them is urged upon young men, like those of whom the Society addressed was composed.

It will be seen that Mr. Eliot has expressed his views on this great theme with freedom, but with no unkind or censorious freedom, as would appear more fully, had we space to introduce qualifying remarks connected with those which we have quoted. He was addressing a community to whose interests his own belonged, and for whose best welfare it is plain that he feels a concern equally conscientious and intelligent. He has been doing a worthy service. "Sic itur ad astra."

Oration at the Anniversary of the Calliopean Society. By William C. Larrabee. Hallowell. Glazier, Masters, & Smith. 8vo. pp. 16.

Anniversary Address, before the Washington Literary Society. By David Blair.

Anniversary Oration before the New England Society. By Joshua B. Whitridge. Charleston, S. C. E. Y. Van Brunt. 8vo. pp. 62.

Address to the City Council, at the Organization of the City Government in Salem. By Leverett Saltonstall, Mayor. Palfray & Chapman. 8vo. pp. 33.

While the views expounded in this Address, of the policy to be pursued by the new City Government of Salem, are of the soundest and most liberal character, and the whole is instinct with that spirit of enlightened heartiness, which they who know the author, always look for from him (and never in vain), the portion of chief interest to us is that which relates to the history of the ancient town, the oldest in the Old Bay State. Here, as early as 1626, sat down Roger Conant, with John Woodbury, John Balch, and Peter Palfrey, the "three discreet men," his coadjutors. Here, in the day of less small things, was Governor Endicott's seat of government, and here arrived Governor Winthrop and his party, with that royal charter of a trading company, which they had made up their minds to convert, as they actually did in the sequel, into a Constitution of Republican Government. Salem set the example of those beneficent establishments, the town corporations of Massachusetts; and to her belongs "the honor of leading the way in the establishment of public schools. The Grammar School was founded in 1636." Here lived and struggled those extraordinary men, Hugh Peters and Roger Williams; and here was the scene of that dismal accumulation of tragedies, which grew out of the witchcraft delusion in 1692. Of this latter part of the town's history, Mr. Saltonstall justly remarks, that it "furnishes a signal instance to show how a community, as well as an individual, may be subjected to unjust reproach. Because this was the place of the imprisonment and trial of the accused, and where the wretched victims suffered the cruel sentence of the law, the town has given a name to that deplorable event in our history, although many of the accusers and the suspected, the judges, and those who persecuted with fiery zeal, and pursued even unto death, were inhabitants of other towns, even of the metropolis." In corroboration of the view, that the mania in question was not one of the place, but of the period, he might have added, that about

the same time, in Geneva, then, unquestionably, the most intellectual city of the world, no less than one hundred and fifty persons were *burned* for sorcery.

The history of the Town of Salem, now closed, is that of a community always eminent for its enlightened and virtuous citizens, and prosperous in its energetic and enterprising diligence in honorable pursuits. The prospects of the City are such as belong to a well-ordered society, in possession of a spot combining advantages for the eligible labors of life.

POETRY.

The Poems of William B. Tappan, not contained in a former volume. 12mo. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins.

Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship. By William Allen, D. D. Boston. Wm. Pierce. 12mo. pp. 690.

Dr. Johnson found cause to say of Watts; "His devotional poetry is, like that of others, unsatisfactory. The paucity of its topics enforces perpetual repetition, and the sanctity of the matter rejects the ornaments of figurative diction. It is sufficient for Watts, to have done better than others what no man has done well." Here is solace provided for any instance of imperfect success; and while we refer to it, we must needs make free to express our thought, that President Allen's literary reputation may be more satisfactorily rested on the elevated station which he has been called to fill, or on the valuable contributions, in his "American Biographical and Historical Dictionary" to that department of knowledge, than on any, which we have read, of his six hundred poems in this volume. To Dr. Allen's own compositions are added more than six hundred others, from various sources; and the Preface contains historical details, relating to various writers of sacred lyrics, from the year 470 to the present time.

Sacred Offering. Boston. Joseph Dowe. 12mo. pp. 216.

REPORTS OF SOCIETIES.

Fourth Annual Report of the Maryland State Colonization Society. Baltimore. John D. Toy. 8vo. pp. 76.

Annual Report of the Trustees of the New England Institution for the Education of the Blind. Boston. J. T. Buckingham. 8vo. pp. 22.

Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Boston. Isaac Knapp. 8vo. pp. 72.

Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the American Board of Foreign Missions. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 8vo. pp. 148.

THEOLOGY.

Religious Consolation. Boston. Joseph Dowe. 12mo. pp. 227.

This compilation, of which a second edition has been so speedily called for, bears the initials of the Rev. E. S. Gannett. It embraces much excellent matter, both in prose and verse, and is especially commendable in a respect, in which most works of the kind are very painfully deficient, namely, the tenderness and delicacy, with which sorrow ought to be addressed. Executed as it is, it can hardly fail of a wide and welcome circulation.

The Christian Brahmun, or Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Character of the Converted Brahmun Babajee, &c. &c., by Rev.

Hollis Read, American Missionary to India. 2 vols. New York. Leavitt, Lord, & Co.

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Outlines of Sacred History. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle.

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ERRATA.

Page 43, *line* 36, *for* Whitney, *read* Whiting.
" 52, " 25, *for* sustimuit *read* sustinuit.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. XCIII.

OCTOBER, 1836.

ART. I. — *A System of Penal Law for the State of Louisiana, consisting of a Code of Crimes and Punishments, a Code of Procedure, a Code of Evidence, a Code of Reform and Prison Discipline, and a Book of Definitions; prepared under the Authority of a Law of the said State.* By EDWARD LIVINGSTON. *To which are prefixed a Preliminary Report on the Plan of a Penal Code, and Introductory Reports to the several Codes embraced in the System of Penal Law.* Published by James Kay, jun. & Brother. Philadelphia. 1833.

FEW have discharged more fully than Mr. Livingston that debt, which Bacon holds every one to owe to his profession. In addition to an honest and liberal practice, he has indeed, to use the language of that great man, visited and strengthened the roots and foundation of the science itself; he has graced it in reputation and dignity, and amplified it in profession and substance. It too generally happens, that those, who have confined themselves to a particular science, learn to attribute to it an undue importance among the various branches of human knowledge and improvement, and also bring themselves to believe, that in its forms, usages and long practised rules, there are intrinsic excellence and advantage, which it is unwise to controvert and almost improper to change. If we regret, we may yet pardon such prejudices to the votary of

abstract science, or to the professors of those arts whose objects are to excite the imagination or gratify the taste. The astronomer consumes the silent watches of the night in counting and noting the revolutions of worlds scarcely visible and immeasurably distant; why should we deny to him the pride of believing, that his pursuit is the purest and noblest that can engage the industry of our race? Such a belief quickens and rewards his own zeal, while it is innocent in every sense which can affect the interest or welfare of others. The artist or the mechanist, who limits his genius by the rules and theories of other days, is only left to find himself lingering in the race, and losing the profits or the honors which are gained by more enlightened competitors in the same pursuit. A prejudice, however, is only thus harmless, while it affects no one but him who has the right to indulge it, and may innocently do so. When it operates injuriously on the personal rights, the interests, property, or fortunes of mankind; when it excludes the lights which are shed on every kindred subject by philanthropy, research, and the certain progress of human knowledge; when it deals with things present, according to harsh, cold, or cruel doctrines of ages less wise and refined; when it upholds, as if they were sacred, forms and institutions that have sprung from obsolete customs, or arisen from the wants of a society altogether different; then prejudice ceases to be excusable, and those who uphold it ought to be regarded less as innocent advocates of the wisdom of other days, than as unwise and injudicious opposers of the improvement and happiness of their own times.

These principles are peculiarly applicable to jurisprudence; a science which directly affects all the social duties and relations of men. In preserving individual rights, it substitutes for the hand of power a universal mutual compact, whose foundation is the intention and desire of protecting all, at the least individual sacrifice. In preventing or punishing the excesses of passion and crime, it acts not from the impulse of personal retaliation, nor assumes a control over the secret emotions of the heart; but it calmly inquires into the exact extent of infringement on the privileges or happiness of others, and seeks so to punish it as to prevent the repetition of similar injuries, and bring home to the aggressor a full sense of the wrong that he has committed.

Such a science, therefore, is not abstract. It is immediately dependent on the state of human society. Its rules vary with the variations of knowledge, of refinement, of all the social arts. It improves in proportion to the improvements of civilization. Reason, and simplicity, and humanity remove its peculiarities, enlarge its utility, and soften its severity. It regards the present and not the past, equally in the things to be regulated and the manner in which they are treated; and he, who, in our days, should govern himself in this science by the rules of Lycurgus or the Decemvirs, would not be more wise than a countryman of Arkwright or Laplace, who should calculate the motions of the stars like the astrologers of Chaldea, or weave our garments on such looms as were used by the fair-haired matrons of Troy.

Yet in no science has it been so difficult, as in this, to introduce these indisputable principles. In no science have its intelligent professors, those skilled in all its branches, and imbued with all its learning, united themselves so strenuously to maintain its actual excellence; to oppose its progressive improvement, with the improvement of all things around; and to reconcile us to the strange and obsolete forms, which are equally at variance with the reason, the customs, and the humanity of a later age. The despotic vigor of Justinian was requisite to reduce and to pare away the absurdities of centuries in the Roman law; Napoleon found it scarcely more difficult to unite into one, half the principalities of Europe, than to reconcile the conflicts of the parliaments of France; and even in Britain, amid all her wonderful progress in science and in art, men, prominent, intelligent and enlightened men, are still found, who vehemently uphold, in her civil and criminal laws, things equally absurd and inhumane; who seem delighted to find reason in the most ridiculous fictions; and who shake their heads now, with significant distrust, at the sagacity and philanthropy of Brougham, just as their predecessors may have done in former days at the innovations of Mansfield or of Bacon.

It could not have been without a full knowledge of all these difficulties, that Mr. Livingston undertook the task of framing a complete system of penal law for Louisiana, the State of his adoption. The opposition he had experienced to his efforts for introducing a simple and expeditious mode of civil practice, free alike from the prolixities of the Spanish and the

fictions of the English law, though it was fortunately unsuccessful, rested in his remembrance, and probably deferred, though it never induced him to forego, this more important and laborious undertaking. During fifteen years of almost uninterrupted residence in Louisiana, he had been engaged as a lawyer of the highest rank ; he had become thoroughly conversant with every portion of the civil and criminal code ; he had ascertained its intrinsic defects ; and he had resolved, that, in fulfilling his duty to his profession, he would present to his fellow-citizens such views for the alteration and amendment of their criminal law, as were dictated by the benevolence of an enlightened age, and ought to be expected from a people possessing the fullest power of self-government.

In the early part of the year 1820, being at that time a member of the House of Representatives, he introduced to the notice of the legislature the subject of a complete revision of the criminal law. He stated, as the principles by which the legislature ought in his opinion to be governed, that the objects of a code were solely the prevention of crime, and reformation of the criminal ; that all offences should be clearly defined, in language generally understood ; that punishments should be proportioned to the offence ; that the rules of evidence should be ascertained, as applicable to each ; that the mode of procedure should be simple, and the duty of executive and magisterial officers explicitly declared by law. In all these points, the existing laws of Louisiana were notoriously defective ; and the legislature readily yielded to such enlightened suggestions. An act was promptly passed, for the appointment of a person learned in the law, whose duty it should be to prepare and present to the succeeding assembly, for its consideration, a code of criminal law both in the French and English languages, clearly defining all offences, laying down the rules of evidence and procedure, pointing out the duties of public officers, and designating the nature and manner of punishment. To perform this high trust, Mr. Livingston was himself elected, by a joint vote of the Senate and House of Representatives ; and, in accepting it, he at once resolved to encounter the necessary sacrifice of his private interest and professional engagements.

It is scarcely possible to imagine a more chaotic mass, than the existing provisions in Louisiana with regard to criminal offences. They were a strange compound of customs, stat-

utes, and traditions ; they were framed, as occasion had required, for the various stages of society, from uncertain and almost defenceless settlements in a savage wilderness, to the actual state of an enlightened and numerous commercial community ; and they blended the languages, opinions, and peculiarities of the successive sovereignties of the French, Spaniards, and Americans, in the same region. From the settlement of the country, at the close of the seventeenth century, until the year 1763, the institutions were of course founded on the existing laws of France. On its cession to Spain, that power solemnly promulgated its own laws, though of course many of the municipal regulations, which had previously existed, continued in force. When France in 1803 received back from Spain the possession of the province, by virtue of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, she retained it only provisionally, in order to deliver it to the United States, according to the treaty of Paris, and, during that short interval, made no material alteration in the existing laws. On the organization of the territorial government, while Congress extended to it certain general laws, gave the right of trial by jury, and introduced the writ of *habeas corpus*, they yet expressly retained all not directly inconsistent with these, and continued the existing code until altered by the legislature. Although, in the subsequent fifteen or twenty years, many such alterations undoubtedly took place, yet they were partial or temporary ; the old institutions were for the most part of actual authority ; and, in the course of his investigation, Mr. Livingston discovered, that the citizens of Louisiana, in the nineteenth century, were amenable for the most strange and ludicrous offences, and subject to such punishments as were inflicted in Europe during the middle ages. The inevitable result was, that the definition and prosecution of many crimes were not only uncertain, but placed entirely beyond the reach of the people ; a long list of penalties, equally oppressive and absurd, was, strictly speaking, in force, and might, in bad times, be made an instrument of great injustice ; a discretion, always unsafe and often trenching on legislative power, was of necessity yielded to the judiciary ; and there was an entire want of that precision of language and simplicity of arrangement, without which a penal code becomes little better than a system of legalized tyranny.

Such a state was unworthy of an enlightened, and dangerous to a free, people. The time had arrived, when it had

become impossible any longer to retain it, or to delay the remedy of evils becoming daily more apparent and more oppressive. Although the responsibility was great, Mr. Livingston at once perceived, that in executing the honorable duty he had undertaken, he could only satisfy those who had intrusted him with it, by boldly assuming a course entirely different from that of partial modification and temporary expediency. The nature and extent of the change were questions that demanded and received his deepest consideration. While he was determined, on the one hand, that no fear of innovation, or senseless clamor of prejudice, should induce him to throw away so rare an occasion for offering to his countrymen a system founded on the solid and permanent basis of public good, he had yet been too long and intimately engaged in the practice of the law, not to know the absolute necessity of attention to the most minute and careful practical provisions. A repeal of the old penal laws, and of such of the later statutes as cast any uncertainty on the construction of those that were retained, would have given but partial relief. To provide, by new statutes, for other cases, would have been only to continue the patchwork system which had produced the existing evils, and to bring back, in a few years, the same incongruities that had afforded the whole ground for amendment. A system of laws, uniform and consistent, either framed into codes, or embraced in different statutes, was the only remedy that could satisfy the people of Louisiana.

Though well aware of the objections that had often been started to a written code, the reflections and experience of Mr. Livingston both led him to prefer it to a system of different and independent laws. The State, after a practice of many years, had derived such indisputable benefit from a similar improvement in the civil branch of its jurisprudence, where the endless variety and ever-changing nature of contracts and other civil relations presented peculiar difficulties, that it was impossible to feel the force of objections raised to the easier task of making a written system of penal law. As to its superiority, if capable of practical and efficient operation, there could be no doubt. It is finely remarked by Blackstone, in speaking of criminal law, that "the knowledge of this branch of jurisprudence, which teaches the nature, extent, and degrees of every crime, and adjusts to it its

adequate and necessary penalty, is of the utmost importance to every individual in the state ; for no rank or elevation in life, no uprightness of heart, no prudence or circumspection of conduct, should tempt a man to conclude, that he may not, at some time or other, be deeply interested in these researches. The infirmities of the best among us," he continues, "the vices and ungovernable passions of others, the instability of all human affairs, and the numberless unforeseen events, which the compass of a day may bring forth, will teach us, upon a moment's reflection, that to know with precision what the laws of our country have forbidden, and the deplorable consequences to which a wilful disobedience may expose us, is a matter of universal concern." That this knowledge is to be more easily obtained by every citizen, and more generally and extensively diffused, by means of a simple arrangement of the penal law, under its different heads and in a single and complete system, seems scarcely to need assertion. The legislator then discovers, at a glance, what ought to be supplied, retracted, or corrected ; the magistrate and the judge see at once their duties, and the extent and limitation of their powers ; the citizen knows, without the necessity of extraordinary scrutiny, the rights of himself and others, by what acts those are to be maintained, and these will be violated.

The labors of Mr. Livingston were, therefore, guided by two paramount considerations. He endeavoured to ascertain accurately and completely the offences which were to be guarded against and suppressed, for the welfare of the whole community, without a reference to existing laws or prejudices, except so far as they affected that welfare ; and he undertook to prepare, to the fullest extent of his abilities, a written system, expressing in plain language all the rules necessary for protecting the government of the country, and the persons, property, and reputations of the citizens, and for preventing and punishing wilful and careless breaches of these rules, when truly ascertained. At the session of the legislature, in the early part of the year 1822, he presented the first result of his labors, in a preliminary report to the General Assembly, stating the progress he had made, explaining the plan on which he proposed to execute the work, giving some detached parts as specimens of the execution, and awaiting their direction, whether it should be completed or not. The

General Assembly was so entirely satisfied with the correctness of the principles laid down by Mr. Livingston, and the able manner in which they were developed, that a joint resolution was passed by the Senate and House of Representatives, and afterwards approved by the Governor, in which they declared their entire approbation of the plan proposed, and earnestly solicited him to prosecute his work in accordance with it.

Thus cheered and encouraged, in the very outset, by the approval of those who had first selected him, he proceeded with alacrity in the execution of his task. The exercise of his best faculties, to use his own language, had been laboriously and faithfully employed, under the direction of a religious desire to perform the high duty intrusted to him, in a manner which might realize, in some degree, the great views at which he aimed. Not a provision was made without the deepest reflection upon its consequences. Not a line was written, that was not sent to every quarter of the Union in search of amendment. Every suggestion offered was adopted without pride of opinion, when it brought conviction to his mind.

"Well aware," he says, "of the difficulties of my task, but feeling convinced that they were not insurmountable, I undertook it with so much confidence as was necessary to sustain me in its execution; but with that distrust of my own powers, which made me submit to the test of long reflection and severe scrutiny, every principle I laid down, and every provision intended to give it effect. I made these my leading rules; to adopt no theory, by whatever specious argument supported, until I should be convinced of its practical utility; diligently to seek for information, but to admit nothing upon the mere authority of high names; to make no unnecessary innovation, but boldly to propose every change I should think practicable and useful."

This process, of course, unavoidably consumed much time; but, by assiduous labor, in little more than two years after his plan had received the sanction of the legislature, by the resolution referred to, he completed the entire work. It was at this period, that he was interrupted by one of those accidents, which sometimes occur to destroy the best monuments of human industry, and suddenly and unexpectedly mar the most useful and promising undertakings. Fortunately, in this instance, his patience and zeal enabled him to prevent that probable result. In the autumn of 1824, he had finished his manuscript, and prepared it completely for submission to the

legislature. Having received authority from them to print it for that purpose, he caused a fair copy of the whole to be written. So anxious was he to avoid error, that he passed a great part of the night previous to sending it to the press, in himself comparing this with the original draft. He went to bed at a late hour, leaving both the manuscripts together in his library, and consoling himself with the pleasing thought, that he had completed the laborious task which had engaged his time and constant reflections. Not long afterwards he was awakened by a cry of fire. This was found to be in the room where his papers had been left. They were all consumed. Not a note or memorandum was saved. Though stunned at first by the sudden misfortune, his equanimity and industry did not desert him. Before the close of the same day, he had quietly commenced his task anew. On the meeting of the legislature, he communicated the incident to them, and another year was granted him to repair it. This was to be done entirely from recollection, as not a written vestige remained; and the labor of recomposition, always irksome, was interrupted and rendered more difficult by the interference of engagements which he had made on the supposition that this was done. In two years more, the second edition of his work was finished, and, in 1826, he presented his complete "System of Penal Law," to the Legislature of Louisiana, in the shape, more perfect than it originally was, in which we now see it.

Prefixed to the system itself, and forming, perhaps, to many persons, the most interesting portion of the work, is a series of introductory reports on each of its principal divisions. In these, Mr. Livingston has delineated, with a masterly hand, an outline of the whole science of penal jurisprudence. Pointing out, with the sagacity of a practised lawyer and the spirit of an intelligent legislator, the ends to be attained and the existing errors, he has discussed, with profound skill, the proper remedies to be applied. He clearly explains his own views; enters most minutely and carefully into them all; and submits, with the utmost candor, and, it must be admitted, always with much strength of argument and reflection, and generally with great correctness, his own original and peculiar suggestions. No one can fail to be impressed especially with the enlightened spirit of philanthropy, the single aim to benefit his fellow-creatures, which breathes throughout these discus-

sions ; and to this it may be added, that there is always an unaffected beauty and simplicity in the language, frequently rising, when the topic demands it, to a fervent eloquence, which will command the attention and interest of those, who might be repelled by the gravity and want of imagination, with which such subjects are generally treated. Indeed, the plan of presenting these preliminary arguments is a happy one. The design of the legislature was dictated by considerations of a just and beneficent patriotism. They desired to obtain for their constituents the best mode of administering justice, which could be derived from the experience, sagacity, and benevolence of the age. Though selecting a single individual to present this, it was with no weak or inconsiderate reverence for his opinions ; but in a belief, that, from his studies and character, he could offer them a system which must possess more than usual excellence. Whether or not it did so, they were afterwards to judge. The wisdom of abolishing that which existed, the superiority of what might be substituted, the additions proposed to supply deficiencies, — all these were to be solemnly passed upon by them in completing the task, which they had only commenced, in confiding to Mr. Livingston his honorable trust. It was in accordance with this spirit, that, when he submitted his system, he also submitted, with the utmost frankness and fulness, all his reasons in support of it. Addressing the General Assembly, he modestly says ;

" They are longer and more argumentative than would have been necessary, if, still a member of your honorable body, I could meet objections as they were raised, and make the corrections which your superior wisdom would suggest. Having offered nothing without reflection, I have reasons for all I have proposed. Many of them, probably, will be found insufficient to support my conclusions; but those conclusions are honestly if not wisely drawn, and the system which they support is submitted in the full confidence, that it will receive a fair, a full, and a deliberate consideration. Fair, without prejudice against the reporter for the opinions he may entertain on other subjects, or against his doctrines for their novelty ; full, after a consideration of the whole system and the bearing of its different parts on each other; deliberate, without rejecting any one provision, until the reasons for proposing it have been maturely weighed, and its probable effects calculated. A decision thus made must be wise, and will doubtless prove satisfactory to your constituents, and honorable to your country and yourselves."

The "System of Penal Law" opens with a Preliminary Title, briefly stating the fundamental objects for the attainment of which it is established, and the plan and divisions in which it is framed.

The original design of Mr. Livingston was, to comprise the whole system in a single code, giving a separate book to each of the principal divisions. A little experience, however, showed him, that, by such an arrangement, the subdivisions would not be sufficiently numerous to preserve order and distinctness in the distribution; and that, by forming separate codes, these would be secured, and an easier mode of reference obtained. This plan and division, therefore, were finally adopted.

The System comprises four distinct codes and a book of definitions.

The first is called the *Code of Crimes and Punishments.* It is divided into two books. It contains general principles, and the description of all acts or omissions that are declared to be offences, with the punishment assigned to each.

The second is called the *Code of Criminal Procedure.* It is divided into three books. It contains the means provided for preventing offences that are apprehended, and repressing those that exist; it directs the mode of bringing offenders to justice; and it describes the forms to be used in judicial proceedings.

The third is called the *Code of Evidence.* It is divided into two books. It contains the nature and whole law of evidence in penal as well as civil cases; and it lays down the rules applicable to the several kinds of evidence.

The fourth is called the *Code of Reform and Prison Discipline.* It is divided into three books. It contains a system of prison discipline, in all the stages in which imprisonment is used, either as the means of detention or punishment; the places of confinement; the treatment of prisoners therein; and the proper provisions for the voluntary and compulsory labor of discharged convicts and irreclaimable vagrants.

The concluding division of the System is a *Book of Definitions*, which defines the technical words and phrases used in the several codes.

I. The *Code of Crimes and Punishments* is of course the most interesting portion of the work. It is that in which Mr.

Livingston displays his adherence to, and interpretation of the principles of jurisprudence, previously laid down, as the basis of his system; that, by which the soundness and practicableness of these is to be effectually tested. It is a different, perhaps an easier task, to reason on the general principles of science, to point out incontrovertibly what justice, philanthropy, and knowledge require, than to frame laws imbued with the spirit of these, which shall also meet the exigencies of human society, and prevent or repair the injuries arising from depravity or crime. To show what is right and fit, is the delightful aim of philosophy; to reduce it and apply it to practice, is the studious labor of legislation.

The first book of this code contains general provisions, relative to the operations of the laws, to prosecutions and trials, and to the circumstances under which acts, that would otherwise be offences, may be justified or excused. These provisions embrace, in brief and simple language, what is necessary to protect the criminal from injustice, while they sustain the administration of the laws. In most instances they do not differ from those which belong to the enlightened jurisprudence of modern times; but, in some, Mr. Livingston has made changes too important not to be noticed.

Offences are explicitly confined to such acts or omissions as are made the direct subject of legislative decision; and no pretence of their being within its meaning or spirit, no vague reference to the laws of nature, religion, or morality, is permitted to sanction the notice or punishment of them. The necessity of this provision has been proved by the frequent practice of American courts. Deriving their jurisprudence chiefly from the unwritten code of England, many instances are not wanting of the introduction of constructive crimes, which are utterly at variance with institutions, where interference in the different departments of government is forbidden. No injurious consequences, arising from an unpunished offence, accidentally unprovided for, can equal those which have resulted, and must inevitably result, from judicial legislation.

Another provision, novel in its character, which is introduced by Mr. Livingston, is that which simplifies the law, and ascertains the comparative degrees of guilt, where crimes are committed by several persons. To assimilate a person actually ignorant of a crime with the perpetrator, because accident

or the bonds of kindred may have made him acquainted with, and induced him to conceal it, seems to be equally harsh and unjust. To relieve a supplicant offender who relies on our generosity, is an act which humanity can scarcely condemn, even in a stranger. To make obedience to the law consist in sacrificing the ties of nature, in betraying those nearest and dearest to us by affection and by blood, can only be the rule of a barbarous and distant age. "Almighty power," Mr. Livingston eloquently remarks, "might counteract, for its own purposes, the feelings of humanity; but a mortal legislator should not presume to do it. In modern times, such laws are too repugnant to our feelings to be frequently executed; but that they may never be enforced, they should be expunged from every code which they disgrace." To put an end, therefore, to this conflict between natural sensibility and harsh legislation, Mr. Livingston provides that no relative of the principal offender, in the ascending or descending line, or in the collateral as far as the first degree, no person united to him by marriage, or owing obedience to him as a servant, shall be punished as an accessory. He thinks, however, that cases involving other ties of gratitude or friendship cannot be so properly distinguished by law, and he leaves them for the consideration of the pardoning power.

The second book of this code is the most important in the whole System. It enumerates, classes, and defines all offences, as well as prescribes the nature and extent of punishments. The former naturally divide themselves, for the purpose of arrangement, into two great classes of public or private injuries, according to the character of the object against which they are directed. The latter are founded on the principle, that loss of personal liberty, of property, and of social and political privilege, are the best modes of suppression, prevention, and reform.

Under the head of public offences, are ranked those which affect the sovereignty of the State, in its legislative, executive, or judiciary power; the public tranquillity; the revenue; the right of suffrage; the public records; the current coin; the internal and external commerce; the freedom of the press; the public health; the public property and highways; the morals of the people; and the exercise of religion. Each of the offences falling under these heads is accurately defined, and provisions, intended to meet every case, have been intro-

duced, with an industry that has left little, if any thing, unnoticed. In regard to some of them, there is considerable novelty.

In offences against the legislative power, all interference by violence, threats, or corruption is forbidden under appropriate penalties, instead of being left to be repressed by the supposed inherent right to punish contempts.

In those against the judiciary, while such as are of more usual occurrence are guarded against, those which may be committed by the functionaries themselves are specially considered. Combating, with firmness, but without disrespect, the strongly urged sentiments of those who think it degrading to suppose that men entrusted with this high office can be influenced by such inducements as would bias others, Mr. Livingston has applied, in this instance, the same strict principles of positive legislation, as in every other.

"I acknowledge," he remarks, "the force of the maxim, that confidence in generous minds begets a disposition to merit it; but I deny the propriety of its general application. The penalties of law are founded on the supposition, that, without them, its precepts would not be fulfilled. Could we count on that generous disposition which the objection supposes, there would be no need of any sanction to our laws. The legislator need only point out his will and express his confidence in the integrity of those to whom it was directed, and the work of legislation would be done. But the argument is not pressed so far. It is acknowledged that penalties are necessary to insure obedience in ordinary cases; but it is said, that judges form an honorable exception. Restrain all the rest of the world by the fear of punishment; trust to the integrity of the judge for the performance of his duty. What, will you impose no restraint? no impeachment for corruption? no indictment for bribery? Yes, these we will allow; but he must not be restrained from accepting presents as the testimonials of friendship, which are no more than common courtesies of life. Now if you can think it necessary to guard against the gross corruption of direct bribery, why will you permit a practice which is the most common mode of effecting it? Not to speak of their being made the vehicle for the more glaring crimes, their favorable effect on the mind of man is evident to any one who has the slightest knowledge of the world. Received as tokens of kindness at first, their slight value excites no suspicion; they are multiplied; their value is increased, and the obligation goes on augmenting until it can only

be discharged by a favorable decree. But the practice ought to be forbidden, if it should have no other effect than that of exciting suspicion. If the judge has been in the habit of receiving presents of game or liquors from a suitor who gains his cause, the loser will not fail to attribute it to the flavor of the venison or the exquisite taste of the wine. Nor is the inhibition either new, or considered as derogatory to officers of the highest trust. It is a constitutional provision, that no one, holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall accept *any presents* from a foreign power. If this does not degrade the ambassador, why should a similar one degrade the judge? Besides, be consistent. You have two sets of judges. If those who determine the fact, when they are exhausted with hunger and fatigue, receive the slightest refreshment from one of the parties, you dishonor them by setting aside their verdict, as being corruptly procured, and often punish them for misconduct; and yet you think it degrading to the other class of judges, to prevent them receiving gifts of much greater value."

So in regard to the punishment for contempts ; a power subject to be exercised by courts, in a manner and to an extent, utterly at variance with the principles, conceded in every other instance to be just. This indefinite offence, and this dangerous power, are reduced to that certainty and limit which are prescribed in respect to other crimes. Ample means of repression are vested in the court ; they may remove every actual interruption of their proceedings ; they may enforce prompt obedience to their orders ; they may, if simple removal is not sufficient, restrain by imprisonment. But here, their extraordinary interference stops ; the interruption being at an end, the trial and punishment must follow in the regular mode. The judge is not made an accuser, nor the accuser a judge ; the dignity of the court is not lessened by angry altercation ; above all, the chosen ministers of the law are not specially allowed to violate its most sacred forms.

Among offences against morals, Mr. Livingston has embraced and punished insulting and indecent language to women, deliberate seduction, and the infamous agency of ministering to the vices of others ; all of them basely profligate, though our codes, following in the track of the English law, have omitted or inadequately guarded against them. In the same spirit, he has denounced a proper penalty against violating the sanctuary of the tomb ; a provision in accordance with the natural sentiments of men in every country and age.

"The catacomb, the grave, and the urn," he truly and eloquently says, "have been held equally sacred; and any intrusion upon them has always not only been considered as immoral, but punished as a crime. It is in vain that pretended philosophy affects to consider it a prejudice. The feelings of the philosopher belie the language of his wisdom; and, however indifferent he might feel as to his own remains, he would not see, without affliction, the body of a friend or relation torn from the grave, even to promote the progress of science. It is in vain that we are told, and are truly told, that the health and life of the living ought not to be sacrificed to a vain respect for the body of the dead, incapable of suffering here, or feeling the ignominy of exposure; the reason may be convinced, but the feeling remains. Science must be content with subjects, whose dissection will interest the feelings of none who are alive. The bodies of those few who, themselves above this prejudice, devote their remains to the cause of science; those of malefactors who die in the imprisonment inflicted by the law, must suffice for the improvement of surgical knowledge. But the laws must protect, in the place of their lasting rest, the remains that are sacred to the memory of surviving relations or friends. This natural feeling has not been neglected in the code which is presented, and a proper punishment is denounced against every violation of the sanctuary of the tomb."

Under the head of private offences, are ranked those which affect individuals, and injure them in their reputation, their persons, their political privileges, their civil rights, their professions, and their property. From among them is wisely and humanely excluded, suicide; the sad act of misfortune or despair, which most criminal codes have chosen to treat as a crime of the deepest dye. It seems, indeed, a peculiarly strange dictate of law, to pursue with penal sanctions the inanimate body, which has ceased to feel either ignominy or pain. But it becomes still more so, when, by so doing, we inflict exclusively upon the innocent all the consequences. To prevent or to remedy, even to punish it, is beyond our power; we can only harrow the feelings, and seize on the fortunes, of those who have been made already to suffer from the sensibilities of human nature, and, with impotent revenge, strike the guiltless because the guilty has placed himself beyond our reach. The justice, therefore, as well as the propriety of omitting this, in the enumeration of crimes, seems indisputable.

In treating of offences, which affect individual reputation, Mr. Livingston has examined, with extreme care, the whole subject of libel and slander. This has always proved peculiarly difficult, where free institutions exist, since the instrument usually employed in the work of detraction, is also one necessary to spread information, promote science, support political and civil liberty, and disseminate the truths of religion. To permit its unrestrained employment for these noble ends, and yet to prevent its use for the destruction of individual reputation and happiness, is a task worthy, from its importance, of the most zealous studies of a beneficent and patriotic legislator. In the code of Louisiana, the indefinite and absurd offence of libelling incorporeal beings (if we may use the phrase) is totally abolished ; men are to be protected, not governments, courts, or corporations ; private character is to be guarded, not public measures. These, which are for the benefit of all, must be guarded by the approving support of all ; they must be strong enough, in the language of Cromwell, "to stand against paper-shot," or they are not worth guarding ; and while to discuss them in the widest possible range must be a trifling evil, to impose the least restraint on their examination would be one of incalculable amount. In regard to individual character, however, every man is equally protected from defamation, every man has a right to appeal to the laws ; and upon the same principle, whether he is thus injured while executing a public trust, or pursuing his private business. That principle, as admirably laid down by Mr. Livingston, is, to punish an act wilfully done, which injures the character of a fellow-citizen, without any motive of private good or public duty. This reaches the great object in the law of libel, without violating any rule of justice or general utility ; it meets the cases, in which the truth of the statement may or may not be a justification ; it permits the exposure of that which is proper to be made known, but not of what, without any corresponding benefit, would tend only to produce injury, ridicule, or misery.

In the important title of offences against the person (a class of crimes which it is, perhaps, the first object of civilized society to prevent), each of the various kinds of injury, from a simple assault to homicide attended with every circumstance of aggravation, is defined with extreme care, and with an anxious desire properly to measure the degrees of guilt.

In the sections relating to justifiable homicide, the rules are clearly laid down, that authorize the execution of the orders of magistrates or courts, and the defence of person and property to the last extremity. In no branch of criminal law are such rules more needed for the information and protection of a citizen. His first duties to his country and to himself are those of aid to the public officer and resistance to private aggression. Properly to perform these, is not only legal, but praiseworthy ; to do so improperly, constitutes an offence, which brings down the severest penalty of the law. The same act in one way is a duty, in another a crime. It is, therefore, a cruel defect in legislation, to leave in the slightest degree obscure, as has been too generally the case, the rules that justify homicide, either in the execution of a public law, or the defence of a private right. Excusable homicide is made to differ from this, in being involuntary, and unavoidable by common prudence or care. Culpable homicide embraces those acts which can neither be justified nor excused, and which, beginning at the lowest degree where negligence alone, without any criminal intention, is to be attributed to the perpetrator, rises to murder in its appalling forms of assassination and parricide. Those who are satisfied with the provisions derived from the common law of England, which knows only the two classes of manslaughter and murder, will, perhaps, be startled at eight degrees of guilt, graduated according to the intention and manner of the crime. Yet, certainly, to confound together a sacrifice of life caused by negligence and by design ; by extreme provocation and with the want of any ; by open attack, and by secret assassination, poison, or lying in wait ; by avowed hostility and by a breach of those holy relations which imply confidence, fidelity, or protection ; is a defect of jurisprudence in respect as well to the designation of crimes, as to the just assignment of punishment.

The class of offences, which forms the concluding chapter of this code, embraces the numerous catalogue of those affecting property. They are arranged and defined with much care, whether arising from a malicious intention to destroy, or a fraudulent design to appropriate property that does not belong to the offender.

The means by which Mr. Livingston proposes to secure obedience to the provisions he has thus made ; to prevent or to punish the offences he has thus elaborately arranged and

defined; are limited, as we have already observed, to the deprivation of personal liberty, property, and social and political privileges.

He discards the disgusting, cruel, and inefficient modes of punishment, which, under greater or less modifications, have continued, until a very recent period, to disgrace the jurisprudence of countries pretending to the greatest refinement, and continue at present to be approved, and even applauded, in that of the largest number of the nations of the world. He proposes to abolish at once, and in every instance, all punishments that spring from a desire to gratify revenge, or to inflict on the offenders inhuman suffering. He stops not with the prohibition of the faggot or the rack, because these are universally denounced by modern justice or humanity; but he equally prohibits punishments of the same character, that are yet retained, and which a similar spirit of justice and humanity ought equally to condemn. Banishment, imprisonment in chains, exposure to public derision, mutilation, and stripes, are all still inflicted by the codes of enlightened nations, but are all a violation of the same principles, which prohibit, in penal sanctions, injustice, cruelty, and revenge. Banishment forces upon another country him who has violated the laws of his own, in defiance of the common rights of nations; it leaves the criminal at liberty to repeat his crime, where his character and habits are unknown; it holds out no means of reformation; and it offers no salutary example to deter others from the commission of a similar offence. Imprisonment in chains is at once cruel and unequal; it is always a torture to the weak, and may be so to the strong, according to the discretion and petty despotism of his jailer; it preys upon the spirit by the infliction of bodily pain; it obliges to constant and debasing indolence. Exposure to public derision is a mode of punishment, whose absolute inefficacy has been established by its increased disuse; it can produce no reform in the offender; it serves, on the contrary, to harden him in crimes; it offers no useful example to those who behold it, for it appeals only to the lowest passions, and if it creates any other sensation, it is that of sympathy. Mutilation is almost repudiated from the code of modern nations; it inflicts indelible marks of disgrace, which drive the wretched victim into the constant repetition of his crimes; it has no real motive but revenge, for its sole consequence is bodily suffering; it destroys the hope of reformation, and exhibits to society

a picture that excites either its sympathy or disgust. Stripes are liable to almost every objection, that can be made to public exposure and mutilation; they are founded on the propriety of inflicting pain; they are cruel and revengeful punishments; they produce public and lasting shame; they bring no repentance; convince the criminal of no error; but restore him to his associates at once exasperated and disgraced.

Mr. Livingston regards capital punishment as liable to some of the same objections with the rest which he has discarded, as well as to others peculiar to itself. While we cannot profess to be converts to his system on this very important subject, it is impossible not to admire the beauty and force of thought and language, as well as the philanthropic spirit, with which it is maintained. At the same time, whatever of substantial novelty there is in Mr. Livingston's statement of the argument, will be found, we think, to consist rather in the omission of topics, to which a prominence has been given by others, than in the contribution of any new ground of reasoning; so that we may be the more readily excused for not following his discussion at any length. He does not urge, as has commonly been done, the absolute sacredness of human life. He admits, that, while individuals and society have the right to preserve their existence, and are under an obligation to defend it, when attacked, the life of an assailant may be taken, if one or the other is threatened with destruction, and no alternative remains to prevent it. This right of self-defence, however, allowed to exist between nations during war, and between a nation and a portion of its citizens at the moment of insurrection, he denies to be justly claimed on the part of a community against its individual members, before the crisis requiring self-defence has arrived, or after it has passed. He insists, that capital execution accomplishes neither of the legitimate ends of punishment; neither the reformation of the criminal, nor the prevention of crime; and he refers to the experience of English criminal jurisprudence to show the insensibility of convicts under sentence of death. He denounces the practice, on the ground of alleged ill effects on the moral character and sensibilities of those by whom it is witnessed; and he urges, with most impressive force, the irrevocable nature of such a doom, making it impossible, by any subsequent act, to repair the wrong which may have been sustained from the perfidy of accusers, the adverse bearing of

unfortunately concurring circumstances, or the infirmity of judges.

Part of this argument presents issues of fact, capable, of course, of being settled on sufficient evidence ; and when it shall be manifest, from a sufficiently large induction of ascertained cases, what is the state of mind of convicts under capital sentence, of prisoners liable to it, of the crowds which witness it, and of the communities whose attention is drawn to it, the question will be materially disembarrassed. In the mean time, we cannot consent to take instances of apparent insensibility on the part of convicts, as clearly indicating the absence of severe internal struggles ; nor could we receive a few perfectly well authenticated instances of this sort, as proofs of a prevailing state of mind ; nor should we consider examples of an utter recklessness, after sentence was passed, as showing (what alone is of much consequence), that while it was in prospect, and the act that was to incur it was under contemplation, it had not been apprehended with extreme alarm ; nor do we find reason to regard the assembling of crowds at an execution, as evincing any thing so much as the singularly exciting horror of the scene ; nor can we confidently take the effect, good or bad, produced upon those crowds, for the effect upon that much larger part of a population, which does not mingle in them ; nor can we, in any way, escape from the idea, that the dread of a dishonorable death is, after all, the sanction of the most universal and absolute efficacy, of all within human appointment. We are not convinced by the view which limits the community's rights of self-defence to the moment of aggression ; which only allows it to guard, by extreme methods, against violence, *flagrante delicto*. The community wants not so much protection against the individual criminal, as against crime. This is the foundation of exemplary punishment ; and this most essential claim of self-defence remains untouched by the argument, even when it should be allowed, that capital punishment, a community's most perfect security against a citizen whose past misconduct shows that it is in extreme danger from him, is a security which it can afford to dispense with, in favor of some other less severe. We are much more moved, — we never fail to be strongly moved, — by the argument on the irrevocable character of a visitation, which, through human frailty, may be made, has been made, to fall upon the innocent. We never look at it without being

prompted anew to an anxious inquiry, whether the security of men in social life is not capable of being adequately provided for, without the administration of an irremissible penalty, subject, by possibility, to such abuse; and, when we find ourselves driven from this ground, we are still pursued by the problem, whether it would not be better for innocent men to relinquish some, or even much, of their security, than that such a horror should, in any instance, be permitted to befall. Mr. Livingston has argued this part of the question with a pathetic eloquence, which there is no resisting while one reads; and he refers to one instance of enormous wrong, as occurring within his own practice, which no one can wonder should have materially influenced his feelings on the subject. His views, both for the source whence they proceed, and the generous earnestness with which they are enforced, are entitled to the most attentive consideration. Much as we fear, that (at least till popular education has far more fully done its work) capital punishment will remain an awful necessity of social existence, we feel indebted to whoever helps to secure to the question a calm and thorough scrutiny; and most earnestly do we desire, that neither haste nor bigotry on the one hand, nor a weak and timid sensibility on the other, but a calm and comprehensive wisdom, and the most compassionate and delicate sense of human infirmities and human rights, may dictate the decision.

Mr. Livingston thus confines the punishments, prescribed in his system, to the deprivation of personal liberty, property, and social and political privileges. Fines, disfranchisement, and imprisonment, are those only that he proposes to inflict; but these he varies and graduates according to the nature of the crime, and the circumstances that extenuate or aggravate it. Pecuniary fines; degradation from office; temporary suspension of civil rights; permanent deprivation of civil rights; simple imprisonment; imprisonment at hard labor; and solitary confinement during certain intervals of the time of imprisonment, to be determined in the sentence, — such is the scale adopted in this code. He contends that this is sufficient to produce the just ends of punishment, and has, in itself, peculiar and indisputable advantages; that it affords a prospect of reformation in the criminal, highly probable; that it restrains him effectually from the repetition of his crime; that it offers a permanent and striking example to deter others; and that it is so mild, that it can

enlist no prejudice against its execution and in favor of the sufferer, either among those called upon to try and condemn him, or those whose duty it may be to carry the sentence into effect. He submits, that its sufficiency is secured by the advantage it has of being divisible almost to infinity; that there is no offence, however slight, to meet which it may not be moderated; none so atrocious, that, by the accumulation of its various degrees, an adequate punishment may not be found; that it may be made, also, to suit the differences of sex, age, habits, and constitution, which in themselves cause and constitute so different an amount of actual suffering to the criminal, where the nominal penalty is the same. So far as regards imprisonment, either in its simple or more severe character, this scale of punishment looks to the penitentiary system for its complete developement and perfect execution; it therefore improves in efficiency as well as humanity, with all the improvements of that admirable mode of punishment.

II. The *Code of Criminal Procedure* naturally succeeds that designating the acts that are a violation of the law; for it points out the mode, in which they are to be prevented or repressed, and in which they are to be ascertained, with the precision justice requires, if they have been actually committed. It is not enough, that every citizen should know what actions he ought to avoid as crimes; he should also know what means he has of preventing or punishing such as injure him, and also of defending himself, when unjustly charged with the commission of such as injure others.

This code is divided into three books. The first contains the means of preventing offences, and of putting an end to such as continue; designating particularly the cases where military force may be employed in aid of the civil power, and prescribing the rules by which it is to be governed in that service. The second directs the mode of bringing an offender to punishment; and the last gives the forms that are to be used, in all judicial proceedings, to attain these ends. An introductory title states conspicuously and explicitly the objects of the code; security to the innocent, not only from the danger of an unjust conviction, but the apprehension of it; the prevention of intended offences, by pointing out when and how an individual may require the aid of a magistrate and his fellow-citizens, or use his own physical powers, to resist

aggression; the destruction of all hope of escape from merited punishment by resort to technical and formal objections, — a species of false clemency, which can arise only from the impropriety or severity of the law in its spirit and provisions, and which violates every principle, as it destroys every benefit, it was meant to secure; economy and despatch, objects equally desirable for the prosecution of justice on one hand, and the defence of private rights on the other, since the want of them at once increases the difficulty of conviction, and lessens the force of beneficial example where there is guilt, while it inflicts unmerited punishment on the innocent; the abolition of all vexatious proceedings; and the establishment of simplicity in forms, an end society has a right to demand, since the obligations and restraints imposed by the most perfect laws are necessarily attended with an inconvenience, that ought to be reduced to the lowest degree consistent with public safety. In pointing out these distinctly, as the objects of a code of procedure, Mr. Livingston remarks, that it is done, that future legislatures may weigh their importance, examine how far practice shall prove the different provisions to be in conformity with them, observe in what points deviations come to be made, and introduce, if requisite, such amendments as will retain them in full effect.

The first book contains the provisions of the code for preventing offences. Among them is one, for the most part, if not altogether, novel; bestowing honorary and pecuniary rewards on him who brings an offender to justice.

"If any one shall voluntarily incur any great danger, or use extraordinary diligence, or show unusual skill in preventing or suppressing an offence, or in arresting an offender, he shall be entitled to an honorary certificate made by the court, having the highest penal jurisdiction in the district of his residence, which certificate shall be entered on the minutes of the court, and published three times in three successive years, and authenticated copies shall be sent to the governor of the State, and to the president of the senate, to serve as recommendations for an appointment to any office in which the qualities he has shown may be useful.

"In cases of extraordinary exertion, coming within the intent of the last preceding article, which, in the opinion of the judge, and of the governor of the State, shall merit such distinction, a piece of plate of the value of one hundred dollars, with a suita-

ble inscription, to be executed under the direction of the governor, shall be added to the honorary certificate.

"Whoever shall give such information to a magistrate, as shall lead to the conviction of any one guilty of fighting a duel, or giving or accepting a challenge, or forgery, or any crime punishable by imprisonment for life, shall be entitled to receive, on the certificate of the judge and public prosecutor in the court where the conviction was had, the sum of fifty dollars, from the treasurer of the State, out of the moneys received for fines."

This provision, which may at first strike us as fanciful, if not calculated to encourage delation, is vindicated by Mr. Livingston, in the introductory report to this code, with great eloquence and much force of argument. He thinks that good policy as well as justice requires, that some external mark should be given of that esteem, which all feel for a citizen who has performed a meritorious action for the general good. That additional rewards will strengthen the motive to action, there can be no doubt; and, if they do not counteract the more refined and disinterested impulses which have the same tendency, they may be safely employed. The rewards held out for diligence, bravery, and skill, in preventing an offence or punishing an offender, are addressed solely to the love of that distinction which is founded on public gratitude; such rewards may be expected to raise the citizen in his own esteem, and give him at least a limited celebrity, which not only augments his own happiness, but, within a certain sphere, operates as an incentive to promote that of the public.

"Honors," Mr. Livingston observes, "conferred for brilliant achievements in war, or eminent services in council, may in a republic be said, perhaps with some propriety, to be liable to objection; not because they are wrong in themselves, but because, by exciting the admiration of the people to a high degree, and attaching it to one man, they give him an undue influence that may be sometimes used to the destruction of liberty. But no such consequence can be apprehended from the unpretending limited popularity and distinction given by the means pointed out by the code. On the contrary, beneficial political effects may be expected, by bringing within the reach of those in the humblest station, those testimonials of eminent merit, and by associating public favor in their minds with the execution of the laws. He who has risked his life in an unequal encounter with ruffians, either to protect another from their violence, or to secure them for the purpose of punishment, every

one will allow, deserves public esteem; but it can neither be permanent nor extensive, and, of course, will lose much of its value, if it is confined to the narrow circle of those who happen to have witnessed, or to have been benefited by its exertion. It is soon forgotten, it loses most of its effect as an example, and it is buried in the same oblivion with the every-day transactions which have nothing to impress them on the memory.

"Let the little hero of the hamlet have his celebrity for supporting the laws, and you will have fewer great heroes who seek it by breaking them; and let it be remembered, that the recorded certificate and the engraved goblet are not given to reward the act, but to keep it in memory. The only reward is the public consideration, which will not be measured by the worth of these testimonials, but by the merit and utility of the service rendered."

Stronger objections may be made to pecuniary rewards for denouncing the commission of certain crimes. Strong antipathies are universally attached to the name and office of an informer, even when the laws are neither oppressive nor unjust. If these antipathies originated in times and nations, where the injustice and oppressive nature of the laws forced upon the people the conviction that their execution was adverse to their happiness and interest, and those who exerted themselves in promoting it were the enemies, not the friends, of society; then it may follow, that the ministers employed in upholding the execution of just and mild laws, well understood by an intelligent community, will cease to be considered as engaged in a dishonorable duty; and the acceptance of a reward, sufficient merely to indemnify for loss of time, but not so great as to offer temptations for false accusation, will cease to attach any odium to its performance. If an officer, Mr. Livingston contends, receives a salary for the performance of his permanent functions, an individual ought, with equal propriety, to receive a compensation for his occasional service. In both cases there is a sacrifice of private convenience to produce a public good; in both cases it ought to be compensated. If public prejudice is against it, it may be replied, that the same prejudice formerly existed against the functions of the regular officer, but that it has gradually given way to the force of truth, and the progress of knowledge.

In framing the provisions, which authorize the interference of magistrates to prevent offences and to search for property illegally taken, the cases of interposition and the evidence necessary are pointed out with great precision; a circum-

stance peculiarly required, where something must be left to the discretion of the officer, and where opportunities may exist for much oppression, extortion, and fraud. Under the title of suppressing offences against personal liberty, are contained regulations for granting and enforcing the writ of *habeas corpus*, so complete as to give the fullest effect to that most simple and admirable of all contrivances for securing personal liberty. Strongly impressed with the utility of this great writ, Mr. Livingston seems desirous to increase every facility for procuring it, to enlarge the sphere of its relief, to give an adequate sanction to every provision respecting it, to impress upon the people the utility of preserving, and the danger of violating it, and to perfect, in every way, so invaluable a safeguard, bequeathed to us by the wisdom and patriotism of our fathers. In prescribing the highly interesting rules for military aid to the civil authority, such are adopted as may attain the end with the least violence. The militia are to be used, a force differing in nothing from that which is daily at the call of the civil officer, except in being organized and armed. It is of course only to be employed when the ordinary power has completely failed. Before it is brought up, a magistrate must display a white flag, and order the rioters to disperse. Unless to repel an attack endangering life, the order to disperse must be disobeyed for half an hour, before offensive arms are resorted to. When these become necessary, those only (such as the sword and bayonet), which may be directed solely against the assailants, are to be adopted; and the dangerous effect of fire-arms, which may injure the innocent as well as the guilty, is left to the last extremity.

Having prescribed the means of preventing inchoate offences, and arresting the course of such as are in operation, the second book of this code contains the mode of conducting prosecutions for those already consummated. Minute and careful regulations are laid down respecting arrest, detention, and bail, so as to make them clear to the most common understanding. In the whole course of procedure, there is no circumstance productive of so many vexatious, and even fatal effects, as that of arrests. Officers of justice, often extortionate and overbearing, pass the limits of just authority; accused men sometimes submit to this injustice, at others they resist where they should yield; and no inconsiderable proportion of violent infractions of the law constantly arises from an

ignorance of rights and duties in this respect, an ignorance inevitable where there is any obscurity or want of fulness and precision in regulating so important a branch of the conduct of every citizen.

The manner and effect of an examination of the accused by a magistrate, immediately after his arrest, have always been subjects of doubt and difficulty. On the one hand, it gives to the innocent the best opportunity of prompt explanation and self-defence ; it obliges the guilty to give that account of his conduct which society has a right to demand from every one apparently infringing the laws. On the other, this explanation is not made before those who try the accused, and, of course, gives him little of its benefit ; it may be attended with captious and insidious questions, which disguise, rather than elucidate the truth ; and it may unjustly increase suspicion against the thoughtless or the timid. To secure these advantages, and to obviate these dangers, several provisions are introduced into the code. The prisoner, as soon as arrested, is to have counsel. Before his own examination, he is allowed to hear and read the evidence and depositions of the witnesses against him. The interrogatories which he is then required to answer, are prescribed by law, and point only to such simple circumstances as can be detailed with great simplicity of language. The answers are voluntary, though he is admonished that his refusal or falsehood will operate, as they ought, unfavorably to the belief of his innocence, when he comes to be tried ; and he is to be permitted to correct and alter, before he signs them, the answers which the magistrate takes from his lips.

Among the provisions that direct the mode of proceeding on the trial, is one giving the closing argument to the defendant. This was thought proper and just, because it is an advantage, which, from necessity, one party may and the other cannot enjoy. There are disadvantages inseparable from the position of the accused, and to deprive him of what may, in some degree, counterbalance them, is thought by Mr. Livingston to be contrary to justice and humanity. The same may be said of a similar change which forbids a judge in his charge to recapitulate the testimony, unless expressly requested to do so by the jury, and obliges him to confine his statements exclusively to such matters of law, as he shall think necessary for their information in giving their verdict.

The code concludes with a third book, containing forms for all the proceedings directed or authorized by its preceding parts. In framing them, which has been evidently done with much care, Mr. Livingston's object appears to have been to unite brevity with so much certainty and precision, as will secure the party from any possibility of mistaking the precise fact of which he is accused. To attain this end is certainly to close the door against one of the greatest evils of criminal jurisprudence.

III. The *Code of Evidence* begins, as do those that precede it, by an introductory title, laying down rules and making explanations, to avoid circumlocution, and to give the perspicuity necessary to a full understanding of the subsequent provisions. Among these are two articles, intended to secure the advantages to be derived from the wisdom of the judges in the suggestion of defects proved by experience, without incurring the fault, into which the same intention has repeatedly led, of transferring to the judiciary, powers exclusively legislative. The first of these articles directs the court to make a report to the legislature, whenever any provision of the code, for the admission or exclusion of evidence, is found to operate improperly, either to the prejudice of the accused or to the ends of public justice. By these means, instead of judicial decisions, of doubtful authority, interspersed through voluminous reports, a positive law, briefly expressed, may be introduced regularly into the code by the legislative power. The other article provides a similar remedy for omissions, instead of leaving them to be supplied by the discretion of the courts. These provisions, novel in themselves, establish principles highly important to be introduced into every written code; they counteract the most forcible objection that can be made to the system, without calling in the inappropriate exercise of legislative discretion by the judiciary; they offer the greatest facility for discovering imperfections, and bringing them to the notice of the legislature; and they check at once the injurious operation of any rule discovered by experience to be bad.

The two books into which this code is divided embrace, first, the nature and kinds of evidence; secondly, the rules to be applied, when the different kinds are offered in proof.

In the first book, evidence is defined to be that which brings, or contributes to bring, the mind to a just conviction

of the truth or falsehood of the fact asserted or denied. When applied to the determination of litigated rights, it is necessarily restricted to what is declared by the written law sufficient to produce that just conviction, in a greater or less degree. This necessarily divides evidence into two great classes; that which the power called on to judge has from its own knowledge, and that which it derives from extrinsic sources. The first class has no subdivision. The second is of course of various degrees, whether considered in regard to its source or its weight. Its source may be personal communication, written instruments, or natural objects, making it testimonial, scriptory, or substantive. Its weight ascends from mere induction to complete proof, and is presumptive, direct, or conclusive.

In prescribing the rules applicable to these several kinds of evidence, which is the object of the second book of the code, that embraced in the first subdivision, as derived from the knowledge of the judge himself, is properly confined within very narrow limits. He can never act merely on his own knowledge of a fact, except where expressly authorized to do so. Instances of this authority are found in his power to pronounce on the authenticity of a record, to commit for an offence in his presence, to remove for a disturbance in court, and to employ the military in aid of the civil power. But where he knows a material fact not thus designated, he must be examined as any other witness; and, if a juror is similarly situated, his testimony must be given to his fellows in the same judicial manner.

In establishing the rules of extraneous evidence, Mr. Livingston has introduced some new principles in regard to such as is testimonial, or derived from personal communication.

"The whole machinery of jurisprudence," he remarks, "in all its branches, is contrived for the purpose of enabling the judging power to determine on the truth or falsehood of every litigated proposition. This is to be done by hearing and examining evidence; that is to say, hearing and examining every thing that will contribute to bring the mind to the determination required. If we refuse to hear what will, in any degree, produce this effect, we must determine on imperfect evidence; and in proportion to the importance of the matter thus refused to be heard, must evidently be the chance of making an incorrect rather than a just determination. But, as in morals we are for-

bidden to do evil that good may come of it, so in legislation, we should refrain from doing that kind of good which may produce more than its equivalent in evil. The desirable end to be attained by the admission of every species of evidence, may be more than counterbalanced, in some instances, by the evil attending it; sometimes, in the shape of inconvenience and expense inseparable from its procurement; sometimes, from the danger of error arising from the deceptive nature of the evidence itself. The great art is to weigh these difficulties, and in those cases where they are most likely to preponderate, but in no others, to exclude the evidence."

The circumstances which are generally understood to cause exclusion, are interest, connexion in marriage, infamy, the relation of an attorney to his client, that of a Catholic to his confessor, and disbelief in a future state of rewards and punishments. In the remarks on the code of procedure, the extent to which a criminal may be allowed to testify in his own case, has been noticed; the basis of his admission and exclusion being simply the consideration of what is most likely to be effective in establishing his innocence or guilt. This consideration is applied in this code to the evidence of one, who, although not a party, may have an interest in the result of the judicial proceeding, — an eventual gain or loss that may be estimated by money; and it has led to the abolition of such disqualification, although the fact of interest in the witness is to be fully made known, that it may lessen according to its degree the credit to be given him. To exclude entirely an interested witness involves the double assumption, that his interest will outweigh his conscience and fears of detection and punishment, and that the judge or jury will believe the falsehood he asserts, although his interest is known. These assumptions are founded neither in probability nor reason, and, on that account alone, would authorize the rejection of the antiquated rule. But, even if they were well founded, it would be certainly unwise, merely on account of them, to exclude the testimony of interested witnesses from whom the truth may fairly be expected. The only sound rule is the obvious one. The judges of the facts are the true judges of the credit of the witness; they know his interest and his bias; let them hear him; let them say whether his interest is such as to destroy his credit; let them form, with full knowledge of the particular case, that opinion which the positive rule of

exclusion obliges legislators to form in advance, and entirely without such knowledge.

If the search for truth does not require that an interested person, nor even a party himself, should be excluded from giving testimony, neither does it make connexion in marriage a cause for rejecting a witness. If it be admitted, as it will be that every one has a right to all the information necessary to the discovery of truth, unless deprived of it for reasons of great public or private convenience, then it must be proved that such inconvenience arises from a husband or wife being examined in regard to each other. To establish this is manifestly impossible. To say that there is danger of domestic dissension or of perjury is to give a reason not more strong, than might be offered for the exclusion of vast numbers of witnesses ; while, on the other hand, such testimony often is undoubtedly the best which an accused person can offer in his own behalf. The feelings produced by such a tie are known to those to whom the evidence is submitted ; they will be weighed in the credit which it receives ; to say they are sufficient to close peremptorily such an avenue for truth, is indeed strangely to distrust the intelligence and honesty of the judge.

Mr. Livingston considers that in the relations of attorney and client, and Catholic and confessor, there are reasons sufficient to justify the exclusion of their testimony in regard to facts communicated or discovered by means of those relations. The circumstances, under which the knowledge is obtained, would make the disclosure an invasion of the rights of personal liberty and conscience. The law besides would be useless, if it could be executed ; because, in that case, as it would destroy both confidence and confession, nothing would be disclosed.

Exclusion on the ground of infamy is not admitted in the code. Such a disqualification is less reasonable than that of interest. There, a motive may exist for stating a falsehood in preference to a truth. Here, there is no such motive. The only reason is the depravity of the witness. This may affect his credit ; but to deprive a person accused of the entire benefit of his testimony, when sufficient or necessary for an acquittal ; to permit a heinous offence to pass unpunished, when the facts are known only to him ; are perversions of

every principle that ought to regulate the admission of evidence.

The doctrine which makes a witness's belief in a future state of rewards and punishments a condition of his competency, Mr. Livingston considers as improperly making the fidelity of statement to depend solely on religious belief. While he owns that such a belief is an additional motive and guaranty for the truth of a witness, he maintains that there are reproaches of conscience in this life ; a moral sense, disclosing the utility and beauty of truth ; sentiments of manly honor ; a disdain of falsehood ; a dread of society ; a fear of punishment, which are also motives and strong motives ; and that, although they might and undoubtedly would be strengthened by the impressions of religion, they are yet in themselves sufficient to justify us in believing, that they alone would induce a witness to prefer truth to falsehood. The want of that additional inducement might lessen the credit of a witness, among the pious and the good, but he conceives that it would not of itself, among the thinking or the charitable, produce a total disbelief of all he might declare.

Allowing, therefore, no exceptions to the admission of testimonial evidence, except the two we have mentioned, together with insanity and immature infancy, the code proceeds to regulate the manner in which it is to be received. Here a boundless field of debatable ground is presented by a provision, that, with the exception of such as suggest facts to the witness, all interrogatories pertinent to the case, may be put and must be answered ; and a short section declares, that in written examinations the rules for receiving oral declarations shall be followed.

Scriptory evidence, which includes all kinds of written proof, except the examination of witnesses reduced to writing, is of two kinds ; authenticated and unauthenticated. The former consists of public instruments duly attested in a prescribed form, such as legislative acts, those of public officers in executing their official duties, and records of courts or of government. The latter consists of private instruments, either attested by the signature of the party whose act it purports to be, or not attested, from accident or from its natural character.

Substantive evidence is so simple and limited in its nature, that it is only necessary to prescribe such rules as require

additional proof to show its application to the principal case. Thus a bloody dagger is substantive and striking evidence; but it fails of its weight, unless it be proved that it was in the hand of the accused, before or after the time a homicide was perpetrated.

From considering evidence in relation to its source, the code proceeds to ascertain the degree of weight it is entitled to, when presumptive, direct, or conclusive. It may be objected, that, the conviction of truth being an intellectual operation, the degree to which evidence is to operate cannot be prescribed; and that this division, however convenient in developing the nature and theory of evidence, is not necessary in fixing rules for its admission. It must be allowed, however, that uniformity in judicial decisions is a highly desirable object, and that, in similar circumstances, the same deductions ought to be made from the same facts. This can only be done by requiring the judicial decree to be rendered in conformity with the established rule, whenever the evidence considered by it to be sufficient is produced. To establish that rule by positive legal provisions is, therefore, infinitely better, than leaving it to usage or precedent.

Presumptive evidence may result from circumstances proved, by the mere operation of the mind, or be drawn from them by express direction of law. Its effect, whether simple or legal, is to establish a proposition, until the contrary is directly shown, or it is rendered doubtful by other presumptions. The circumstances from which it arises must be proved by legal testimony, and the deductions must be such as are warranted by the usual propensities of mankind, the habits or passions of the individual, or the ordinary course of business and human events.

Direct evidence, if true, indisputably establishes a proposition. The declaration of a witness that he saw the act in controversy done, is direct evidence; for, if the declaration be true, nothing more is necessary to establish the commission of the criminal act; no deduction need be made from the fact that is proved, as in the case of presumptive evidence.

Conclusive evidence proceeds a step farther. It is that which the law declares to be absolutely sufficient, without requiring the judge to draw any inference from the fact, and the reality of the fact alleged is undoubted. The confession of the accused is not admitted to be conclusive, because its

truth is not of necessity undoubted; insanity, promises, fear, hope of liberty or pardon, may produce a confession contrary to fact; and, therefore, although it is direct evidence, it becomes not conclusive till its truth is absolutely established. Proof that an absentee was born one hundred years before, is only presumptive evidence of his death, because, though it be the general course of nature for men to die before that age, yet it is not invariable; but proof that he was born two hundred years ago is conclusive evidence, because no instance has been known of human life extended beyond that period.

IV. The *Code of Reform and Prison Discipline* contains those provisions without which the peculiar benefits anticipated from the whole system must be lost. Superseding, as we have seen it does, the use of penalties on which reliance has heretofore been placed, its whole efficacy must depend on the manner in which confinement is made to answer the ends of punishment. The place of confinement, therefore, its arrangements and interior regulation, and the treatment and discipline to which prisoners are to be subjected, when confined within it, form the natural divisions of this code.

The first book accordingly treats of places of confinement, their construction and officers. These places naturally divide themselves into the two great classes, appropriated for the reception of persons charged with offences, and the punishment of convicted offenders. The former is called a House of Detention; the latter a Penitentiary, or School of Reform, according to the age of the convict and the character of his crime.

The House of Detention is to be so constructed, as to keep in four divisions, each division entirely separate from the others, the prisoners comprehended in the following classes. First, male persons detained as witnesses; those confined for misdemeanors, disturbance of a court, breach of recognizance and non-payment of a fine; and those sentenced to simple imprisonment. Second, female prisoners of the same descriptions. Third, male persons regularly committed on an accusation of crime. Fourth, female prisoners of the same description. The confinement of those persons in the first and second classes who have been sentenced to imprisonment, and of every one embraced in the third and fourth classes is to be solitary; but there are to be two enclosed yards, the one for the male, the other for the female prisoners, where

they may take exercise and pursue such employment as is permitted.

The Penitentiary and School of Reform are for the confinement of all those convicted of crime ; the former containing such convicts as have attained the age of eighteen at the time of conviction ; the latter such as are under that age, to whom may be added other youthful offenders and vagrants specially included by law. The Penitentiary is to contain a cell with an enclosed court for every convict, a machine so disposed that a convenient number of prisoners may work at it separated from each other by a wall, school-rooms, an infirmary, and all buildings necessary for safely keeping and preserving the health of the prisoners. The House of Detention has separate divisions for the sexes, a separate dormitory for each prisoner, courts and rooms for their employment, school-rooms, and an infirmary.

The officers of these places are not only the wardens and keepers necessarily employed, but there are also chaplains, teachers, matrons, and physicians, whose duties, strictly specified by the code, embrace the religious instruction and the constant education of those detained, the preservation of their health, and the enforcement of continual industry. To see that these duties are adequately performed, a board of five inspectors is appointed by the highest authority of the State, who, together with the governor, the presidents of both houses of the legislature, the judges of the supreme court, and other distinguished functionaries, are directed constantly to visit the different places of confinement, to prevent all oppression, peculation, and abuse, in the management of them, and to make frequent periodical reports to the legislature. Their duties in all these respects are strictly prescribed by the code; they are allowed an adequate compensation ; and their feelings, character, and honor are thus enlisted in the strict maintenance of the institution, on the plan framed by the authority from whom they receive their trust.

The second book of this code contains the provisions for the treatment of prisoners in the several places of confinement. It has been already seen from the plan of their construction, as well as from the penalties prescribed by the code of crimes and punishments, that a proper classification and separation in a few cases, and entire solitude in nearly all, are laid down as the fundamental principles of reform and prison discipline.

Nothing perhaps is more universally admitted than the danger of vicious association ; yet in no respect has the discipline of prisons been more defective, than in confounding together all who are involved in the various, different stages of criminal procedure. After condemnation, there can be no association but of the guilty with the guilty ; in preliminary imprisonment, guilt must be associated with innocence. He who is confined as a witness, for a misdemeanor, or on suspicion, leaves the den, where he was imprisoned, with tainted morals, depraved habits, and excited passions, which are certain to lead him back to the abode of infamy, where they were first acquired or infinitely augmented. The provisions of the code, applicable to this subject, are the more important, because, while there has been much legislation on the subject of solitary imprisonment, as a punishment after conviction, few efficient steps have anywhere been taken to prevent the demoralizing consequences attending indiscriminate association before trial, and for offences which amount not to crime.

Persons whose liberty, for the good of society, must be restrained, are either those upon whom imprisonment is impósed merely to secure their appearance when the purposes of justice require it, or those upon whom it is inflicted as a punishment. The detention of those of the first description, to be just, must be accompanied with no unnecessary privation ; it is therefore provided, that they shall be in all respects comfortably attended to, allowed the visits of their families and friends, supplied with books, and receive the proceeds of such labor as they may choose to engage in. Persons who are accused of offences, punishable when proved by a comparatively light penalty, ought not to be treated with that rigor of confinement which is necessary to secure those charged with crime. The degrees of this rigor, are therefore distinctly laid down in the code ; the danger of guilty associations is prevented ; those comparatively innocent are separated from such as are probably guilty ; those accused of offences implying no great moral turpitude, from the depraved in mind and manners ; the young from the old offender. Classification and separation are provided for before trial, with the same care as after conviction.

The rules which regulate the imprisonment of the convict, when it comes to be treated in a double capacity, as a punishment and means of reform, are made to refer to the various

degrees of simple imprisonment, imprisonment at hard labor, and solitary confinement at certain intervals ; which were the penalties designated in the Code of Crimes and Punishments. Precise provisions are prescribed, to prevent oppression on the one hand, and on the other strictly to enforce the execution of the sentence ; nothing is left to the discretion of turnkeys or keepers, to be varied according to their caprice or the means a criminal may have of purchasing their favor; the qualifications required of these officers are pointed out, as a guide to the selecting power, and a lesson to him who is chosen, so that the one may not commit the fatal error of underrating the talents necessary for the employment, and the other may feel its dignity and responsibility ; the punishment, once ordered, can neither be aggravated nor alleviated by a ministerial officer. When labor is added to confinement, the convict is made to rise at the dawn of day and to continue at work until half an hour before sunset, except during the intervals of meals and attendance on a teacher ; perseverance, accompanied with obedience, moral conduct, and a desire to reform, bring to the prisoner proportionate and increasing advantages of a better diet, permission to read books of instruction, the privilege of visits from relations and friends, and ultimately a part of the proceeds of his industry. Solitary confinement, without labor and in entire seclusion, varies as to duration according to the enormity of the crime ; those convicted of murder, without any aggravating circumstances, are deprived of labor for two consecutive months every year, while, in the case of the infanticide and the assassin, this is extended to three and to six months ; none of them have any communication with persons out of the prison, except the inspectors, and they are considered dead to the rest of the world.

It seems to be equally consistent with humanity and sound reason, that the severity of these punishments should be tempered, or at least the mode of applying them should be varied, in the instance of a youthful criminal. When a child of tender age commits an offence, he probably acts under the influence of those passions which nature has given him, while she has not yet conferred that discretion which teaches him to control them. He is, perhaps, without parental or friendly advisers, and knows neither the duties nor penalties of the law. In such a case, if crime has been committed, it is but just to

seek to remove its cause, by the milder method of instruction and useful employment. Instead, therefore, of being consigned to a penitentiary, the criminal under eighteen is sentenced to the School of Reform, the details for the government of which are minutely laid down. Occasional solitude, constant instruction, labor in the different mechanic arts, with mild but certain punishment for the bad, and marks of distinction for those who improve, form the outlines of this excellent branch of prison discipline; and contribute all that can be devised, to rescue the young from a headlong course leading them to ruin and aggravated crime.

To these two books, which, properly speaking, embrace all the branches of a code of reform and prison discipline, Mr. Livingston has added a third, for the purpose of establishing an institution connected with it in its general features, and certainly of great importance in a complete system of police. This he denominates a House of Refuge and Industry. Its object is not the punishment of crime; it is intended to afford the means of employment, voluntary for those able and willing to labor, and coercive on those who, although able, prefer a life of idleness, mendicity, or vice. Implements and necessary materials are provided for the poor, habits of economy and industry are taught, good but plain food is supplied, the vicious not yet convicted of crime are reclaimed, and the unfortunate are protected and relieved. To one unhappy class, who are expressly entitled to admission, that of discharged convicts, such a refuge is invaluable.

"Here," in the language of Mr. Livingston, "he may find employment and subsistence, and receive such wages as will enable him to remove from the scenes of his past crimes, place him above temptation, confirm him in his newly acquired habits of industry, and cause him safely to pass the dangerous and trying period between the acquisition of his liberty and restoration to the confidence of society. The cause, the temptation, or the excuse for relapse, being thus removed, it is hoped that instances of return to vicious pursuits will become more rare, and that many will become useful members of society, who, under the present system, either burden it by their poverty, or prey upon it by their crimes. The House of Refuge is rendered the more necessary, because a man of prudence will no more receive or employ a convict discharged from one of our present penitentiaries, than he would shut up with his flock a wild beast escaped from its keepers; but, the reformatory plan once fairly in operation, its principles studied, developed, steadily adhered to, im-

proved by the light of experience, and its beneficial effects upon morals perceived, the man who has undergone its purifying operation will, in time, be no longer regarded with fear or contempt, and society, by confiding in his reformation, will permit him to be honest."

V. There only remains what may be considered rather as an appendix, than a portion of the System of Penal Law, the *Book of Definitions.* This is added, in order to render the system both explicit and concise. The employment of technical terms, though never used where common expressions sufficiently definite are to be found, is in many instances unavoidable. In all such cases, and whenever words or phrases are either ambiguous or employed in any other sense, than that given them in common parlance, they are defined and explained in this supplementary book.

These remarks complete the analysis of the System of Penal Law, prepared by Mr. Livingston for the State of Louisiana. It has been less the object of them to offer a criticism upon its various provisions, than to condense and present them in a complete and single point of view. It would have been a task comparatively easy to examine particular portions more in detail; some of the views, which we have passed hastily over, might, perhaps, have been partially controverted, others were susceptible of far more illustration and praise than has been bestowed. But the work is one every way worthy of the deep consideration of all communities, not partially but as a whole; not merely for the provisions it establishes in regard to one offence or another, but for the wise, the liberal, the charitable manner in which it travels over and embraces those rights and duties, the most sacred, that belong to and devolve upon each member of the human family. Taken as a single and complete work, it is the production of a mind at once prepared, by long practice in the study and profession of the law, to treat it with all the lights and aids of science, and imbued with that humane and comprehensive spirit, which is necessary to reform what is rooted in general habit and prejudice, and to systematize and reduce what has been diffused by circumstances and time. It has already fixed upon Mr. Livingston the attention of the most intelligent statesmen and purest philanthropists in other countries, and enrolled his name in those high places which are assigned to general benefactors of mankind.

ART. II. — 1. *Das Griechische Volk in öffentlicher, kirchlicher und privatrechtlicher Beziehung, vor und nach dem Freiheitskampfe bis zum* 31 *July*, 1834. Von G. L. MAURER. 3 Bde. 8vo. 1835.

2. *History of Modern Greece.* By JAMES EMERSON. 2 Vols. 8vo. London. 1830.

3. *Cours de Littérature Grecque Moderne, donnée à Genève par* JACOVAKY RIZO NÉROULOS, ancien Premier Ministre des Hospodars Grecs de Valachie et de Moldavie. Genève. 1828.

THE comparatively slight interest, which in recent years the affairs of Greece have excited in the civilized world, after having for nearly a lustrum absorbed the sympathy of the best portion of the public, can hardly surprise us. It is natural to man, that only the moment of effort and action awakens the highest interest; he, who has reached his object, has lost our sympathy. The enthusiasm with which the victor in a race is hailed, though ever so loud and boisterous, is only a lukewarm feeling, compared with the intense and breathless anxiety with which we follow his course and anticipate its undecided result. The ship we see from the shore, struggling with the waves, calls forth all our sympathy; while our eyes glance indifferently over the mass of vessels in the secure port, although the crippled condition of more than one of them may tell us the story of similar, and perhaps heavier struggles.

The picture, which Greece at present affords to the beholder, is indeed not dissimilar to such a ship. The wounds are still bleeding, which, at the moment we saw them inflicted, made our hearts tremble. The whole body of the valiant warrior, who not only has to cure these honorable wounds, but who has, and we fear long will have to suffer from the after-pains of a long and ignominious imprisonment, is still far from being healed; yet our attention has been turned to other objects, as soon as we thought the patient in a fair way of recovery. Greece as it is, can indeed excite our interest solely either in respect to what it has been, or what it hereafter will be. In its present state we strive in vain to find one satisfactory feature.

Both in a moral and in an intellectual point of view, we still see the whole nation, partly in that state of vicious corruption, the unavoidable result of its long degradation; partly in that first stage of infancy, from which only time can release it. Time also only can inform us, what results will follow from all that is new in that country. Legislation, administration, institutions for education,—every thing is *new* in the whole extent of the word; that is, not grown up out of the former condition of the country, but founded on principles foreign and incomprehensible to the mass of the nation, and carried over to it from other communities.

The only subject, which, in this great revolution of all things, has not itself experienced any revolution, is the literature of the modern Greeks. Nay, so far is this literature from having received any important influence from the shock which moved and turned all other affairs, that it is partly its very progress and influence to which this shock is ascribed. Be this as it may, the literature of modern Greece, although itself very modern as compared with that of most other European nations, yet appears in the present state of that country, with the exception of her religion, as the oldest of her institutions. And should it not excite our interest at least in this, if not in any other respect?

The origin of the Romaic or modern Greek tongue, as a *literary* language, the Greek literary historian, Rizo Néroulos,* dates from the beginning of the last century. Until that time, the learned wrote without exception in the ancient Greek language, which, however corrupted and estranged from its classic purity, was at least very different from the vernacular tongue of the country. The same writer divides the history of modern Greek Literature into three periods; namely, from 1700 to 1750; from 1750 to 1800; and from 1800 to 1821, or the beginning of the revolution. A short and general view of the different character of these periods will suffice for our purpose, and must for the present satisfy our readers, whom we would refer for farther information to the work itself.

The first period must indeed be regarded, merely as an introductory one. Most of the gifted men continued to write in the ancient language. Alexander Maurocor-

* For some account of Rizo, with a specimen of his poetry, see Vol. XXIX. p. 357.

dato was an exception, and his example exerted gradually a considerable influence on others, and the more, as he was one of the first Greeks who acquired any political weight among the Turks. He wrote a Grammar, a system of Rhetoric, and several other useful books. But he rendered a far greater service to his nation, by obtaining permission from the government to establish schools in the different towns of Greece. The son of the same individual was the first Greek Hospodar of Wallachia. Before him, no member of this subjugated nation had ever been raised to a similar dignity.

The second period carried the higher classes of the Greek nation (not the common people) forward with giant steps in their progress. By far the greater portion of the productions of this period consisted indeed only of translations, especially from the French. But mental cultivation began to be of value in the eyes of the nation; by Prince Mourouzi's influence on Selim the Third, the schools were multiplied and enlarged; and even various colleges were founded for the higher branches of learning. Towards the end of this period, many young Greeks began to visit foreign and especially German universities; and the result of it was, that even the philosophy of Kant was lectured upon in Janina. There were among the better classes not a few signs of high intellectual improvement. At the beginning of this period, the names of Samuel, the learned Patriarch of Constantinople, of prince Caradza, of Theodoki, of Bulgaris, were mentioned with esteem; towards the end, those of Philippides, Psalidas, Benjamin, and others, were well known. The most celebrated name of this period, however, is that of the unfortunate and patriotic Rhiga. A Thessalian by birth, he had already made himself known among the more learned of his countrymen as the author of a work on natural philosophy, of a map of Greece, etc., before his patriotic songs made him the favorite of the whole nation.

The few years of the third period, which Rizo closes with the year 1821, (for what influence the revolution and the regeneration of Greece will have on her literature only coming years can tell,) did more for the mental developement of the Greek nation, and diffused more light among the people, than the whole previous century of a slowly dawning morn. Commerce was never so flourishing. Trav-

elling in foreign countries became more and more frequent; and the number of Greek students in foreign universities increased. In comparing themselves with others, the Greeks became more powerfully affected with the feeling of their own degradation. They turned their attention more closely to the relics of their ancient glory, the writings of their classic forefathers. Their present language began to be the object of their care; and a noble national feeling became universal, that all mental acquirements, and the revival of science, in order to be lasting, could only be safely founded on their country's deliverance.

The most distinguished name of this period is that of the well known Corais; a man equally esteemed as a scholar and a patriot, and who, as a writer, has exercised more influence than any other of his countrymen. His influence on the language is at present generally acknowledged. After many struggles with the champions of the modern language in all its corruptions, and with their adversaries, the indiscriminate advocates of the classic system, the middle way, adopted by Corais, seems to be universally chosen, namely, to enrich the language of the present generation from the treasures of the ancients, but without disturbing its basis; and to dismiss, as far as possible, the host of Germanisms and Gallicisms, introduced by the prevalence of translations.

Among the writers of this period, the balance of talent seems to incline decidedly to History and its kindred topics. Many historical works were translated from foreign languages, and some original works of the same kind were written by J. Paliuris, Rizo Néroulos, Mustoxidi, Athanasius Ypsilanti, and others. A history of Souli and Parga, by Perevos, was highly prized by Niebuhr. As a poet, in the manner of the graceful Teian bard, Christopulo is highly esteemed; Solomo of Zante, Kalbo, Sakellarios, and others, are also well known disciples of the muses. But with the exception of History and Poetry, Greece has hardly produced one original work of any importance. And although it is said, that during the last fifty years more than three thousand works have been published in the Romaic language, yet the whole modern Greek literature must still be considered as a literature of translations. A few names of original merit can here be of no avail; and, indeed, even most of these are

only distinguished as imitators of foreign originality. Thus, then, we may say, without being accused of harshness or rashness, that the modern Greek literature, notwithstanding the greater number of years during which it has existed, is still in an infancy analogous to that of the other institutions of Greece.

There is only one point of view, only one branch of literature (if we may consider it as belonging to literature), in which the modern Greeks appear as perfectly original, and as deserving the highest interest of thinking foreigners. We allude to their *Popular Poetry.*

The merit of having made the literary world acquainted with the remarkable Romaic popular songs, in an extent to enable us to judge of their character, belongs to the learned Frenchman, Fauriel. Various specimens had been printed before, scattered in books of travels and periodicals ; but mostly deficient in respect to translation, and too isolated to furnish a view of the whole.

It is well known, that the modern Greeks belong to neither of the three great families of nations, by which Europe is principally inhabited. They stand apart ; and we should try in vain to find in their mental features a family resemblance to any of the other nations of Europe. Their beautiful language has been gradually transformed by the influence of the Turkish and the Italian tongues ; but their popular poetry has no resemblance to that of either of these nations. The only people with whom a strong *internal* affinity connects them in this respect, are the Servians. We shall find an opportunity, in the course of these remarks, to compare the character of their respective productions.

M. Fauriel made his collection under very favorable circumstances. His acquaintance with several native Greeks at Paris, whose attention had been previously directed to the same subject, enabled him to choose with critical taste among several copies of the same songs, with which they furnished him, what appeared to him the most genuine. Many other contributions he received from Greece itself, when his undertaking became known there ; and, before his second volume was published, a journey to Venice and Trieste gave him the desired opportunity of himself taking down other songs from the lips of Greek mechanics,

sailors, women of the lower classes, etc. His publication was accompanied by a literal French translation in prose, and a very valuable explanatory introduction. Immediately after its appearance, these wonderful songs found also a German translator in W. Muller, one of the ablest young poets and critics of the time. The copiousness and pliancy of the German language enabled him to exhibit in a poetical and metrical translation all the fidelity of the French prose version, at the same time strictly giving verse for verse. On his notes and additions, and the introduction of the French editor, our historical remarks will be principally founded.

In respect to locality, two general divisions may be made in the modern Greek songs, namely, the songs of the mountains, and the songs of the coasts and the islands. The first, not always indeed composed by mountaineers, but even when made in the cities, for instance in Janina, calculated to please the inhabitants of the mountains, — are for the most part historical, and indeed mostly devoted to the achievements of the *klephts* or robbers ; but ideal subjects also are not foreign to the mountain bards, and we find that some of the most beautiful and original among the romantic ballads had their origin in the mountains. In their form the mountain songs are mostly rougher, and composed with less skill, than those of the coasts and the islands.

These latter were, indeed, the only portion of Romaic popular poetry, which, with the exception of some isolated specimens of Klephtic songs, was known to the public, before the appearance of Fauriel's collection. They were the only ones which travellers, who seldom penetrated into the interior, and still more rarely into the mountains on which those heroic songs reëchoed, had ever occasion to hear and to note down. Mr. Hobhouse mentions repeatedly the general fondness of the nation for song and poetry. "The modern Greeks," he observes,* "delight in poetry, and very many amongst them evince a great facility in versification. There is an infinite variety of love and drinking songs, some of which are common in every part of Greece ; whilst other pieces of poetry are known only in the town or village of their author. A young man

* In his "Journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey in 1813."

of any spirit, who has been ill-treated by his mistress, anathematized by his priest, or beaten by a Turk, seldom fails to revenge himself by a lampoon."

"The accentual quantity," the same author continues, "which seems to have taken place of the syllabic so early as the eleventh century, is alone observed in all the metres. Of these there is a variety; but the most common is the fifteen-syllable verse, of the kind before quoted. Some lively expressions and agreeable turns of thought may be discovered in many of these effusions, which however have more of the Oriental profusion of images, then of the Greek simplicity; and, although by no means deficient in the tender and pathetic style, have nothing of the vigorous and sublime of ancient poetry. There may be persons willing to except from this criticism two or three patriotic songs of a late date."

"Their amatory pieces, in which they chiefly delight, speak that which some critics would call the very language of love. These are exceedingly extravagant, abounding in metaphors, similes, personifications, abrupt exclamations, and not unfrequently with the conceits, rather than the licensed figures of poetical rhetoric; ardent, wild, and unconnected, with more poetry than sense, and more passion than poetry. Acrostics, and even those echo-verses which an inimitable author of our own nation has parodied and ridiculed, are much employed in their romances; in short, there is hardly a single evidence of what is generally supposed a vitiated and paltry taste, which is not discoverable in the poetical composition of the modern Greeks. Their *katsakias*, or alternate verses, which are composed and sung apparently extemporaneously, but are in fact traditional, display a singular talent for versification and are of the same cast."*

Although most of the above remarks refer chiefly to the poetry of literature, with which this distinguished traveller was probably better acquainted than with the genuine popular poetry of a region where his stay was only short; they may, nevertheless, be applied even to the taste and propensities of the modern Greek poets in general; of those, we mean, who, partly acquainted with the productions of other nations, and especially the Italian and the Oriental races, do not exclusively draw from the living sources of

* Ibid. 4to. Lond. p. 577 seq.

their own minds. The abovementioned mountain songs will be found much purer; although even these, as we shall have occasion to state more at large, are not free from a certain Oriental pomposity.

The line of distinction between the poetry of literature and popular poetry would be drawn here, moreover, with greater difficulty than anywhere else. The last two periods of the national literature have produced many imitations of the French and Germans, and many paraphrases of the ancients, totally foreign to the popular taste. There are also, besides these, undoubtedly a multitude of lyrics composed by educated poets, which are not known to the people, nor ever will be known to them. But the great mass of the poets, to whatever class they may belong, have hitherto adhered faithfully to the peculiar national taste, described above by Mr. Hobhouse. The *katsakias* especially, or distichs, of which we shall further speak, are composed by poets of all classes, high and low, educated and uneducated.

On the other hand, some of the productions of a few distinguished men are to be considered as genuine *popular* poetry; for instance, the war song of the unfortunate Rhiga, familiar to the English reading public in the twofold translation of Hobhouse and Byron. This, however, is the case with almost every nation; since almost every nation can exhibit one or another poet, who, although himself perhaps the best among the better portion of the whole, and the most enlightened among the enlightened, has still in such a degree preserved his heart and mind in unison with the great mass of the nation, as to be able to touch exactly the cord, the tone of which will move their sympathies, and arouse their feelings.

Our chief, nay, exclusive object, is that species of popular poetry, which is not only known, but also *produced* by the people. Requesting the reader to keep this distinction in mind, we proceed with our remarks.

The poetry produced on the Greek coasts, and on the islands, is frequently, but not always, in rhyme. The ballads are comparatively poor in historical interest. Most of their subjects are fictitious, and lyric songs are more frequent. Quite peculiar to these regions are the abovementioned Katsakias, viz; a species of short songs in dis-

tichs, which remind us in some measure of the Spanish *seguidillas ;* although they have no reference to dancing. Like them they are rather epigrammatic sallies, than expressions of feelings ; jests and sighs of a sort of love, of which the imagination knows more than the heart. They are mostly extemporized, and are not commonly worth writing down. As we do not intend to return hereafter to this subject, we give a few of them here as specimens. By a happy accident the rhyme offered itself so readily, as not to impair the fidelity of the translation. These trifles may serve at the same time as specimens of the language.

I.

Φεγγάρι μου λαμπρότατον, ζηλεύει σ᾽ ἡ καρδιά μου,
Γιατὶ θωρεῖς τὸν ἀγαπῶ, κ᾽ ἐμένα ᾽ναι μακρυά μου.

"O thou fair moon, so wondrous bright, my heart it envies thee,
That thou canst see him whom I love, and he is far from me.

II.

Ὅσ᾽ ἄστρα ᾽ναι ᾽ς τὸν οὐρανὸν, τόσα σπαθιὰ, κυρά μου,
᾽Ανίσως καὶ δὲν σ᾽ ἀγαπῶ, νὰ ἔμβουν ᾽ς τὴν καρδιά μου.

"How many stars, O mistress mine, are in the sky above me,
So many dirks shall pierce my heart, if that I do not love thee.

III.

Κόψε κλωνὶ βασιλικὸν, καὶ μέτρησε τὰ φύλλα·
Κ᾽ ἐμέτρησες καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ποῦ μὲ παιδεύεις, σκύλλα.

"Pluck of basilicum a branch, and number all its leaves,
Then numberest thou the days my heart, by thee tormented, grieves."

M. Pouqueville, and after him Mr. Hobhouse, have communicated several of these verses together, as a connected song.

"If all the ocean were of ink, and paper all the skies,
Should I attempt to write my woes, they never would suffice.

You hope when you deny me thus, to make me wan with woe;
But I, thy passion to provoke, like violets fair will grow.

My lofty cypress, hear me speak, and bend thy head so high;
Two words alone I ask, and then will be content to die." *

It may be, that these verses are sung sometimes together ; but it is certain that there is no necessary connexion between

* A Journey through Albania, &c., p. 1091. — Lond. edit.

them. In Fauriel's collection the same verses are printed as separate distichs; and very few of this species of songs exceed the number of two, or, if subdivided in the manner of most nations, of four lines. In respect to the thought expressed in the first of the above lines, viz. "If all the ocean were of ink," &c., we were again struck with this instance of the general affinity of popular ideas among different nations, to which we had occasion to allude in a previous Number of this work.* The same idea is expressed in a short Servian ballad in the following way. Two lovers, under the image of two flowers, raised in one garden and in one bed, are separated. The lover asks his love, how she bears her solitude. She sends word to him;

"If the skies, they were one sheet of paper,
And the forest pens, and ink the ocean,
And three years I sat and wrote a letter,
Not could I write out my cruel sufferings."

Still more hyperbolically the same thought is paraphrased in a German popular song; or rather, is repeated with slight variations, in several popular songs of that nation.

"And if the sky were a paper sheet,
And every star a writer fleet,
And each one wrote with seven hands,
They could not write of my love the end." †

Various other instances might be adduced, if not of precisely the same, yet of very nearly the same idea, as being popular among other nations. But we return from our digression.

In respect to character, the Romaic songs are subject to a threefold division. They are either *domestic*, or *historical*, or *fictitious*. Under domestic songs we include those, which are composed for certain occasions, and are chaunted at weddings, on certain holydays, solemn partings, and the like. In reference to this species of songs, it will be found, that they are in general of more interest in respect to morals and manners, than to poetry. The Greek wedding-songs, like the

* N. A. Review, Vol. XLII. p. 267 seq.

† The original is of peculiar *naïveté*, inimitable by any translation;

"Und wenn der Himmel papieren wär',
Und jedes Sternle a Schreiberle wär',
Und schrieb a jeder mit sieben Händ,
Se schriebe doch meiner Lieb kei End."

Slavic, have moreover too close a connexion with the ceremonies themselves, to be detached from them. The same is the case with the festival songs, devoted to St. Basil's or New-year's day, and the first of March as the beginning of spring. All Greece resounds on this day with "The lay of the Swallow," a delicate and *naïve* song, lovely like the first breathing of approaching Spring.

There is a certain class of parting-songs, peculiar to Greece. Commerce and necessity induce the Greek to leave his beautiful country; but, notwithstanding the numerous privations to which he must submit at home, and the various ill-treatment to which he was exposed during the many centuries of Turkish oppression, it is seldom his free choice that calls him away. The popular language designates foreign countries by the term ξένος, *the desert*. The pain of parting is increased by the uncertainty of the fate of those he leaves. The friends and relations of the wanderer's family assemble, take their last meal together, and join in songs, either such as are before known, or others composed expressly for the occasion.

The following may serve as a specimen of the parting-songs, although it is of a more general character than most of them.

"THE DEPARTURE.

"Now May, the dewy time, is come, and Summer now is coming,
And now the stranger will prepare, unto his home to hie him.
His steed at evening saddles he, — at night the warrior shoes him;
The silver shoes upon his feet with golden nails are fastened,
And on his head the bridle gay, all o'er with pearls is gleaming.
The maid, who loves the stranger guest, his love again desiring,
With lamp in hand is lighting him, and pours for him the goblet,
As oft as she the goblet pours, so often to him saying;
'Take me, my warrior, take thy maid, and let us go together,
That I may dress thy food for thee, and spread thy couch at evening,
And by thy couch may spread my own, and near my warrior slumber.'
'Where I am going, maiden mine, there is no place for maidens;

For only men are gathered there, the young and gallant heroes.'
'Well, deck me then in Frankish garb, give me the dress of manhood,
Give me a courser swift of foot, and with a golden saddle,
And I will gallop well as thou, and tramp like any robber;
Take me, my warrior, take thy maid, and let us go together.'"

More interesting still are the Myriologies, the solemn lamentations, or funeral songs. It is remarkable, that the Slavic nations, who celebrate every important scene of life with song, are deficient in this sort of poetry. The myriologies are said to be the most poetical of all the Greek domestic songs. They are always composed by females, and are mostly the productions of a momentary inspiration, that is, they are improvisations. There are, of course, certain forms, phrases, and images, always employed in them. The Greek women are also in the habit of preparing themselves for this duty, by singing lamentations on imaginary deaths, often only occasioned by the loss of a bird, or the withering of a flower; but the whole of the recitation must, of course, always be adapted to the occasion, and thus these preparations can only be incomplete. The myriology is not always pronounced by the chief mourner; often a neighbour, known to be practised and skilful, is called in, or comes of her own accord, to fulfil that solemn duty. The mere aspect of the house of mourning and of the corpse, puts her in a certain state of inspiration, which gradually rises almost to phrensy. Exhausted and half fainting, after having finished, she can scarcely recollect what she has uttered; the hearers also are violently affected; and, amidst the general sobbing and groaning, it would be cruelty to sit down and write what would be so curious to read. Thus it seems natural, that hitherto only fragments of myriologies, remembered by some one of the audience, should have been written down.

Neither the historical nor the romantic ballads of the modern Greeks are of great antiquity. Of the Greeks, as of other nations, we must suppose that they always have had popular ballads. But their great vivacity, and perhaps their deficiency in that pious feeling so favorable to the preservation of the old, — that ancient trait, which causes all classes and ages to take the most lively interest in the *present*, in the *newest* affairs, and which now, as of old, is characteristic of the Greek na-

tion,— together with the facility of making poems in their poetical language; all these circumstances have been the occasion, that the old ballads, from generation to generation, have been superseded by new ones. M. Fauriel has printed one, after a manuscript of the sixteenth century in the Royal Library of Paris; but this old piece, although by no means different in its genius from the modern, is of course no longer current. The oldest hero who appears in any of the present Klephtic ballads, is Christos Milionis, who lived towards the end of the seventeenth century. It is probable that at least the essential portion of the ballad is of the same age. Several others celebrate events at the beginning of the eighteenth century. By far the greater portion celebrate achievements of Klephts of our own time.

Our readers know, that during the long period of the Turkish oppression, all those were called Klephts, or Robbers, who, in Epirus, Thessalia, and Macedonia, retired to the mountains, determined rather to brave the dangers of a wild and lawless life, than to obey the arbitrary pleasure of the Turkish Pashas and Beys. The government, despairing to conquer them, found it profitable to bring them under a sort of organization, uniting them with the *Armatoles*, a kind of militia in the service of the Porte, though consisting of Greeks, and instituted in very early times. The Klephts became now Armatoles, without changing much their way of life; and those only, who were entirely intractable, retired still deeper into the mountains, and founded the Klepht-villages, high on the mountains, and utterly inaccessible to military power. The names and trades of the Armatoles and Klephts were constantly confounded. To distinguish them, the organized military Greeks were sometimes called *tame* Klephts, the others *wild* Klephts.

But even this difference gradually disappeared, in consequence of the increasing despotism of the Turks. Whenever a captain of the Armatoles had trouble with the Turkish magistracy, or heard that some Pasha or Dervendshibashi had something in view against him, he fled to the mountains, perfectly conscious that his band of Armatoles would soon follow him. In this way it might daily happen, that the police of a territory (for this the Armatoles strictly were) was changed into a band of robbers.

These Robbers are then the principal heroes of the Greek historical ballads. Although rough and vindictive, and lead-

ing a lawless life, every unprejudiced mind must feel that they are not to be looked upon in the same light, as robbers in well-organized states. Their depredations were mostly, often exclusively, directed against the Turks; but even towards them, they were seldom cruel, and not more revengeful than might be expected from a people so long oppressed, and in so low a stage of civilization. Highly laudable was their behaviour towards females; and Turkish women were as sacred to them as their own. They had, moreover, a certain respect for religion; and some of them are said to have been exemplary men in their domestic relations.

The songs relating to these heroes are composed in part by men of their own class, partly by the blind Rhapsodists, who go from village to village and gain their sustenance by singing them. They are of a peculiarly stern and wild character. They are always short, and their style is in the highest degree terse and vigorous. But before giving any specimens, it may be advisable to present a short and general description of modern Greek popular poetry, especially as compared with that of other nations. We will, however, take this opportunity to request the reader not to mistake the point of view, from which we draw our comparisons. Let it be strictly borne in mind, that we make no comparison in respect to intrinsic poetical merit, but only in respect to character and physiognomy. Every kind of popular poetry, as being the voice of the people, is what it ought to be, if it expresses distinctly the peculiarities of that people; the more completely, the more vigorously it expresses them, the higher in general will be also its poetical merit. To point out those features which are characteristic of the physiognomy, is our task; to judge how far they correspond with the historical character of the respective nations, we leave to the reader.

An elliptical style, and a mode of representation consisting more of outlines than of pictures elaborately wrought, may be considered as characteristic of all popular poetry. The Greek ballads possess these qualities in an eminent degree. They are all not only short in themselves, but they all have something fragmentary and sketch-like. The outlines of these sketches are sharply and boldly drawn; and we see light and shade, even without the help of points and strokes. With the Servian popular songs, they have not only a great many subjects in common, but also the custom of introducing the

same subject by certain standing prologues, which among both nations are repeated in almost stereotype phrases, and adapted to different ballads. In both, not only do animals talk, but also mountains and rivers. Birds, especially, play a great part in Greek ballads; and we miss here the *speciality* which is in other cases natural to popular poets, who speak rather of ravens, falcons, nightingales, and the like, than of birds in general.

The ballads of the Greeks have not always the simplicity, peculiar to the popular poetry of other European nations; a simplicity which is so striking, although in a different sense, in the *art* of their ancestors. It is, indeed, as if they had yielded up the graceful tranquillity and composure of ancient Greek poetry to their hyperborean neighbours, the Servians; and had surrendered themselves to the Oriental influence in a far higher degree than the latter. Although the groundwork of most of their pictures is of a gloomy black, or exchanged only for the bloody red of vengeance, yet the coloring of single parts is often exceedingly rich, and laid on with Oriental extravagance and brilliancy. To this we may add a certain proud propensity to magnify and to embellish the trifling and the common. The robbers all glitter in gold; their horses have silver shoes and bridles of pearls; while in the Servian ballads similar exaggerations occur sparingly, and have for that reason greater effect.

The mountain songs are, however, more simple than those of the coasts and islands. The fresh air of their home breathes in them; and the bold and strange forms of the rocks, among which they were created, seem to be often mentally reproduced in them. A sweet melancholy, often darkened to despairing gloom, is prevalent in the songs of the coasts and islands. We do not hear in them the trumpet-sound of heroism and patriotism, but often the lamentations of the exiled, or of those who are left by the exiled. Love has less of tenderness than in the Servian songs; it is of a more impassioned and romantic character; and from the greater influence of the Occidental nations, especially the Italians, the Greek has in the abovementioned distichs a multitude of songs of gallantry, — a thing unheard of in Servia, where woman still remains on the lowest step of civil degradation. Playful and sportive songs are very rare, with the exception of those little epigrams, many of which have that character.

The ideal or fictitious ballads, besides their considerable poetical merit, are interesting as exhibiting many traits and superstitions, in which we think we recognise relics of the fanciful religion of ancient Greece. The common people themselves, of course, have not the remotest idea of this connexion. They know little more about their ancestors, than that they were Gentiles, and were called Hellenes; but in some creations of the imagination of the modern Greeks, we recognise distinctly some of the old Greek gods and demigods. Thus we see in the *Nereids* of the Mainots the ancient Graces, Satyrs, and Nymphs, strangely amalgamated; rivers, mountains, and trees are still peopled with spirits; and the well-known ferryman Charon, who however has to play the part of the ancient Hermes, and is in a certain measure the personification of Death itself, still lives in the imagination of the modern Greeks. The following ballad, a production of the mountains, shows the picturesque light in which he appears to them; and may serve at the same time as a specimen of the romantic or ideal creations of the wild muse of the mountains.

"CHARON AND THE GHOSTS.

"Why are the mountains shadowed o'er, why stand they mourning darkly?
Is it a tempest warring there, or rain-storm beating on them?
It is no tempest warring there, no rain-storm beating on them;
'T is Charon sweeping over them, and with him the Departed.
The young he urges on before, behind the aged follow,
And tender children ranged in rows, are borne upon his saddle;
The aged call imploringly, the young are him beseeching;
'My Charon, at the hamlet stop, stop at the cooling fountain,
That from the spring the old may drink, the young may sport with pebbles,
And that the little children may the pretty flowerets gather.'
'I will not at the hamlet stop, nor at the cooling fountain;
For mothers meeting at the spring, will know again their children,
And man and wife each other know, and will no more be parted.'"

The following is a specimen of a different character.

"OLYMPUS.

"Olympus once and Kissavos, two neighbouring mounts, contended.
Olympus turned to Kissavos, and spake to him in anger;

'Strive not with me, O Kissavos, thou dust-betrampled hillock,
I am Olympus, he of old, renowned the world all over;
And I have summits forty-two, and two and sixty fountains,
And every fount a banner has, and every bough a robber,
And on my highest summit's top an eagle fierce is sitting,
And holding, in his talons clutched, a head of slaughtered warrior.'
'What hast thou done, O head of mine, of what hast thou been guilty?'
'Devour, O bird, my youthful strength, devour my manly valor,
And let thy pinion grow an ell, a span thy talon lengthen;
In Luros and Xeromeros I was an Armatolian,
In Chasia and Olympus then, twelve years I was a robber,
And sixty Agas I have kill'd, and left their hamlets burning,
And all the Turks and Albanese, that on the field of battle
My hand has slain, my eagle brave, are more than can be numbered,
But me the doom befell at last to perish in the battle.'"

As a specimen of a romantic ballad of the south of Greece, we give the following beautiful night-piece, the context of which reminds us in some measure of a favorite subject of many other nations, as of Bürger's Lenore, of Aage and Else, of William's Ghost, and very strikingly of the beautiful Servian tale, Jelitza and her brothers.* To judge from the dialect, this Greek ballad is at home on the island of Scio.

"THE JOURNEY BY NIGHT.

"'Oh mother, thou with thy nine sons, and with thine only daughter,
Whom in the darkness thou didst bathe, in light didst braid her tresses,
And thou didst lace her boddice on, abroad by silvery moonlight,
When came from Babylon afar a wooer's soft entreaty;
O mother, give thine Arete, bestow her on the stranger,
That I may have her solace dear, upon the way I journey.'
'Though thou art wise, my Constantine, thou hast unwisely spoken;
Be woe her lot or be it joy, who will restore my daughter?'
And then God's holy name he called, he called the saints to witness,
Be woe her lot or be it joy, he would restore her daughter.

* See N. A. Review, Vol. XLIII. pp. 95, 96.

Then comes the year of sorrowing, and all the brothers perish,
And at the tomb of Constantine, she tears her hair in anguish;
'Arise, my Constantine, arise, for Arete I 'm longing,
For thou didst call God's holy name, didst call the saints to witness,
Be woe her lot or be it joy, thou wouldst restore my daughter.'
And forth at midnight hour he goes, to bring her to her mother,
And finds her combing down her locks, abroad by silvery moonlight.
'Arise, my gentle Arete, for thee thy mother longeth.'
'Alas! my brother, what is this, why art thou here at midnight?
If joy betide my mother's house, I wear my golden raiment;
If woe betide, dear brother mine, I go as here I 'm standing.'
'Let joy betide, let woe betide, yet go as here thou standest.'
And while they fare upon the way, and while they journey homeward,
They hear the birds, and what they sing, and what the birds are saying;
'Ho! see the lovely maiden there, a corse she carries with her.'
'List, Constantine, list to the birds, and hear what they are saying.'
'Yes, birds are they, and let them sing; they 're birds, heed not their saying.'
'I fear for thee, my brother dear, for thou dost breathe of incense.'
'Last evening late I visited the church of John the Holy,
And there the priest perfumed me o'er, with clouds of fragrant incense.
Unlock, O mother mine, unlock, thine Arete is coming.'
'If spirit blest thou art, pass by, if spirit blest, depart thee;
My hapless Arete afar is dwelling with the stranger.'
'Unlock, O mother mine, unlock, thy Constantine entreats thee;
I called upon God's holy name, I called the saints to witness,
Be woe her lot, or be it joy, I would restore thy daughter.'
And when she had unlocked the door, away her spirit fleeted."

The authors of the Greek popular ballads are as little known, as those of other popular poetry. Vanity and ambition appear to have no part in the composition of popular songs; and it is one of the most characteristic peculiarities of this branch of poetry, that the pretensions, views, and feelings of the individual, perish in the stream of song in which popular life gushes out. That the robber-ballads were mostly composed by the professional blind bards, in

which the Southeastern part of Europe is unfortunately so rich, we have already mentioned. These blind bards are comparatively seldom seen in the cities; if they come there, they choose the suburbs or the immediate neighbourhood of the gate, for their theatre. To the rural feasts, called *Panegyri*, which each village celebrates in honor of its patron saint, they repair in numbers, in order to sing and play to the dances, or amuse by their ballads. Some of them are even *improvisators*, and make verses on given themes. These, however, are exceptions; more of them are regular poets; while the greater portion are satisfied with repeating the inventions of others.

Other poets, of still less pretensions, are to be found among the shepherds, the sailors, and especially among the women of all classes. In the cities, there are sometimes particular trades, among the followers of which there habitually exists poetical talent and productiveness. Thus a great portion of the songs chanted throughout Epirus, are composed by the tanners of Janina.

The melody in general accompanies the ballad; and its origin is just as uncertain. The tunes of the mountain songs, especially the robber-ballads, are in the highest degree simple, consisting of prolonged notes, similar to the ancient chants of the mass. Even when the words express triumph and victory, the tune in which they are sung is mournful and melancholy. In general, the same melody is repeated with every verse. In some cases the tune comprises two verses, but never more.

The music of those ballads, which have their home in the cities of the coast or the islands, is far superior, and exhibits strongly the influence of the Italians. In some melodies ancient Italian tunes are distinctly to be recognised.

We conclude with the remark, that the songs of the mountains, and those of the cities and the Archipelago, form in reality two distinct classes; and that a ballad current here, is seldom heard there, and only as a matter of curiosity. The mountaineers despise the more delicate songs of the cities and islands, especially those of which the subject is love. They consider them as effeminate, and as the productions of a vicious, degenerate race. The inhabitants of the cities, on the other hand, take very little in-

terest in the Klephts, and their joys or sufferings ; and their monotonous ballads seem to them the tedious and rude productions of semi-barbarians, not worth their attention.

The great places of concourse for all the nations of the world, the khans or taverns of Constantinople, Odessa, and other marts of commerce, are also the only places where Greek ballads, of every description, meet together ; and in such places, the traveller may hear the sweet songs of Scio, as well as the powerful ballads of Olympus and Pindus. Here too even the Greeks themselves feel the tie of their common country. The Ætolian mountaineer here feels that the man from Crete is his brother ; and the native of Morea becomes aware, that one common mother bore himself, the Ionian, and the Thessalian Greek.

ART. III. — *The American Builder's General Price Book and Estimator ; deduced from extensive Experience in the Art of Building.* By JAMES GALLIER, *Architect.* Boston. M. Burns, 134 Washington Street.

THE rules of Architecture are probably violated more frequently, in practice, than those of the other fine arts ; and in no civilized country are they less regarded, than in the United States. In this art we may fairly claim originality. There may be no American literature, painting, sculpture ; but there certainly is American architecture. We have columns, which mock at the narrow limits of the Grecian orders ; domes, whose proportions are more stupendous, if not more vast, than the marvel of Angelo ; ornaments, which it would baffle the genius of Palladio to class ; and "shingle palaces" that rival pandemonium itself, rising "like an exhalation,"

> "Built like a temple, where pilasters round
> Are set, and Doric pillars overlaid."

Thus far the art, with us, is in a very chaotic state, however. There are certain causes existing here to oppose its progress, which have not been found in other countries, and which must always exert a considerable influence upon

architecture in the United States. Still there is room for great improvement ; and we propose in this article to speak of some of our principal edifices public and private, as specimens of art, and to offer some hints with regard to the forms which architecture would naturally assume in our country. We shall express our opinions with frankness, as in no other way could we contribute any thing towards an object, which appears to us of great public importance ; and we do this with the less scruple, as, in the cases where we are compelled to find most fault, we are wholly ignorant whose are the works, on which we are animadverting.

Regular architecture has appeared under two general forms ; the Grecian, including the round arch and the dome, and the Gothic or pointed-arch style. Each of these forms owes its origin and perfection to a deep and enthusiastic sentiment, which pervaded society, and constituted the spirit of the age. Classic religion gave birth to Grecian architecture ; the spirit of the Crusades called the Gothic style into being. In like manner we shall find that the spirit of the age was the origin of American architecture in its genuine form. The settlement of New England was the result of a deep sentiment, with which the hearts of our Pilgrim fathers were filled, the stern spirit of Puritanism. This displayed itself in every possible form, but in none more strikingly than in the architecture. Houses of worship, which they disdained to all Churches, and which still bear universally the name of Meeting-houses, were erected almost before the first rude dwellings were completed ; and the style of architecture, if indeed it deserves the appellation, arrived at its perfection in less than a century after the first settlement of the country. The simplest form of the meeting-house is much like that of a large barn with gable ends. There are doors on three sides, each one having a small porch or square tower rising as high as the eaves of the building, to contain a flight of stairs conducting to the gallery. No cornice, no ornament of any sort graces the exterior ; but the uniformity of the sides and extremities of the building is broken by the unaccountable number of windows, with which our ancestors saw fit to adorn the sacred edifice. We speak within bounds, when we say, that the number of windows in an old-fashioned meeting-house of seventy feet by fifty, is never less than forty.

Around three sides of the interior runs a gallery, supported upon columns of an unknown order. The ceiling is plastered; but the huge rafters, which project from the walls about six feet below the eaves, and help to support the roof, are not concealed. On the fourth side, and directly opposite the middle of the long gallery, stands the pulpit, upon which the whole magnificence of architecture, that the age could boast of, was lavished. The fluted pilasters with their wondrous capitals; the heavy balustrade of the staircase; the graceful elevation of the desk; the superb bow window, in whose presence the other lesser lights seem to withdraw, and hide their diminished forms; and, more than all, the majestic sounding-board which canopied the whole, heavy with mouldings, and rising in the centre into a boss most marvellously sculptured; all these formed an assemblage of magnificent objects, which seemed to mock at the Puritanical simplicity of the remaining parts of the edifice. If the ambition of the builders was lofty enough for a steeple, one of the gable porches was made to rise considerably above the ridge-pole. Upon this was erected the belfry, a structure which strongly resembles the top of an urn standing upon six or eight legs. From the belfry a slender spire shoots up, terminated with a gilt vane.

There was, however, another form of the steepled meeting-house, which we believe is of earlier date than the one last described. This sort of edifice, of which very few now remain, is square; the four sides of the roof meet in a point over the centre of the building, and from this point springs the steeple, consisting of a belfry and spire. We must not forget one remarkable contrivance in our early churches, the arrangement of the pew seats. These were made with hinges, so that in prayer-time they might be raised up, and allow the occupants to lean against the back of the pew; at the close of the prayer they were slammed down with a noise like the broad-side of a frigate, and served as a warning to all the backsliders in the village, who were remiss in their attendance at meeting.

Such were the early houses of worship in our land. But few of them remain, and these are rapidly disappearing before the spirit of improvement. Yet we should be sorry to lose all traces of them; for not even the Gothic minster, with all its splendors, — the tall windows of stained

glass, the lofty arches and vaults, crowded with prophets, martyrs, and saints, the canopied tombs where repose in solemn marble the mailed knights and the mitred abbots, the carved stalls of the choir, where kings are proud to have their seats, — is more characteristic of the spirit of the crusades, than the old meeting-house of the Puritanical temper of our forefathers. This spirit is still a strong element in the New England character, but it is much modified and softened. Commerce and politics have now become as much the objects of thought with us as religion, which so exclusively occupied our forefathers; and our commercial and political edifices rival our churches in size and cost. Every capital of the Union has its State-house, which makes some pretension at least to architectural elegance. Every commercial city, and every town of two or three thousand inhabitants, has one or more banking-houses, which are generally as much decorated as the resources of the company will allow. Meantime, the Grecian and Gothic styles, neither of which is discoverable in the earlier architecture of the country, are beginning to appear in every village.

The most costly, and undoubtedly the noblest edifice in the United States, is the Capitol at Washington. There is one great fault in its construction, which is not, however, to be attributed to the artist who designed the building. This is the centre dome, which is very heavy, ill proportioned, and out of place. By the original design it had the same curve as the domes over the wings, which are low and very elegant. The plan was partially changed for the centre dome, and it now rises with a high and very ugly curve, from a base not half large enough to support it. The Capitol is built of a stone commonly called Potomac freestone, of a rich brown color. A more beautiful material we have never seen; but unfortunately the parts which were completed, when Washington was taken in the late war, were so begrimed with smoke from the burning of the edifice, that it was found necessary upon repairing and completing it, to paint the whole; so that, at a short distance, one would suppose it to be constructed of white marble. The interior is simple and elegant. The Rotunda, which is under the large dome, is probably the finest room in America. It would, undoubtedly, add greatly to its beauty,

as well as to that of the Senate Chamber and the Hall of Representatives, if the ceilings were painted in fresco. But this kind of decoration has not yet come into use amongst us.

Philadelphia abounds more in good architecture than any city of the Union, notwithstanding that the tall column in Baltimore, and the little trophy of marble near Barnum's hotel, have gained for the latter the proud name of the Monumental City. The United States Bank, the Mint, and the Exchange are the finest specimens of architecture which Philadelphia contains. The very material of which they are composed, white marble, gives them an imposing appearance, and the style of architecture is suited to the material. The Bank is undoubtedly the most faultless monument of its size in the United States. It is of the purest Doric, classic in its proportions, and severely chaste and simple. Indeed, considering the place in which it stands, in the midst of a populous city and in close neighbourhood to other buildings, a higher degree of ornament would not have been amiss; if the frieze and pediments had been adorned with bas-reliefs, a good effect would have been produced. It is much to be regretted, that an edifice of so much architectural merit should be so badly placed. It stands in a small area, hemmed in by buildings on every side, so that it is impossible to obtain a distinct view of the whole. Now the very nature of the Doric order requires that it should be exhibited in an open or commanding situation. The idea which it is intended to convey, is that of duration. The massive columns, the vast blocks which rest upon them, and more than all, the heavy proportions of the Doric, seem to bid defiance to the elements and to time itself. Could the very foundations of the earth assume a harmonious form and rear themselves into symmetry, it seems as if they must create this order, which, more than any other, combines strength and durability with beauty of proportion. Hence Doric monuments should always stand in open and exposed places, and not seem to court the shelter of other edifices. They should appear to brave the elements, and invite the storm. The air should circulate freely around, and the clear open sky should alone encompass them. The Greeks acted upon this principle, when they built the Parthenon on the Acropolis, and the far-famed Hesperian temples on the plain of Pæstum. One may easily imagine

how much the effect produced by the Bank in Philadelphia would be heightened, if it had been erected on the summit of Fair Mount, instead of the confined spot in which it stands. "The President, Directors, and Company" probably would not thank us for this suggestion; but we remind them that we are speaking only in an architectural sense.

In speaking of the United States Bank, we cannot avoid noticing the peculiar aptness of the Grecian architecture for banking-houses. The simplicity of the form, so well adapted to strength and durability; the plain walls, with the heavy entablature, not requiring the relief of windows; the broad steps which invite the crowd; the lofty porticoes which overhang them; the quiet cella where everlasting silence prevails, form a befitting temple for the worship of the blind goddess. And this style of building has been found to answer the purpose so well, that it prevails throughout the country, wherever an edifice is erected expressly for a banking-house.

The architecture of New-York is truly meagre; but, after being at a stand for many years, is at last in a fair way to be improved. The Custom-House, judging from the plans, will be a superb edifice. It is to be of one of the higher Grecian orders, with fluted columns and a pediment at each extremity; the whole of white marble. The City Hall has hitherto been the most remarkable building in the city. It abounds in small ornaments, and, being of white marble, which contrasts pleasingly with the green trees of the Park, makes a pretty appearance; but as a whole it is very deficient in character, and fails to produce the effect which should be expected from its size and cost. The new building for the University, which is of the Gothic order, has some striking merits; and, though far from perfect, is still very interesting as the first remarkable specimen of a style, which has been but lately introduced into this country. Thus far the Gothic order, where it has appeared in the United States, has been almost exclusively appropriated to churches. Wherever it has been found necessary to erect large secular edifices, they have either been entirely destitute of ornament, and belonging to no order of architecture, or slightly adorned with Grecian cornices and pilasters. Instances of this architecture appear all over the country; but we

do not recollect any that are more illustrative of what we mean, than most of the College buildings at Cambridge, New England. We would cite these as very perfect specimens of no known order of architecture; vast brick barns, destitute alike of symmetry, ornament, and taste; and with all their plain and uncouth proportions, there is a sort of horrible regularity and squareness about them, which heightens their deformity. Four of these edifices are guiltless of any attempt at elegance of architecture, and, making no pretensions, perhaps hardly deserve to be noticed. But what shall we say of the stone edifice, which insults us with its long piazza, and its wooden Ionic pilasters, and the entablature which extends part way across the front? The proportions of this wonderful building are about one hundred feet by forty or fifty; at the ends, it is three stories high, with basement rooms; the sides are partly two stories and partly three stories high, the great expanse of wall being somewhat relieved by the pilasters and entablature. The *chef-d'œuvre* of the whole building, however, is the piazza or portico, which runs along part of the western side or front. It is approached by a lofty flight of stone steps guarded by an iron balustrade; *nine* columns, from twelve to fifteen feet high, each of a single block of granite, and surmounted by a Tuscan capital of soap-stone, are ranged along the front of the piazza, and support a flat roof eight inches thick, and so light and insignificant that it seems as if a breath of wind would blow it away. We doubt whether the world contains any other architectural abortion, to be compared to this. The Gothic style, admirably relieves architects from the embarrassment of combining size, convenience, and elegance, in buildings intended for civil or domestic purposes. The various towers, oriel windows, and battlements, and the pointed arches, obviate the disagreeable effect which a large and unbroken expanse of wall produces, and are increased in grandeur the more the proportions of the building are magnified. The new University at New York is on this account vastly handsomer than any college building which we have seen, in the United States. This style of architecture might, with excellent effect, be employed for any edifice, which is to be large, and at the same time to contain a number of different rooms varying in size. We have always thought it peculiarly appropriate to the Court-houses

in our large cities, which, besides the large halls for the sessions of the courts, contain numerous small rooms for offices, libraries, and other purposes. A proof of the convenience of this style is, that it has been selected in the construction of several of the larger prisons, as the one at Auburn, N. Y., and others. In these buildings, however, the beauty of the Gothic cannot be entirely displayed, as the windows must necessarily be small and narrow, and the florid ornaments would not be appropriate. We are happy to learn that the edifice, which is about to be erected for the library at Cambridge, is to be of the Gothic order.

Coming northward from New York, we cannot help noticing the State-House at New-Haven; a chaste Grecian building of the temple form, surrounded by a colonnade, and forming a remarkable contrast to the uncouth buildings of the college. But let us proceed to Boston, "the Athens of America." Athens it may be; but the days of Pericles have not yet come, if we may judge from the architecture of the city, which is singularly bad. The first and most important edifice which is seen upon approaching Boston, is the State-House. The situation is truly noble, being the most elevated in the city, and rendering the dome a conspicuous object for many miles both by land and sea. The architect of the State-House deserves great praise for his general plan. The idea was extremely good, to place on a high elevation a building of such a description, that its proportions might be at the same time lofty and grand, and which was to be surmounted by a dome. The effect of this is very striking. The dome rises above every other object, crowning the city, and seeming to give a unity and decided character to the whole. We doubt whether any other plan could have produced so good an effect at a distance, as the dome depends less, for the impression it makes, upon the detail of ornament, than any other form of building. The general idea of the architect was excellent; but the execution, though not a failure, is on many accounts very bad. The wings of the building are so short as to appear mean, and render the whole too small for the dome which surmounts it. This fault, however, we believe is not to be attributed to the architect. The original plan made the wings more extensive; but they were clipped by our legislature, who could not afford to buy so much architecture.

The *façade* is certainly handsome, but would be much improved, if the columns in the Corinthian portico were single throughout, instead of being doubled at the extremities. The great fault, however, is the dome, which is very heavy. The circular tower or foundation, upon which it rests, should have been carried up much higher and surrounded by a Corinthian colonnade. The same architect who planned the State-House, designed many years afterwards a much smaller dome for the Church in Lancaster, Massachusetts, the proportions of which are almost faultless. The church itself is beneath criticism; but the cupola which surmounts the tower, consisting of a circular Ionic colonnade with open arches between the columns, and a light and elegant dome springing from it, is hardly equalled for beauty in our country. Could the same happy idea have occurred to the artist while planning the State-House, we might now have made our boast of Boston architecture. — The next remarkable edifice is the Massachusetts General Hospital, some parts of which are fine. The Ionic portico in front, taken alone, is dignified and imposing; but the angle of the pediment unfortunately rises higher than the roof of the body, and thus produces an unpleasant effect. The square tower, and the dome which surmounts it, are rather handsome; as a whole, however, we consider it a failure.

We regret, that there is no better instance to illustrate our remarks upon the conveniences of Gothic architecture, than the Masonic Temple; an edifice, which, in consequence of its pointed windows and the small spires which stick up like asses' ears at the front corners, claims to be Gothic. Barbarous enough it certainly is. The front belongs to the early English style, and the remainder of the building, to be in keeping with it, should be adorned with buttresses and flying buttresses, battlements, pinnacles, niches, and canopies, and a profusion of sculpture. Unfortunately the sides of the edifice do not belong to the same age as the front; and the low-arched windows are very disagreeably contrasted with the more elegant proportions of the one in front. But criticism is wasted on such a building; the whole is bad.

The most perfect piece of architecture in Boston, is the *façade* of the Tremont Theatre. The only fault we find in it is the steepness of the roof, which is too great for classical elegance. With this exception it is uncommonly chaste and

dignified, and the proportions are admirable. We should be glad to see the two niches occupied by statues, and the pediment adorned with a *bas-relief*. It is difficult to explain on paper the merits of this edifice, because they consist chiefly in the beauty of the proportions; the height of the whole compared with its breadth, and the proportion of the upper story to the basement. One of its great beauties is the simplicity of the architecture. Upon a base of solid masonry, pierced by three arched doorways of great depth, rises a second story, containing three lofty windows, and supported by Ionic pilasters. This story is carried up so high, that the basement seems only a proper foundation for it. Above this rises the pediment, which, though too heavy, is far from being a deformity.

Another very pretty building, belonging to Boston, though probably unknown to two thirds of the inhabitants, is the Hospital at Rainsford's Island. It is of an oblong form, entirely surrounded by a Doric portico like the Parthenon; and standing upon a bold rocky promontory, jutting out from the island, it makes a fine appearance when viewed from the neighbouring shores, or from the boats which pass in front.

Some of the banks in Boston are pretty, particularly a small stone edifice nearly opposite Boylston Market, the proportions of which are very good. The edifice erected in State Street for the United States Branch Bank is an instance of what occurs very frequently in the city, great *expense* with very little *effect*. In designing any building, some regard must be had to the place, in which it is to stand. Now it appears to us, that, as the Bank in question was to be smothered between other houses, in such a manner that Michael Angelo himself would have been puzzled to make it look well, it was of little or no consequence what the architecture should be. A plain edifice of brick or rough stone, with a *façade* but slightly ornamented, would have answered as well as any thing else. It is very evident that somebody was obliged to pay for those enormous shafts of a single block of granite each; and it is equally evident, that, as far as architecture is concerned, the money was thrown away. With the edifice, independently of the situation, we have no fault to find. If it stood upon the summit of Beacon Hill, in an open area, we doubt not it would make a beautiful appearance; at present its beauties are lost.

These remarks lead us to the examination of another building, which, as we never saw the plan, has been an unfailing source of wonder to us, as we have watched its progress; we mean the new Court-House, which is now so nearly completed, that one can form a pretty good idea of what it is intended to be. For the benefit of those, who have not looked upon this astonishing structure, we will attempt a description, though with a very faint hope of doing justice to the genius of the designer. Let the reader imagine a building so long, narrow, and high, as to resemble a sheet of bakers' gingerbread standing upon the edge, and he will have some notion of the outline. "I think, Gentlemen," said a western friend of ours to a building Committee, who were asking his opinion of an edifice of nearly the same proportions as the new Court-House, "I think, Gentlemen, if you please, that if you were to turn your academy over upon the side, it would cover a good deal of land." We doubt if good-nature itself could, in conscience, say any thing more than this, in praise of the Court-House. The sides of this elongated and attenuated pile are pierced by numerous windows of different sizes, some arched and some square. At each extremity is a door, above which towers a dead wall, terminated by a cornice, like that of the sides, of the simplest form. From this, the roof slopes back towards the centre. Near the eaves of each end of the building, rises a broad, thin chimney of stone, terminating in several small pyramids, the effect of which is very remarkable. Thus far there is nothing in the edifice to complain of, because thus far it makes no pretence to architecture; and had the artist, or the civic committee, or whoever was concerned, been content with leaving it in this state, we should have been satisfied with having a cheap structure, whose internal arrangements answered the purpose for which they were designed. But it seems as if, after the building was planned, it was thought necessary to make a little display of taste and classical skill; and accordingly we have Grecian porticoes built against the end walls. When General Jackson and Major Downing were at the village of Downingville, the President made a speech to the people, of which the Major gives a report. "Here," says he, "the gineral was goin' to stop, but says I in his ear, 'You must give 'em a little Latin, Doctor.' Here he off hat again; 'E pluribus unum,' says he, 'sine quâ non.' 'That 'll do, Gineral,' says I." Our

architect's porticoes are about as appropriate to the other part of the building, as the General's Latin to the speech he had been making. In themselves they are extremely beautiful. They are of the Doric order, and consist of four fluted columns, the shafts of a single block, rising above a lofty flight of steps, and surmounted by a pediment of the true Attic proportions. But they do not belong to the building; they would look just as well, and would seem as appropriate, if they stood on the opposite side of the street; they add nothing to the beauty of the edifice, because it has no beauty to add to, and they certainly do not constitute its beauty, because no one thinks of viewing them as parts of it. We should be in favor, therefore, of having them removed from their unfavorable position at the ends of the Court-House, and carefully preserved, till they can be used for some building of Grecian architecture, to which they may seem actually to belong; and we assure the architect, that his fame would not be in the least diminished by the abstraction.

We have thus far avoided speaking of the churches, while noticing the public edifices of our various cities, because we wished to treat of sacred architecture separately. It assumes, in this country, a form essentially different from that which distinguishes it in Europe. Our forefathers appear to have been desirous to obliterate entirely the memory of the stately worship from which they had fled; and they studiously avoided every thing, in the construction of their houses of devotion, which might recall it. Not only is the entire form of the early meeting-house unlike that of the church, but all the interior divisions of nave, transept, and choir are utterly confounded and lost. The pulpit and communion-table are placed on the long side, that they may not remind any one of the chancel and altar; the aisles are mere alleys, running between the pews and across the building, as the case required; the long columns extending to the roof have disappeared, and all traces of the church, as it exists in Europe, are lost in the plain and Puritanical meeting-houses of our ancestors. The churches which have been erected within the last half-century, are, with few exceptions, rather modifications of the first plain meeting-houses, than imitations of the European churches. Still, the tendency has been towards the church style of building. The pulpit is now placed at the extremity of the room; the aisles begin to be distinguished; occasionally tall

columns are found, dividing the interior into aisles, and supporting the roof; and the entrance is at the front. With these changes also have been introduced the tall windows reaching to the whole height of the edifice, whereas the old houses of worship were always divided into as many as two, and sometimes even into three stories. A much greater amount of ornament is also found upon our modern churches, than was allowed to those of the last century. There is not to be found, however, in the United States, a single instance of a church built in the style of the English Cathedrals, with nave and transept, and the screen parting the choir from the nave, or the lady chapel behind the choir. One important distinction is now made, which was entirely neglected by our ancestors; namely, between churches which are to have steeples, and those which are to be built without. The latter are beginning to assume a distinct style; generally that of the oblong Grecian temple, with a projecting portico in front supported by columns of the height of the edifice. Great improvement has also been made in the form of steeples, wherever they appear.

The loftiest steeple in the United States, we believe, is that of Park-Street Church, in Boston, which rises somewhat above two hundred feet. The proportions of the steeple are good, though by some they may, perhaps, be considered too heavy; and the various divisions harmonize well. If any portion is too heavy, it is the spire, which from its great elevation should be extremely light. The ornaments are of the Grecian order. We should have preferred to have them of the Gothic, which the architect might have employed as appropriately, the body of the church belonging to no order whatever; but on the whole we regard it as an elegant structure.

One of the best proportioned steeples in our country is at Salem, in Massachusetts; the work of a native artist. The whole church is the best specimen of architecture in that city, notwithstanding the various efforts which have been made since its erection. We are not aware that it has any name; but the building will easily be recognised as the only church in Chestnut Street. The Ionic portico in front is uncommonly elegant, though simple and unpretending. Above this rises the steeple, to the height of nearly a hundred and fifty feet. Its principal merit is beauty of proportion, which

is not equalled in any steeple, that we know of, in the United States.

The lightest and most graceful steeple in Boston is in Federal Street, of the Gothic order. We believe the Federal-Street Church is the first attempt at this style of architecture in Massachusetts, and one of the first in the United States. It has great faults, and indeed few merits except the steeple. One great defect is dividing the building into two stories, of which the upper windows only have the pointed arch. The piers in the interior are good, consisting of the clusters of columns with foliage. There is nothing in the form of the edifice to distinguish it as Gothic, and Grecian ornaments with round arches might have been employed with equal propriety. The same remarks apply to Grace Church in New York, which is also a specimen of the early American Gothic. The windows in that building, if we remember rightly, are lofty ; but they are only distinguished as Gothic by having the pointed arch. The artist seems to have forgotten that mullions, tracery, and transoms are equally characteristic of this order.

Since the erection of these churches, the Gothic order has come greatly into use, not only in cities, but throughout the country; with great faults, however, as it is not uncommon to see a church with pointed windows, and a portico supported by Grecian columns, like the Orthodox Church in Bolton, Massachusetts, and many in the western towns of New York. Buttresses are almost unknown ; and as for flying buttresses, we do not believe there is an instance of them in the United States. The interior of these churches is generally still less Gothic than the outside. In very few is there any appearance of aisles ; and if the gallery and pulpit are ornamented, they are quite as often Grecian as Gothic. No distinction is made in the form of the building with regard to its being of the Grecian or Gothic order ; and in general, if the ornaments were not to be applied till the body of the edifice was finished in other respects, no one could tell, unless by the pointed windows, to what style of architecture it was intended to belong. As for the richer ornaments of the florid Gothic, they are not to be found on any edifice in the country.

This style of architecture is, however, undergoing considerable improvement. Trinity Church in Boston is superior to any edifice in the city of the same style, that was

built before it, and we are inclined to think that the tower is the best Gothic in the United States. As a whole, the building has many faults. We especially dislike the use of two kinds of arches; the flat arch at the side windows, and the high arch in front, which belongs to a different style of Gothic. The sides of the church look bare and mean from the want of buttresses, dripstones to the windows, machicolated or open-work battlements, and other appropriate ornaments. The interior is very poor; the vast expanse of white-washed walls, and of pine painted white, is disagreeable to the eye; the ceiling over the middle aisle is too low, and the length is not great enough for the other proportions. The interior of Grace Church is much better, though the effect is injured by the glare of white. We regard this as the nearest approach, that has yet been made in Boston, to what a Gothic interior ought to be.

The prettiest Gothic churches in our country, are at Gardiner, Me., and at Hartford, Ct. Though neither of them is richly ornamented, they have both, and particularly the one at Hartford, the proportions and general form of the Gothic, and are proofs of far better taste, as well as of greater knowledge, than appears in the construction of most of our churches; and we are not aware that there are in either of them any of those gross violations of architectural rules, which are so common among us.

In concluding our remarks upon Gothic churches, we will select one example for criticism, which we believe is more universally known than any Gothic structure in the country; the church at Cambridge, in which the annual Commencement performances of the University take place. The front is the best part of the building. It has a square tower, ornamented at the corners by small octagonal towers, and having in its front a broad low-arched door, and a lofty window of the early Gothic. The belfry opens with pointed arches, above which rises the spire. Four small spires or minarets rise also from the four corners of the tower. In each side of the building, near the ends, are two doors, between shallow buttresses which are surmounted by spires; the space over these doors is adorned by Gothic arched pannels, and surmounted by a battlement. There are three windows, with high arches, and adorned with mullions and transom on the side; but there are no

buttresses between them, and the battlement is not continued above them, which is a great fault. The form of the building is of the most awkward kind; so nearly the same in length and breadth, that the interior, after separating a few feet for the porch, is square. It is not divided by piers into aisles, nor are there any divisions in the ceiling to denote them; indeed, but for the pointed windows and the pulpit, one would never discover from the interior, to what order the edifice was intended to belong. One of the greatest defects of the building is the roof, which is extremely uncouth and barn-like in its appearance, there being nothing to relieve the dull expanse of shingling. The space from the eaves to the ridge-pole is about the same as from the eaves to the ground, and no effort whatever has been made by the architect to conceal this deformity. The tower and spire are both too short, and have the appearance of having been cut off, and curtailed of their fair proportion. In general, the edifice looks more like a barn with a steeple to it, than any thing else.

Near by, as if to increase the hideousness of this Cathedral, is the modest and beautiful little Episcopal Church, whose faultless proportions have so often been praised, but never imitated. We mention it, only to take the opportunity again to express the wish that it may be copied in stone; regarding it, as we do, as faultless, both externally and in the interior.

St. Paul's Church in Boston has undoubtedly the finest interior of any in the city. The chancel is supported by two columns of Grecian Ionic; the ceiling is arched and elegantly pannelled; the windows are lofty and arched; and the gallery extends only across the extremity opposite the pulpit. The simplicity and excellent proportion of the whole give it a solemn, grand, and even colossal appearance. The exterior is not so good. The slope of the roof is too steep for Grecian architecture; which makes the pediment so heavy, that the Ionic columns, or piles of cheeses as they have been called, do not seem sufficient for its support.

We cannot take leave of Boston, without bestowing a word upon two abortions of ugliness which purport to be churches, fronting upon Washington street at the South-

End. We cannot believe that any architect planned these monstrous edifices. Corporate bodies, it is said, have no conscience, and these buildings may possibly be the result of corporate irresponsibleness ; no individual of mortal race could have been atrocious enough to design them. We attempt no criticism upon them. Were we to make the effort, we should be in the situation of the clergyman, who, being called to visit a dying man, after a little conversation with him, came from his chamber, declaring with some warmth that the man's ideas of right and wrong were so utterly perverted and confused, that he neither knew where to begin nor where to end with him. One is tempted by these horrible structures to the wickedness of wishing, that

"The Goth, the Christian, Time, War, Flood, or Fire,"

or any other means of destruction might "deal upon" them, and relieve the street of their presence.

The remarks we have made upon the architecture of the New England churches, apply equally to those of the South. Neither New York nor Philadelphia contains a church, which has any claims to be called fine architecture, or which is worthy of the wealth and population of those cities. There are two in Baltimore which are better ; the Unitarian and the Catholic. The former is remarkably elegant in the form and proportions of the interior, having some resemblance to the Pantheon. The Catholic Church, or Cathedral we believe it is, has the divisions of nave, transept, and chancel ; and the interior is imposing, though too plain. It is of the Grecian order, with arched windows. We think the Gothic would have been more appropriate.

The Ecclesiastical architecture in our country is in a very unsettled, ill-defined state. It has neither the stern simplicity and unpretending rudeness of the puritanical meeting-houses, nor the grace and richness of form and ornament of European churches. It seems worth while then to inquire, what kind of churches the religion of our country requires, and what points are to be particularly attended to in their construction.

The majority of our religious societies are of denominations corresponding to the English Protestant Dissenters; and their services require, that the church should be provided with pews or seats, and should be of such a size that the voice of the preacher may be heard with ease in every part of the building. It is also desirable that the cler-

gyman should be seen by the whole congregation. Hence, their churches ought never to be very large, or crowded with ornament in the interior; especially should massive columns be avoided. The same remarks apply to the Episcopal churches of the United States. It is not to be expected that this form of worship should be found here, attended with the same pomp and splendor as in England. There is no need of a choir in our Episcopal churches; nor is the cathedral service daily chaunted in them as in the minsters of England. The Catholics of the United States are not numerous or wealthy enough to rear edifices worthy of their superb ritual; and they have, at the same time, so many models abroad for their churches, that any advice from us would seem superfluous. There are some considerations, however, which may be of service to the majority of Christians in erecting churches. In the first place, we earnestly recommend to all societies who are preparing to build, however small and insignificant their edifice is to be, to employ an architect to make a regular plan, and then to abide strictly by the plan. The plague of architects, and the destruction of symmetry and elegance in our churches, is the disposition so universally prevalent, either to go to work without any plan, or to modify the original one. Were a committee of gentlemen, unacquainted with painting, to attempt to alter and improve one of Allston's pictures, each one adding or erasing to suit his own taste, it may easily be imagined what an effect would be produced; yet this would hardly be more absurd, than the various alterations made by building committees in the plans of architects. It should be remembered, that, in general, alterations must either cost more than to follow the plan, or else the beauty of the building must be sacrificed.

It is extremely desirable that our churches should be made of some more durable material than wood, of which the most of them consist. Stone or brick may be had in every part of the country. The Quincy granite is easily obtained for all towns upon or near the sea-coast, and forms a very elegant material. We like it especially, rough hewn, as in Trinity Church. Granite and slate quarries abound throughout New-England; besides which there are quarries of marble and free-stone, the most beautiful material for churches which we have ever seen. If the churches are composed

of such durable substances, they are less expensive in the end, as they require much less repair, and, if properly built, may last for centuries. Besides this, there are associations and sentiments connected with ancient buildings, which cannot be called up by those of our own age. We have a natural reverence for antiquity. We regard an edifice over which ages have rolled with a respect we cannot feel for those of our own time. True, we Americans have but little opportunity to experience these feelings; but we are certainly not less affected with veneration for whatever antiquities we do possess, than other nations for the remains which are found among them. A peculiar sacredness, however, seems to invest ancient churches, where our forefathers have met and worshipped; where the voice of eloquence and the solemn strains of music have been heard for ages; around whose walls repose in their last sleep those friends whom the closest ties have endeared to us. We may comprehend how much the value of our sacred edifices would be increased by age, if we imagine the Pilgrim fathers to have built upon the shore of Plymouth a church, no matter how rude, of sufficient strength and durability to be in preservation at this time. With what veneration should we regard such an edifice; how carefully should we protect it; how eagerly should we enter the sacred precincts, hallowed by the memory of the mighty dead; with what emotions should we listen to our orators, if their eloquence were heightened by the recollections and associations, which would arise in such a temple! It may be received as a truth, that, if a church be so constructed as to defy the inroads of time, every revolving year will add to its value.

The situation of a church, particularly in the country, is also to be carefully attended to. If possible, let it be placed in the midst of a grove of trees; if not, let trees be set out around it. Nothing can be less picturesque than the appearance of most of our country churches, standing as they generally do, upon some naked hill, without a shrub or even a blade of grass round them, and a long row of sheds for horses half encircling them. There are two churches which we remember to have seen, that strikingly illustrate the effect produced by trees surrounding them. One of these is the chapel of St. Mary's College, Baltimore, a little bijou. Alas, how forlorn is the Chapel of Cambridge compared with this! The other is the Catholic Church at South Boston, a modest

little brick structure, which hides its unpretending form in a rich grove of oaks, and forms a delightful contrast to the absolutely disgusting churches which one passes on the way to it. There is much in this little edifice, which we could wish to see copied. It is built of durable material, and, if the work is faithfully done, may last for centuries ; nothing can be less ornamented, yet the form, entirely different from that of most of our churches, is highly picturesque. It stands upon a hill-side, commanding a fine view of the surrounding country, and yet is sheltered from the gaze of passers, by the beautiful grove which surrounds it. We know of nothing in the country round Boston, to be compared to it.

We would impress upon our readers the fact, than a handsome church costs no more than an ugly one ; because the beauty of such buildings depends much more upon the proportions, than upon the ornaments employed. By attending to a few points, a great deal of elegance may be secured at a comparatively cheap rate. Great care should be taken, that no ornament should be used which is disproportionate in cost to the other parts of the building ; that all the ornaments should belong to the same style of architecture ; and that none should be used, but for some express purpose, either to aid in the support of the edifice, or to conceal some deformity. If the church is to be of Grecian architecture, it is better to secure a classical roof, which is very flat, and consequently costs more, and at the same time, if necessary, to give up the portico with columns, which are very expensive, than to have a portico and a steep roof. A very elegant church may be had at a small expense by merely erecting an oblong edifice of proper proportions, with a flat roof of the same angle as that of the Parthenon, and giving it no other ornament than a Doric entablature, supported perhaps by pilasters. In the interior, it is better to make the pulpit and gallery very simple, and to finish the ceiling with a proper cornice, if the funds of the society are not enough for both. The most common deformity in our churches, is the roof, which is generally so steep as to appear extremely uncouth and heavy. Every effort should be made to obviate this. In Grecian buildings, the roof should be made as flat as those of the classical models, and covered with lead or zinc to guard it from the weather. The difference in expense will not be great, and, to secure

this beauty, many of the ornaments which are common in our churches had better be abandoned. The Gothic roof is much steeper than the Grecian; but at the same time this beautiful style provides an expedient for concealing the roof, and obviates the unpleasant effect produced by it. We are not aware, that, in any instance in our country, the architect has availed himself of this advantage, which the Gothic offers; and yet we think that many of the usual ornaments had better be sacrificed, in order to secure this. A Gothic church is generally divided into three aisles, which are distinguished by the piers or columns which go from the floor to the ceiling. To correspond to these, the roof should be divided into two portions; the slope should begin as usual at the eaves, and be carried up till it covers the side aisles; here it should be interrupted by a wall rising perpendicularly over the piers, and supporting the remaining part of the roof. When the roof is thus divided, the lower portion is nearly concealed by the battlement; and the upper part is too narrow to produce a bad effect. Besides this, with such a roof the ceiling is of course higher over the middle than the side aisles, and being ribbed and arched is very imposing. We doubt whether it is expedient for us to employ, in the construction of our churches, an order which depends so much upon ornaments for its effect, as the Gothic. We are not yet rich enough to build Gothic churches; nor is there a single example in the United States which does justice to this noble style. If, however, we are to have it, let us begin in the right way, and build really Gothic edifices, instead of Yankee meeting-houses with Gothic ornaments on them, which we have now. Let it be remembered, that pointed arches cannot alone constitute this style; and that all the common ornaments, the mullions, tracery, foliage, transoms, clustered pillars, battlements, parapets, spires, minarets, crockets, buttresses, niches, canopies, are wasted, if they are attached to a huge unseemly barn, like the one in Cambridge. The Gothic depends, not less than the Grecian, for its beauty, on form and proportion. A church built in this style should be much greater in length than in breadth. A steeple is not necessary; but, if it is resolved upon, let it be well-shaped rather than highly ornamented; and we should prefer that the building should be without a steeple, rather than be deprived of buttresses. It is also highly desirable to introduce the

division of the roof to which we have alluded above, as this adds greatly to the effect both externally and in the interior. As yet, stained windows are hardly known in our country; and still, if our congregations would sacrifice some of the luxuries of the pews, gallery, and pulpit, they might afford this precious ornament, which we prize more than any that adorns the sacred edifices abroad. The effect of one large window of stained glass can hardly be conceived by those who have not witnessed it; and if the money, which it would cost, could be saved by building the pulpit of pine, instead of mahogany, by having the organ in a cheap case, and by lining the pews with moreen instead of velvet, we think it would much better be expended on so noble a decoration.

We cannot dismiss the subject of churches without offering a word upon the arrangement of the singing-seats. These are generally in the front of the gallery opposite the pulpit, the most prominent and exposed situation in the building. The organ is usually placed immediately behind the first row of seats, leaving only a narrow space between the keys and the front of the gallery. Now it is a principle in music, very little recognised here, that the performers should be concealed. The effect of such an arrangement is remarkably illustrated in the Sistine Chapel at Rome, and in many of the convents in Europe where the nuns chant behind a lattice. By placing the organ and singers in a recess with a back wall, the music is improved in several ways. There is a certain mingling and union of sound which cannot be produced when the performers are stationed in a long row round the front gallery; and the tones are echoed from the recess with a power and harmony, that are lost in a considerable degree, when the music is performed in a more exposed situation. As our churches are commonly built, it would be extremely easy to have such an arrangement for the music, by cutting a recess from the back of the gallery into a porch or tower, large enough to contain the organ and singers. The whole front of this recess should be open to the church, and the back closely walled up; and we venture to predict, that, if such an orchestra as this were built, it would contribute greatly to the effect of the music. A contrivance somewhat similar to this has been lately adopted in the Chapel of the University of Cambridge, and renders it one of the finest music rooms in the country.

Nearly connected with sacred architecture, is another branch of the art, which is quite new in the United States, though it has been cultivated and perfected for centuries in Europe ; — Sepulchral architecture, which has been unknown in our country till within a few years, unless perhaps the rude grave-stones of our burying-grounds may be thought to deserve the name.

The only remarkable display of this architecture is at the Mount Auburn Cemetery, near Boston. Too much praise cannot be given to those, who originated this design and selected the place. A lovelier spot we never saw. The lofty heights, the deep glens and valleys, the calm reservoirs which reflect the surrounding hills and the skies from their unruffled surface, the deep shades, the retirement and peace of this hallowed ground, the tasteful paths winding with labyrinthine turns along the varied surface, the green turf and the sweet flowers which bloom over the silent graves, the simple monuments of white marble which are discerned here and there amid the shade, the birds that warble their lays undisturbed by the invading hand of man, all conspire to throw a charm over the place that we can find nowhere else. Its natural beauty is not equalled by that of the famous Campo Santo of Pisa, the cemetery at Liverpool, or even Père la Chaise. In architectural splendor it falls far short of these, and of many other cemeteries of the old world. Nor is it to be expected, that we should see at Mount Auburn such a display of magnificence as in Europe. It is very desirable, however, that whatever is done, should be in good taste ; and we have a few remarks to offer with regard to this. It is worthy of notice, that the few models for monuments which were at first displayed, have been very eagerly copied, and with no great variety. It is of great importance that the public taste, therefore, should be well directed, before the cemetery becomes filled with uncouth structures and monuments. The most remarkable specimen of architecture, and that which seems to have diffused its character over the whole place, is the gateway. This is of Egyptian architecture ; and, in imitation, the principal portion of the monuments are in the same style. We have, accordingly, a great number of pyramids, and obelisks, and tombs supported by Egyptian columns, and fashioned in the heavy proportions of that style.

It is very doubtful whether the Egyptian style is most appropriate to a Christian burial-place. It certainly has no connexion with our religion. In its characteristics, it is anterior to civilization, and therefore is not beautiful in itself. No one will deny the superiority of the Grecian style in mere point of beauty. But more than this, Egyptian architecture reminds us of the religion which called it into being, the most degraded and revolting paganism which ever existed. It is the architecture of embalmed cats and deified crocodiles; solid, stupendous, and time-defying we allow, but associated in our minds with all that is disgusting and absurd in superstition. Now there is certainly no place, not even the church itself, where it is more desirable that our religion should be present to the mind, than the cemetery, which must be regarded either as the end of all things, the last, melancholy, hopeless resort of perishing humanity, the sad and fearful portion of man, which is to involve body and soul alike in endless night, or, on the other hand, as the gateway to a glorious immortality, the passage to a brighter world, whose splendors beam even upon the dark chambers of the tomb. It is from the very brink of the grave, where rest in eternal sleep the mortal remains of those whom we have best loved, that Christianity speaks to us, in its most triumphant, soul-exalting words, of victory over death, and a life to come. Surely, then, all that man places over the tomb should in a measure speak the same language. The monuments of the burial-ground should remind us that this is not our final abode; they should, as far as possible, recall to us the consolations and promises of our religion.

But there is a style of architecture which belongs peculiarly to Christianity, and owes its existence even to this religion; whose very ornaments remind one of the joys of a life beyond the grave; whose lofty vaults and arches are crowded with the forms of prophets and martyrs and beatified spirits, and seem to resound with the choral hymns of angels and archangels. But peculiarly are its power and sublimity displayed in the monuments it rears over the tomb. The elevated form, on which reposes the marble statue of the mailed knight or the holy woman, composed into the stately rest of the grave, yet the hands folded over the breast as if com-

mending the spirit to God who gave it; the canopy which overhangs it; the solemn vault that rises above; the gorgeous window, through which is poured a flood of golden light, like a beam from heaven, upon the abode of the dead; these are the characteristics of the architecture of Christianity, the sublime, the glorious Gothic.

And this is the style we would have chosen for the prevailing architecture of Mount Auburn. True, we cannot rear those gorgeous structures, which the fervor of the middle ages called forth in Europe; no more can we rival the Pyramids in our Egyptian style; but, if we attempt to imitate either, the Christian style should have the preference. We shall be told, perhaps, that very few persons have the same disagreeable associations with the Egyptian architecture, that we have expressed; that its solemn and heavy proportions become the tomb; and that it has the great merit of combining cheapness and durability. To these it may be replied, that, although there may be no preference existing previously in the minds of the community for one style or another, yet it is well to cultivate a preference for the Gothic, since it is a fact which nothing can alter, that this is Christian architecture, and the Egyptian belongs equally to paganism. It is desirable, that those who visit the graves of their friends should associate with the spot, the monuments and decorations which their religion has consecrated for a thousand years. But "the Gothic is more expensive than the Egyptian style." And is it, then, a principal object in rearing a monument to the memory of those we loved best, to save expense? Far be it from us to encourage extravagance in these structures; yet it seems to us, that if a few dollars more will purchase the change from the architecture of paganism to that of Christianity, they would be well expended. We doubt, however, whether a simple structure, such as the Gothic affords, might not be afforded as cheaply as any thing of the same size which is actually found at the Cemetery. As yet the gateway must be considered as unfinished; the present structure being only a model in wood, of what is hereafter to be perpetuated in granite. We would, therefore, suggest the question for the consideration of those who are interested in the matter, whether the plan might not be changed, and a Gothic structure erected, instead of the one

we now have, at little, or no additional expense. A fine effect would be produced by a wall pierced by three pointed arches, the middle one very lofty and broad for the admission of carriages. This wall should be surmounted by a battlement of open-work, or machicolated as it is called, and should be supported by buttresses, or by octagon towers terminating in light pinnacles. Such a structure we think might be erected at no greater expense than the present one, and would serve as the model for a more suitable style of monuments, than that which prevails in the Cemetery.

We are far from wishing, that the architecture of Mount Auburn should be exclusively Gothic. We are only desirous, that this noble style should be introduced; for at present we believe there is not a single specimen of it in the place. Nothing can be more beautiful than some of the classic monuments which are found there, Spurzheim's for instance. The broken shaft and the Grecian altar are simple and intrinsically elegant, and certainly deserve a place in the Cemetery. Nor would we exclude the obelisk, by far the most beautiful form of Egyptian architecture, whose stern and severe proportions seem to speak of eternal duration; but among these we would claim a place also for the architecture of Christianity.

We come finally to the consideration of a very important branch of the art, Domestic architecture, which is yet in a very unsettled state among us. With the internal arrangement of dwelling-houses we have little to do; supposing that every man can suit himself best. We would only suggest, that, in building a house, the comfort of the interior is of much greater consequence than external symmetry or elegance. For the fashion of the exterior, however, there is much to be said. Domestic architecture seems to take two forms, which we shall call the Palace style, and the Cottage style. Under the former class we range all the larger edifices destined to be inhabited, which, from their dimensions and the money expended upon them, are designed to assume regular architectural forms, and, being decorated with the usual ornaments of the Grecian or Gothic styles, contribute equally with churches and other public edifices to adorn the town in which they are built. Such edifices are to be judged by the regular laws of the art. The most remarkable specimen of the palace style in the United States, is the President's House at Wash-

ington. Under the cottage style we rank all dwelling-houses, whose interior is fashioned less with regard to the rules of architecture, than the convenient arrangement of the interior. These buildings do not depend upon architectural ornaments for their beauty, so much as upon their obvious fitness for comfort and use ; and their forms, so far from being necessarily regular, are often most picturesque and beautiful when least symmetrical. By the cottage style, we do not mean to convey the idea of small or mean structures. It admits of large proportions and of great elegance. It only does not aim at that unity and symmetry of form, and richness of ornament, which belong to the palace.

But it happens unfortunately, that the domestic architecture of our country is as ambitious as the society ; and as we do not acknowledge any superior in the social system, so we would be all on equal terms in our houses ; and if we have not money enough to build a large palace, we must forsooth have a little one ; but a palace it must be, at all events, if it is but ten feet square. The result of this is, that the country is filled with ambitious little buildings, covered with strange ornaments, and as fine as white and yellow paint can make them. The comfort of the rooms is sacrificed to the splendor of the exterior ; and, the purse of the builder being exhausted by the effort, he is forced to abandon the improvement of his grounds, so that his unhappy palace stands alone in its glory, without a tree to shade it, or a single green shrub to rest the eye.

Of late, it has become much the fashion to build country houses in the form of a Grecian temple with a projecting portico in front, resting on very magnificent columns. This style prevails at Cambridge. These classical models, which surround the college, are imitated closely in Cambridge-Port. Two or three specimens of this style are to be seen on the road which forms the continuation of the old Concord turnpike through the Port. One of them in particular we have noticed, as it has been in progress. It is a small edifice, the whole length of which, including the portico, may possibly be thirty feet, and the breadth fifteen. The front of this little building is adorned with four massive fluted columns, with elegantly carved Ionic capitals, the cost of which can scarcely have been less than that of all the rest of the house.

There seems to be a prevailing passion for columns, throughout the country. One gentleman, in an interior county, has surrounded his house with them, and his example has been followed in a house at East Boston. We do not deny that these columns are very handsome ; it is the thought of their material, pine wood, which destroys their effect ; and we must say that, to our mind, the house might be made a great deal prettier as well as more convenient, if the same money were expended in constructing it of some more durable material, and in adorning it with vines, shrubbery, and trees. Nothing can be more admirable for imitation, than the English cottage style, as it is perfectly adapted to our climate, and in good keeping with our taste in ornamental gardening ; and we would earnestly recommend to our architects, to import plans and elevations of these buildings, which constitute the true style of domestic architecture, rather than to go on multiplying among us the abortive temples and palaces, with which the land already groans. Let them remember, as a general rule, that a house is made to live in, and the convenience of the occupants is the first thing to be considered ; after this, the ornaments may be thought of.

The general form of a dwelling-house in the city, is in most cases of less importance than in the country, because houses are built in blocks, and are often, from the form of the land, deprived of symmetry.

There is one kind of ornament which might be used with good effect in our blocks of dwelling-houses, which are generally so plain as to be painful to the eye; we mean the appropriate ornament of windows, a rich heavy cornice above them, and a moulding extending sometimes down their sides. This contributes very greatly to relieve the plain surface, and give it a finished and elegant air. Any one who has visited Florence, must have been struck with the prevalence and beauty of this ornament. It is hardly to be found in our cities ; the best specimen of it in Boston, we believe, is on a large brick mansion in Beacon Street. In general, the windows are nothing more than square holes cut in the wall, and entirely destitute of their appropriate architecture. It may easily be imagined how much the fronts of the Tremont House and the Albion would be improved, by the addition of these ornaments.

We are not aware that Oriel windows are found in any building in the United States; and yet nothing can be more ornamental to the exterior, or contribute more to render the rooms agreeable. The effect of these beautiful windows, which project from the front of the house, something like the large shop windows, may be seen in all views of English cottages and ancient halls. They abound, too, in the college buildings at Oxford and Cambridge, and form a remarkable feature in the beautiful domestic architecture of that country. These windows might be adopted in our houses without any great expense, and we think would be found more convenient, and certainly much more beautiful, than the bows in front of many buildings. A row of oriel windows, projecting from the second stories of the houses in Park Street, for instance, would have a very picturesque effect.

We conclude with exhorting all house-builders to "fling away ambition"; to contrive their houses with a view to comfort rather than show, and to take special care that the proportions be not so great, and the cost so extravagant, as to gain for their edifices the unenviable name of "Follies."

Art. IV. — 1. *Melanie and Other Poems.* By N. P. Willis. Edited by Barry Cornwall. London; Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street. 1835. 16mo. pp. 232.

2. *Pencillings by the Way.* By N. P. Willis, Esq., Author of "Melanie," The "Slingsby" Papers, &c. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia; Carey, Lea, and Blanchard. 1836.

3. *Inklings of Adventure.* By the Author of "Pencillings by the Way." New York; Saunders and Otley. 1836.

The author of these works began his literary career very early in life. While yet a student at New Haven, he was known throughout the United States as one of our most promising and brilliant poets; and it has been supposed by some, that his early celebrity was of serious disadvantage to his after progress in the noble art, to which his

boyhood was devoted. Certain it is, that no author, belonging to our yet forming literature, has been pursued with more indiscriminate abuse, on the one hand, or more ill-judged applause, on the other. To withstand the united influence of partial friends and eager foes; to bear the intoxicating draught of flattery without reeling, and the bitter cup of unbounded hostility without despair; and to go on, in calmness and serenity, with the cultivation of poetry, trusting to the just awards of a coming generation, is what few men of any age, certainly no young man can be expected to do. And yet the still increasing catalogue of Mr. Willis's works proves that he is going right onward, without "bating a jot of heart or hope."

The volume of poems, published by him in England, in 1835, is one of great and various interest. It is introduced to the English public by Mr. Proctor, better known in this country by the assumed name of Barry Cornwall, whose own poems, for sweetness, melody, and delicacy, stand among the foremost of the present English literature. Barry Cornwall's preface, though liable to some criticism in a literary point of view, is written in a tone and temper which will command the approbation of every American. Blackwood's Magazine treats it with a ferocity for which we are utterly at a loss to conceive an adequate motive. Probably some political or personal antipathy lies at the bottom of it.

The poems in this volume are divided into three parts, each part being inscribed to some English friend of the author. It consists of several new poems, the longest of which are "Melanie," and a dramatic sketch called "Lord Ivon and his Daughter"; and a copious selection from Willis's earlier poems, most of which were previously familiar favorites of his countrymen. In our comments upon these poems, we shall follow the order in which the author has seen fit to publish them.

Melanie is a simple tale, but very gracefully told. The scene is laid in Tivoli, and the story related, during a walk round the Cascatelles, by the hero of it, a lonely traveller, who has revisited Italy, and while gazing around him, upon scenes familiar to his eye under other and happier circumstances, narrates the incidents, on which the poem is founded. He had previously visited Italy, accompanied by a young and lovely sister, his only remaining relative. While wandering

among the beautiful scenes of that classical region, they meet by accident a young painter, between whom and the sister a sudden attachment springs up. The lonely wanderer feels his loneliness increased, and his sorrows deepened, by the near prospect of losing a sister so dear to him. This mood of mind is very happily conceived and gracefully described by the poet. The attachment is finally to be consummated by a marriage. On the morning of the appointed day, they repair to the convent of Saint Mona, where the bridal ceremonies are to be performed. Among the listeners there is a nun, whose profoundest attention is given to the sacred ceremonial; suddenly she catches a view of the brother's face, and wildly asks, "De Brevern, is it thou?" The painter is the child of the nun, the offspring of her shame. The seducer was the father of De Brevern and his sister. The sudden horror of this *éclaircissement* is too much for the delicate frame of the lady, and she drops dead on the spot. Out of the incidents of this slight sketch, Mr. Willis has woven a very interesting tale. His verse has a smooth and melodious flow, well suited to the subject and the scene; and the picture of human emotions is heightened by the graceful tracery of allusion and imagery, which the poet has skilfully thrown around it.

The following lines are exceedingly beautiful.

"We came to Italy. I felt
A yearning for its sunny sky;
My very spirit seemed to melt
As swept its first warm breezes by.
From lip and cheek a chilling mist,
From life and soul a frozen rime,
By every breath seem'd softly kiss'd —
God's blessing on its radiant clime!
It was an endless joy to me
To see my sister's new delight;
From Venice in its golden sea
To Pæstum in its purple light,
By sweet Val d'Arno's tinted hills,
In Vallombrosa's convent-gloom,
Mid Terni's vale of singing rills,
By deathless lairs in solemn Rome,
In gay Palermo's 'Golden Shell,'
At Arethusa's hidden well —
We loiter'd like the impassion'd sun
That slept so lovingly on all,

And made a home of every one —
Ruin, and fane, and waterfall;
And crown'd the dying day with glory
If we had seen, since morn, but one old haunt of story."
— pp. 5, 6.

And the description of a spring morning at Tivoli, contained in the following lines, gives us a most lively feeling of its beauty.

"It was a morn, of such a day
As might have dawn'd on Eden first,
Early in the Italian May;
Vine-leaf and flower had newly burst,
And on the burthen of the air
The breath of buds came faint and rare;
And far in the transparent sky
The small, earth-keeping birds were seen
Soaring deliriously high;
And through the clefts of newer green
Yon waters dash'd their living pearls;
And with a gayer smile and bow
Troop'd on the merry village girls;
And from the Contadino's brow
The low-slouch'd hat was backward thrown,
With air that scarcely seem'd his own;
And Melanie with lips apart,
And clasped hands upon my arm,
Flung open her impassion'd heart,
And bless'd life's mere and breathing charm,
And sang old songs, and gather'd flowers,
And passionately bless'd once more life's thrilling hours."
— pp. 7, 8.

In a different strain, and on a higher theme, are the following exquisite lines.

"But Melanie — I little dream'd
What spells the stirring heart may move —
Pygmalion's statue never seem'd
More changed with life, than she with love.
The pearl tint of the early dawn
Flush'd into day-spring's rosy hue —
The meek, moss-folded bud of morn
Flung open to the light and dew —
The first and half-seen star of even
Wax'd clear amid the deepening heaven —

Similitudes perchance may be,
But these are changes oftener seen,
And do not image half to me
My sister's change of face and mien.
'T was written in her very air
That love had passed and enter'd there."—pp. 14, 15.

"Lord Ivon and his Daughter" is a dramatic sketch of great beauty and power; and the moral, we think, is very successfully evolved. It is, however, merely a sketch, and a rapid one. Lord Ivon calls his daughter to his side, and shows her a portrait; the portrait of that daughter's mother. The dialogue proceeds, and Lord Ivon relates the events of his life. He was born a peasant; but in early boyhood his latent ambition was roused by

"A book of poetry,
With which he daily crept into the sun,
To cheat sharp pain, with the bewildering dream
Of beauty he had only read of then."

He resolved to better his condition, and wandered, with a proud heart beating beneath a minstrel's garb, to the lofty palace, which was afterwards his own. He became the favorite and attendant of the noble Lady Clare, the youthful and beautiful mistress of that splendid mansion. He falls desperately in love of course, and his manner of declaring his passion is described in the following spirited lines.

"A summer, and a winter, and a spring,
Went over me like brief and noteless hours.
For ever at the side of one who grew
With every morn more beautiful; the slave,
Willing and quick, of every idle whim;
Singing for no one's bidding but her own,
And then a song from my own passionate heart,
Sung with a lip of fire, but ever named
As an old rhyme that I had chanced to hear;
Riding beside her, sleeping at her door,
Doing her maddest bidding at the risk
Of life — what marvel if at last I grew
Presumptuous?

"A messenger one morn
Spurr'd through the gate — 'A revel at the court!
And many minstrels, come from many lands,
Will try their harps in presence of the king;

And 't is the royal pleasure that my lord
Come with the young and lovely Lady Clare,
Rob'd as the Queen of Faery, who shall crown
The victor with his bays.'

"Pass over all
To that bewildering day. She sat enthroned
Amid the court; and never twilight star
Sprung with such sweet surprise upon the eye,
As she with her rare beauty on the gaze
Of the gay multitude. The minstrels changed
Their studied songs, and chose her for a theme;
And ever at the pause all eyes upturn'd
And fed upon her loveliness.

"The last
Long lay was ended, and the silent crowd
Waited the king's award, when suddenly
The sharp strings of a lyre were swept without,
And a clear voice claim'd hearing for a bard
Belated on his journey. Mask'd, and clad
In a long stole, the herald led me in.
A thousand eyes were on me, but I saw
The new-throned queen, in her high place, alone;
And, kneeling at her feet, I pressed my brow
Upon her footstool, till the images
Of my past hours rush'd thick upon my brain;
Then, rising hastily, I struck my lyre;
And, in a story woven of my own,
I so did paint her in her loveliness —
Pouring my heart all out upon the lines
I knew too faithfully, and lavishing
The hoarded fire of a whole age of love
Upon each passionate word, that, as I sunk
Exhausted at the close, the ravish'd crowd
Flung gold and flowers on my still quivering lyre;
And the moved monarch in his gladness swore
There was no boon beneath his kingly crown
Too high for such a minstrel!

"Did my star
Speak in my fainting ear? Heard I the king?
Or did the audible pulses of my heart
Seem to me so articulate? I rose,
And tore my mask away; and, as the stole
Dropped from my shoulders, I glanced hurriedly

A look upon the face of Lady Clare.
It was enough! I saw that she was changed;
That a brief hour had chilled the open child
To calculating woman; that she read
With cold displeasure my o'er-daring thought;
And on that brow, to me as legible
As stars to the rapt Arab, I could trace
The scorn that waited on me! Sick of life,
Yet, even then, with a half-rallied hope
Prompting my faltering tongue, I blindly knelt,
And claim'd the king's fair promise —

ISIDORE.

For the hand
Of Lady Clare?

LORD IVON.

No, sweet one — for a sword." — pp. 36 – 39.

After this he went to the wars, and returned with brilliant renown, having performed miracles of valor; but returned, only to be pitied by her, the hope of whose favor had spurred him desperately on.

"She knew her sometime minion,
And felt that she should never be adored
With such idolatry as his, and sighed
That hearts so true beat not in palaces.
But I was poor with all my bright renown,
And lowly born; and she — the Lady Clare!"

His wanderings were again renewed in search of wealth. Twenty years after he stood, an old man, at the same palace gate.

"I had been a slave
For gold that time. My star had wrought with me,
And I was richer than the wizard king,
Throned in the mines of Ind. I could not look
On my innumerable gems, the glare
Pain'd so my sun-struck eyes. My gold was countless."

He met upon the threshold, not the Lady Clare, but her young and lovely daughter.

"Her very self — all youth, all loveliness;
So like the fresh-kept picture in my brain,
That for a moment I forgot all else,

And staggered back and wept. She passed me by
With a cold look — "

He proceeds to describe the change that his boundless wealth had wrought in the manner of Lady Clare towards him.

" But what a change
Waited me here! My thin and grizzled locks
Were fairer now than the young minstrel's curls;
My sun-burnt visage and contracted eye
Than the gay soldier in his gallant mien;
My words were wit, my looks interpreted,
And Lady Clare — I tell you, Lady Clare
Leaned fondly — fondly! on my wasted arm.
O God! how changed my nature with all this!
I, that had been all love and tenderness, —
The truest and most gentle heart, till now,
That ever beat, — grew suddenly a devil!
I bought me lands, and titles, and received
Men's homage with a smooth hypocrisy;
And — you will scarce believe me, Isidore —
I suffered them to wile their peerless daughter,
The image and the pride of Lady Clare,
To wed me!

ISIDORE.

Sir! you did not!

LORD IVON.

" Ay! I saw
Th' indignant anger when her mother first
Broke the repulsive wish, and the degrees
Of shuddering reluctance, as her mind
Admitted the intoxicating tales
Of wealth unlimited. And when she look'd
On my age-stricken features, and my form,
Wasted before its time, and turned away
To hide from me her tears, her very mother
Whispered the cursed comfort in her ear
That made her what she is!

ISIDORE.

" You could not wed her,
Knowing all this!

LORD IVON.

I felt that I had lost
My life else. I had wrung, for forty years,
My frame to its last withers; I had flung
My boyhood's fire away — the energy
Of a most sinless youth — the toil, and fret,
And agony of manhood. I had dared,
Fought, suffered, slaved — and never for an hour
Forgot or swerved from my resolve; and now —
With the delirious draught upon my lips —
Dash down the cup!

ISIDORE.

Yet *she* had never wrong'd you!

LORD IVON.

Thou 'rt pleading for thy mother, my sweet child!
And angels hear thee. But if she was wrong'd,
The sin be on the pride that sells its blood
Coldly and only for this damning gold.
Had I not offered youth first? Came I not
With my hands brimm'd with glory to buy love —
And was I not denied?

ISIDORE.

Yet, dearest father,
They forced her not to wed?

LORD IVON.

I called her back
Myself from the church threshold, and, before
Her mother and her kinsmen, bade her swear
It was her own free choice to marry me.
I showed her my shrunk hand, and bade her think
If that was like a bridegroom, and beware
Of perjuring her chaste and spotless soul,
If now she loved me not.

ISIDORE.

What said she, sir?

LORD IVON.

Oh! they had made her even as themselves;
And her young heart was colder than the slab
Unsunn'd beneath Pentelicus. She pressed
My withered fingers in her dewy clasp,

And smiled up in my face, and chid 'my lord'
For his wild fancies, and led on!

ISIDORE.

And no
Misgiving at the altar?

LORD IVON.

None! She swore
To love and cherish me till death should part us,
With a voice clear as mine.

ISIDORE.

And kept it, father!
In mercy tell me so!

LORD IVON.

She lives, my daughter!

* * * * *

Long ere my babe was born, my pride had ebb'd,
And let my heart down to its better founts
Of tenderness. I had no friends — not one!
My love gush'd to my wife. I rack'd my brain
To find her a new pleasure every hour —
Yet not with me — I fear'd to haunt her eye!
Only at night, when she was slumbering
In all her beauty, I would put away
The curtains till the pale night-lamp shone on her,
And watch her through my tears.

One night her lips
Parted as I gazed on them, and the name
Of a young noble, who had been my guest,
Stole forth in broken murmurs. I let fall
The curtains silently, and left her there
To slumber and dream on; and, gliding forth
Upon the terrace, knelt to my pale star,
And swore, that if it pleased the God of light
To let me look upon the unborn child
Lying beneath her heart, I would but press
One kiss upon its lips, and take away
The life that was a blight upon her years.

ISIDORE.

I was that child!" — pp. 45 – 50.

After his daughter's birth, he had prepared to execute his purpose; but the catastrophe is described in the following lines.

"Yes — and I heard the cry
Of thy small 'piping mouth' as 't were a call
From my remembering star. I waited only
Thy mother's strength to bear the common shock
Of death within the doors. She rose at last,
And, oh! so sweetly pale! And thou, my child!
My heart misgave me as I looked upon thee.
But he was ever at her side whose name
She murmur'd in her sleep; and, lingering on
To drink a little of thy sweetness more
Before I died, I watched their stolen love
As she had been my daughter, with a pure,
Passionless joy that I should leave her soon
To love him as she would. I know not how
To tell thee more. * * *
* * * Come, sweet! she is not worthy
Of tears like thine and mine. * * *
* * * * She fled and left me
The very night! The poison was prepared —
And she had been a widow with the morn
Rich as Golconda. As the midnight chimed
My star rose. Gazing on its mounting orb,
I raised the chalice — but a weakness came
Over my heart; and taking up the lamp,
I glided to her chamber, and remov'd
The curtains for a last, a parting look
Upon my child. * * *
* * * Had she but taken thee,
I could have felt she had a mother's heart,
And drain'd the chalice still. I could not leave
My babe alone in such a heartless world!

ISIDORE.

Thank God! Thank God!" —pp. 51, 52.

This poem shows, we think, very considerable dramatic power. The character of old Lord Ivon is well conceived, and the gradual developement of it, as shown in his narration to his daughter, is admirably executed. The sketch points out a feudal and romantic age, the characteristics of which are well hit off, and the sentiments naturally and beautifully expressed. The influence of youthful ambition on a susceptible

mind, chained down to the vulgar walks of life; the uncontrollable ardor of an aspiring passion, kindled by patrician beauty in a low-born though poetic bosom; and the outpouring of that passion by the disguised minstrel at the court revel, are all admirable in their way. The blank verse, in which this sketch is written, is delicately and harmoniously constructed; and, being mostly narrative, is free from that occasional dimness, which weakens the effect of some of Willis's writings.

The remainder of this Part consists of shorter poems, of various degrees of merit. "Birth-day Verses," addressed to the poet's mother, are written in a tone of deep filial tenderness. The lines are free and flowing, and the language is marked by a natural and unaffected elegance, the appropriate and tasteful expression of the profoundest feelings of the heart.

"Florence Gray" is an elegant and graceful little poem, in which the recollection of a child at Rome mingles fancifully with the historic scenes among which the poet wandered.

The first poem in Part Second, is the "Dying Alchemist." The title indicates the tone and character of the piece. The struggling aspirations of the visionary after an unattainable object, and his despair when the death damp steals over his brow, and the icy chill reaches his heart, are powerfully conceived, and powerfully, nay painfully, described. The whole scene is full of horror. The next poem is one of those celebrated Scripture-pieces, which are almost unique in our literature, "The Leper." The description of the Judean noble, in the pride of his beauty and the glory of his youth, is drawn with a most skilful hand; and then the coming on of the leprosy, and the contrast between the leper's present and his former state, are movingly described. We cannot forbear quoting the conclusion of the poem, which is conceived in Mr. Willis's best style.

"It was noon,
And Helon knelt beside a stagnant pool
In the lone wilderness, and bathed his brow,
Hot with the burning leprosy, and touched
The loathsome water to his fevered lips,
Praying that he might be so blest — to die!
Footsteps approached, and, with no strength to flee,
He drew the covering closer on his lip,
Crying 'Unclean! unclean!' and in the folds

Of the coarse sackcloth shrouding up his face,
He fell upon the earth till they should pass.
Nearer the stranger came, and bending o'er
The leper's prostrate form, pronounced his name.
'Helon!' — the voice was like the master-tone
Of a rich instrument — most strangely sweet;
And the dull pulses of disease awoke,
And for a moment beat beneath the hot
And leprous scales with a restoring thrill.
'Helon! arise!' and he forgot his curse,
And rose and stood before him.

"Love and awe
Mingled in the regard of Helon's eye
As he beheld the stranger. He was not
In costly raiment clad, nor on his brow
The symbol of a princely lineage wore;
No followers at his back, nor in his hand
Buckler, or sword, or spear — yet in his mien
Command sat throned serene, and, if he smiled,
A kingly condescension graced his lips,
The lion would have crouched to, in his lair.
His garb was simple, and his sandals worn;
His stature modelled with a perfect grace;
His countenance, the impress of a God
Touched with the open innocence of a child;
His eye was blue and calm, as is the sky
In the serenest noon; his hair unshorn
Fell to his shoulders; and his curling beard
The fulness of perfected manhood bore.
He looked on Helon earnestly awhile,
As if his heart was moved, and, stooping down,
He took a little water in his hand
And laid it on his brow, and said, 'Be clean!'
And lo! the scales fell from him, and his blood
Coursed with delicious coolness through his veins,
And his dry palms grew moist, and on his brow
The dewy softness of an infant stole.
His leprosy was cleansed, and he fell down
Prostrate at Jesus' feet, and worshipped him."

— pp. 89 – 91.

"Parrhasius" is founded on a story told in Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," of an Athenian painter, who bought an aged captive, and subjected him to the most dreadful tortures, for the purpose of observing his expression and trans-

ferring it to the canvass. The subject is a shocking one ; and, though we feel the poet's genius, in the fearful minuteness and horrible distinctness, with which he goes through the scene (a scene from which we start back with shuddering), yet we must say we are sorry the poem was not left out of this edition.

The "Wife's Appeal" is a highly finished and delicate production. The scene is conceived in a style of brilliancy and beauty, which bear the closest scrutiny. The description of the study, in which a wealthy and accomplished gentleman is pondering over "a volume of old time" is perfect. The approach of "the wife," who is met at the entrance by "a graceful hound," the little incidents of the interview, and her appeal to his latent ambition, are represented in a very delicate manner. The passage containing the husband's reply, is in a high strain of poetry ; and the conclusion is full of touching sentiment, heightened by an impressive moral. He has yielded to his wife's appeal, and gone out among the throng of men, and now for the issue.

"A year —
And in his room again he sat alone.
His frame had lost its fulness in that time;
His manly features had grown sharp and thin,
And from his lips the constant smile had faded.
Wild fires had burned the languor from his eye;
The lids looked fevered, and the brow was bent
With an habitual frown. He was much changed.
His chin was resting on his clenched hand,
And with his foot he beat upon the floor
Unconsciously the time of a sad tune.
Thoughts of the past preyed on him bitterly.
He had won power and held it. He had walked
Steadily upward in the eye of Fame,
And kept his truth unsullied — but his home
Had been invaded by envenomed tongues;
His wife — his spotless wife — had been assailed
By slander, and his child had grown afraid
To come to him — his manner was so stern.
He could not speak beside his own hearth freely.
His friends were half estranged, and vulgar men
Presumed upon their services and grew
Familiar with him. He 'd small time to sleep,
And none to pray; and, with his heart in fetters,

He bore deep insults silently, and bowed
Respectfully to men who knew he loathed them!
And when his heart was eloquent with truth,
And love of country and an honest zeal
Burned for expression, he could find no words
They would not misinterpret with their lies.
What were his many honors to him now?
The good half doubted, falsehood was so strong —
His home was hateful with its cautious fears —
His wife lay trembling on his very breast
Frighted with calumny! — And this is FAME."
— pp. 112, 113.

"The Scholar of Thebet Ben Khorat" contains a good deal of wild, impassioned poetry, touched with an Oriental hue, that appeals strongly to the imagination. But we must pass on to the "Healing of the Daughter of Jairus." This is another of those "Scripture-pieces" of which we have spoken. The opening of this poem is exceedingly fine.

"Freshly the cool breath of the coming eve
Stole through the lattice, and the dying girl
Felt it upon her forehead. She had lain
Since the hot noontide in a breathless trance,
Her thin pale fingers clasp'd within the hand
Of the heart-broken Ruler, and her breast,
Like the dead marble, white and motionless.
The shadow of a leaf lay on her lips,
And as it stirr'd with the awakening wind,
The dark lids lifted from her languid eyes,
And her slight fingers mov'd, and heavily
She turn'd upon her pillow. He was there —
The same lov'd, tireless watcher, and she look'd
Into his face until her sight grew dim
With the fast-falling tears, and, with a sigh
Of tremulous weakness, murmuring his name,
She gently drew his hand upon her lips,
And kiss'd it as she wept. The old man sunk
Upon his knees, and in the drapery
Of the rich curtains buried up his face —
And when the twilight fell, the silken folds
Stirr'd with his prayer, but the slight hand he held
Had ceased its pressure, and he could not hear
In the dead, utter silence, that a breath
Came through her nostrils, and her temples gave

To his nice touch no pulse, and at her mouth
He held the lightest curl that on her neck
Lay with a mocking beauty, and his gaze
Ach'd with its deathly stillness." — pp. 130, 131.

And the passage following immediately upon this, containing a description of the scene, in which the Ruler found Jesus teaching, is finished with exquisite beauty. The conclusion of the poem is a perfect picture.

"Like a form
Of matchless sculpture in her sleep she lay —
The linen vesture folded on her breast,
And over it her white transparent hands,
The blood still rosy in their tapering nails.
A line of pearl ran through her parted lips,
And in her nostrils, spiritually thin,
The breathing curve was mockingly like life,
And round beneath the faintly tinted skin
Ran the light branches of the azure veins —
And on her cheek the jet lash overlay
Matching the arches pencill'd on her brow.
Her hair had been unbound, and falling loose
Upon her pillow, hid her small round ears
In curls of glossy blackness, and about
Her polished neck, scarce touching it, they hung
Like airy shadows floating as they slept.
'T was heavenly beautiful. The Saviour rais'd
Her hand from off her bosom, and spread out
The snowy fingers in his palm, and said
'*Maiden! Arise!*' — and suddenly a flush
Shot o'er her forehead, and along her lips
And through her cheek the rallied color ran,
And the still outline of her graceful form
Stirr'd in the linen vesture, and she clasp'd
The Saviour's hand, and fixing her dark eyes
Full on his beaming countenance — AROSE!"
— pp. 135, 136.

The address "To a City Pigeon," is one of the sweetest poems in the volume. The train of thought running through it is delightfully refreshing. The metrical flow is rich, and fills the mind with a sense of surpassing melody. The poem "On a Picture of a Beautiful Boy," is in a very different, but an exceedingly beautiful strain. The following, "On the Picture of a 'Child tired of Play,'" we think absolutely faultless.

"Tired of play! Tired of play!
What hast thou done this livelong day?
The birds are silent, and so is the bee;
The sun is creeping up steeple and tree;
The doves have flown to the sheltering eaves,
And the nests are dark with the drooping leaves,
Twilight gathers, and day is done —
How hast thou spent it — restless one!

"Playing? But what hast thou done beside
To tell thy mother at even tide?
What promise of morn is left unbroken?
What kind word to thy playmate spoken?
Whom hast thou pitied, and whom forgiven?
How with thy faults has duty striven?
What hast thou learned by field and hill,
By greenwood path, and by singing rill?

"There will come an eve to a longer day,
That will find thee tired — but not with play!
And thou wilt lean, as thou leanest now,
With drooping limbs and an aching brow,
And wish the shadows would faster creep,
And long to go to thy quiet sleep.
Well were it then if thine aching brow
Were as free from sin and shame as now!
Well for thee, if thy lip could tell
A tale like this, of a day spent well.
If thine open hand hath reliev'd distress —
If thy pity hath sprung to wretchedness —
If thou hast forgiven the sore offence,
And humbled thy heart with penitence —
If Nature's voices have spoken to thee
With their holy meanings eloquently —
If every creature hath won thy love,
From the creeping worm to the brooding dove,
If never a sad, low-spoken word
Hath plead with thy human heart unheard —
Then, when the night steals on as now,
It will bring relief to thine aching brow,
And, with joy and peace at the thought of rest,
Thou wilt sink to sleep on thy mother's breast."

— pp. 142 – 144.

We pass over two or three little poems, breathing the finest spirit of grace and beauty, for the sake of extracting the beginning of one addressed to "The Belfry Pigeon."

The thoughts and images are exquisitely natural, and the language cannot be surpassed.

"On the cross beam under the Old South bell
The nest of a pigeon is builded well.
In summer and winter that bird is there,
Out and in with the morning air.
I love to see him track the street,
With his wary eye and active feet;
And I often watch him as he springs,
Circling the steeple with easy wings,
Till across the dial his shade has passed,
And the belfry edge is gained at last.
'T is a bird I love, with its brooding note,
And the trembling throb in its mottled throat;
There 's a human look in its swelling breast,
And the gentle curve of its lowly crest;
And I often stop with the fear I feel —
He runs so close to the rapid wheel.

"Whatever is rung on that noisy bell —
Chime of the hour, or funeral knell —
The dove in the belfry must hear it well.
When the tongue swings out to the midnight moon —
When the sexton cheerly rings for noon —
When the clock strikes clear at morning light —
When the child is waked with "nine at night" —
When the chimes play soft in the Sabbath air,
Filling the spirit with tones of prayer —
Whatever tale in the bell is heard,
He broods on his folded feet unstirred,
Or rising half in his rounded nest,
He takes the time to smooth his breast,
Then drops again with filmed eyes,
And sleeps as the last vibration dies." — pp. 158 – 160.

The conclusion of the poem we do not like. It is prettily expressed, but the sentiment is not only unmanly in itself, but out of keeping with the preceding part, and with all the associations of the subject.

The "Blind Mother," the "Stolen Ring," and the lines addressed to the poet's mother from the Apennines, abound in fine images, and melodious expression; but we have no space for a particular criticism on each of them; and we pass now to the third and last division of the poems. This part contains a selection from Mr. Willis's early poems, and on

some accounts is the most interesting portion of the volume.

"The Shunamite" is a beautiful poem, founded on the simple and affecting story in the second book of Kings. The whole scene, in its minutest and most touching circumstances, stands before us. We feel the heat of the "sultry day of summer time." We feel

"As if the air had fainted, and the pulse
Of nature had run down, and ceased to beat."

How finished is the following picture.

"'Thy father is athirst' — and from the depths
Of the cool well under the leaning tree,
She drew refreshing water, and with thoughts
Of God's sweet goodness stirring in her heart,
She bless'd her beautiful boy, and to his way
Committed him. And he went lightly on,
With his soft hands press'd closely to the cool
Stone vessel, and his little naked feet
Lifted with watchful care, and o'er the hills,
And through the light green hollows, where the lambs
Go for the tender grass, he kept his way,
Wiling its distance with his simple thoughts,
Till, in the wilderness of sheaves, with brows
Throbbing with heat, he set his burthen down." — p. 174.

The following scene presents us with a touching picture of maternal distress, over a dying child.

"They bore him to his mother, and he lay
Upon her knees till noon — and then he died!
She had watch'd every breath, and kept her hand
Soft on his forehead, and gazed in upon
The dreamy languor of his listless eye,
And she had laid back all his sunny curls,
And kiss'd his delicate lip, and lifted him
Into her bosom, till her heart grew strong —
His beauty was so unlike death! She leaned
Over him now, that she might catch the low
Sweet music of his breath, that she had learn'd
To love when he was slumbering at her side
In his unconscious infancy —
— "'So still!
'T is a soft sleep! How beautiful he lies,
With his fair forehead, and the rosy veins

Playing so freshly in his sunny cheek!
How could they say that he would die! Oh God!
I could not lose him! I have treasured all
His childhood in my heart, and even now,
As he has slept, my memory has been there,
Counting like treasures all his winning ways—
His unforgotten sweetness: —
— "'Yet so still! —
How like this breathless slumber is to death!
I could believe that in that bosom now
There were no pulse — it beats so languidly!
I cannot see it stir; but his red lip!
Death would not be so very beautiful!
And that half smile — would death have left *that* there?
— And should I not have felt that he would die?
And have I not wept over him? — and prayed
Morning and night for him? and *could* he die? —
— No — God will keep him! He will be my pride
Many long years to come, and this fair hair
Will darken like his father's, and his eye
Be of a deeper blue when he is grown;
And he will be so tall, and I shall look
With such a pride upon him! *He* to die!'
And the fond mother lifted his soft curls,
And smiled, as if 't were mockery to think
That such fair things could perish —
— Suddenly
Her hand shrunk from him, and the color fled
From her fix'd lip, and her supporting knees
Were shook beneath her child. Her hand had touch'd
His forehead, as she dallied with his hair —
And it was cold — like clay! Slow, very slow,
Came the misgiving that her child was dead.
She sat a moment, and her eyes were clos'd
In a dumb prayer for strength, and then she took
His little hand and press'd it earnestly —
And put her lip to his — and look'd again
Fearfully on him — and then, bending low,
She whisper'd in his ear, 'My son! — My son!'
And as the echo died, and not a sound
Broke on the stillness, and he lay there still
Motionless on her knee — the truth *would* come!
And with a sharp, quick cry, as if her heart
Were crush'd, she lifted him and held him close

Into her bosom — with a mother's thought —
As if death had no power to touch him there!"

— pp. 175–178.

"Absalom" is another fine delineation of a Scripture theme. The introductory lines contain an exquisitely worded night-piece, ending with this noble thought.

"How strikingly the course of nature tells,
By its light heed of human suffering,
That it was fashioned for a happier world."

The description of King David's mourning for his lost son, the princely rebel Absalom; the sketch of Absalom, as he lay "straightened for the grave"; and the lament of David over the dead body; are conceived and uttered in a tone of lofty poetry.

"Hagar in the Wilderness" is almost the finest poem in the volume. It is wrought up to a higher point of elaboration, is full of higher passion, and flows with more earnestness and freedom, than the others. It has, indeed, the germ of a tragedy. It delineates wounded affections, and blighted love, and deep despair. An injured woman, sent abroad to suffer and perhaps to die; with a son reduced to all the woes of orphanage, while his father yet lives; the sinking heart of a helpless and deserted one; these are the themes, which fill this magnificent piece with a surpassing interest. The descriptive passages are finished with a more than usual skill; they are introduced with a more delicate perception of propriety; and the whole poem is wrought up with a finer sense of proportion, than any of the other pieces we have spoken of. The following passage, in energy of expression, and force of passion, reminds us of the Medea of Euripides.

"Should Hagar weep? May slighted woman turn,
And as a vine the oak hath shaken off,
Bend lightly to her leaning trust again?
O no! by all her loveliness — by all
That makes life poetry and beauty, no!
Make her a slave; steal from her rosy cheek
By needless jealousies; let the last star
Leave her a watcher by your couch of pain;
Wrong her by petulance, suspicion, all
That makes her cup a bitterness — yet give
One evidence of love, and earth has not

An emblem of devotedness like hers.
But, oh! estrange her once — it boots not how —
By wrong or silence, any thing that tells
A change has come upon your tenderness, —
And there is not a high thing out of heaven
Her pride o'ermastereth not." — p. 188.

"The Widow of Nain" is the last of the Scripture pieces. It is marked by the same characteristics as the others; fine description, delicate imagery, and minuteness of finish. We quote the following beautiful lines.

"'T was now high noon.
The dull, low murmur of a funeral
Went through the city — the sad sound of feet
Unmix'd with voices — and the sentinel
Shook off his slumber, and gazed earnestly
Up the wide street along whose paved way
The silent throng crept slowly. They came on,
Bearing a body heavily on its bier,
And by the crowd that in the burning sun
Walk'd with forgetful sadness, 't was of one
Mourn'd with uncommon sorrow. The broad gate
Swung on its hinges, and the Roman bent
His spear-point downwards as the bearers pass'd
Bending beneath their burthen. There was one —
Only one mourner. Close behind the bier
Crumpling the pall up in her wither'd hands,
Follow'd an aged woman. Her short steps
Falter'd with weakness, and a broken moan
Fell from her lips, thicken'd convulsively
As her heart bled afresh. The pitying crowd
Follow'd apart, but no one spake to her.
She had no kinsmen. She had lived alone —
A widow with one son. He was her all —
The only tie she had in the wide world —
And he was dead. They could not comfort her."
— pp. 194, 195.

The remainder of the volume is filled with shorter pieces, delicate trifles, which are all familiar to American readers of occasional poetry. "The Annoyer" is an exquisite little song, and universally popular in the musical circles. "André's Request to Washington" is remarkable for a terseness of expression, beyond any other in the collection.

We have thus gone over Mr. Willis's Poems in a cursory

manner. The passages we have cited, prove the truth, we trust, of the praises we have bestowed upon them. Upon a general view of these poems, we think we are justified in pronouncing Mr. Willis a poet of great and varied powers. In some attributes of the poetic character, we should hardly know where to look for his superior. His sensibility to beauty, whether of external nature, or of the human form, is ever alive. He enjoys richly and freely the breath of heaven, the sunshine, and the splendor of the star-crowned night; earth and sky are perpetual ministers to his imagination. His language is almost always choice, and descriptive. By the power of finely selected words, he brings every variety of landscape before us; and the myriad voices of Nature seem to be uttered in his magical tones. Such is the richness, so captivating the sweetness of his verse, that many readers fail to discover the depth, variety, and power of his poetry. There is sometimes an over-daintiness of expression, that naturally enough makes a fastidious delicacy, rather than strength, to be regarded as his leading characteristic. But if we do not greatly err, the passages we have cited, bear incontestable evidence of the vigor and variety, as well as delicacy, of Mr. Willis's poetical genius. The dramatic sketch of "Lord Ivon and his Daughter," and the Scripture piece, "Hagar in the Wilderness," show his power of entering into, and nobly expressing, the higher passions of human nature. Still it must be acknowledged, that Mr. Willis has too strong an inclination for finely turned lines, and repeats too often a few favorite expressions. It must also be conceded, that fine phraseology sometimes, though rarely, tempts him away from the beaten path of distinct meaning. But this fault, Mr. Willis has in common with the most distinguished poets of England; in fact it belongs to the poetical character of the times. In other respects, his language is possessed of extraordinary beauty. In simplicity, force, and freshness, in descriptive power, and in the elegant blending of the Saxon and Latin elements of English, we know not where we should look for a style superior to it. In brilliancy of imagination, richness and variety of associations, and delicate transitions from the description of natural scenery, to human passions connected with it or breaking out in the midst of it, or to simple emotions growing out of the contemplation of it; in a nice feeling of just proportion, and a quick eye for small traits which individualize a

scene or a person ; and in an ever-varying richness of melody, the poetry of Mr. Willis may be compared to advantage with almost any writings of this age.

"Pencillings by the Way" is a very spirited book. The letters, out of which it is constructed, were written originally for the New York "Mirror," and were not intended for distinct publication. From this circumstance, the author indulged in a freedom of personal detail, which we must say is wholly unjustifiable, and we have no wish to defend it. This book does not pretend to contain any profound observations or discussions on national character, political condition, literature, or even art. It would be obviously impossible to carry any one of these topics thoroughly out, without spending vastly more time and labor upon it, than a rambling poet is likely to have the inclination to do. In fact, there are very few men, who are qualified, by the nature of their previous studies, to do this with any degree of edification to their readers. But a man of general intellectual culture, especially if he have the poetical imagination superadded, may give us rapid sketches of other countries, which will both entertain and instruct us. Now this book is precisely such an one as we have here indicated. The author travelled through Europe, mingling largely in society, and visited whatever scenes were interesting to him as an American, a scholar, and a poet. The impressions which these scenes made upon his mind, are described in these volumes ; and we must say, we have rarely fallen in with a book of a more sprightly character, a more elegant and graceful style, and full of more lively descriptions. The delineations of manners are executed with great tact ; and the shifting pictures of natural scenery pass before us as we read, exciting a never-ceasing interest. As to the personalities which have excited the wrath of British critics, we have, as we said before, no wish to defend them ; but a few words upon the tone, temper, and motives of those gentlemen, in their dealing with our author, will not, perhaps, be considered inappropriate.

It is a notorious fact, that British criticism, for many years past, has been, to a great extent, free from all the restraints of a regard to literary truth. Assuming the political creed of an author, it would be a very easy thing to predict the sort of criticism his writings would meet with, in any or all of the leading periodicals of the kingdom. This tendency

has been carried so far, that even discussions of points in ancient classical literature have been shaped and colored by it. Thus, Aristophanes' comedies are turned against modern democracy, and Pindar, the Theban Eagle, has been unceremoniously classed with British Tories, by the London Quarterly. Instead of inquiring "What is the author's object? How far has he accomplished it? How far is that object worthy of approbation?" — three questions that are essential to all just criticism; the questions put by English Reviewers are substantially "What party does he belong to? Is he a Whig, Tory, Radical, or is he an American?" And the sentence in such cases depends on the answer to them. Even where British criticism is favorable to an American author, its tone is likely to be haughty and insulting; like the language of a condescending city gentleman towards some country cousin, whom he is kind enough to honor with his patronage.

Now, to critics of this sort, Mr. Willis was a tempting mark. No one can for a moment believe that the London Quarterly, Frazer's Magazine, and Capt. Maryatt's monthly, are honest in the language they hold towards Mr. Willis. Motives, wide enough from a love of truth, guided the conduct of these journals. The editor of the London Quarterly, it is well known, is the author of "Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk," a work full of personalities, ten times more objectionable than any thing to be found in the "Pencillings." Yet this same editor did not blush to write and print a long and most abusive tirade upon the American traveller, for doing what he had himself done to a much greater and more reprehensible extent; and, to cap the climax of inconsistency, republished in his journal the very personalities, names and all, which had so shocked his delicate sensibilities. It is much more likely that a disrespectful notice of the London Quarterly and its editor, in these "Pencillings," was the source from which this bitterness flowed, than that any sense of literary justice dictated the harsh review. Another furious attack on Mr. Willis's book appeared in the monthly journal, under the editorial management of Captain Maryatt, the author of a series of very popular sea novels. Whoever was the author of that article, ought to be held disgraced in the opinions of all honorable men. It is the most extraordinary tissue of insolence and coarseness, with one exception, that we have ever seen, in any periodical which pretended to respectability of literary

character. It carries its grossness to the intolerable length of attacking the private character of Mr. Willis, and throwing out foolish sneers about his birth and parentage. It is this article which led to the well-known correspondence, between the American Poet and the British Captain, ending in a hostile meeting. It is to be regretted that Mr. Willis should so far forget the principles of his New England education, as to participate in a duel. We regard the practice with horror; we believe it not only wicked, but absurd. We cannot possibly see how Mr. Willis's tarnished fame could be brightened by the superfluous work of putting an additional quantity of lead into the gallant captain. But there is, perhaps, no disputing about tastes; and, bad as we think the whole affair was, no candid man can read the correspondence without feeling that Mr. Willis's part of it is infinitely superior to the Captain's, in style, sense, dignity of feeling, and manly honor.

Besides these, Frazer's Magazine must needs open on Willis its batteries of abuse, and the review of the "Pencillings" in this journal is the one exception to which we alluded above. The reading public has long been subjected to the perpetrations of that print, for some general sin of unknown enormity. We may truly say, that there are few things more disgraceful to the literary taste of this age, than the continued existence of that abomination. It is high Tory in politics; that, however, is well enough; at least we will not complain of it. But, in addition to this, it is an exaggeration of the very worst parts of Blackwood's; it has not even the merit of originality. As to any *principle* of literary criticism, the reader will look in vain over the dreary waste of its pages, for any indication of such a thing. We must except a few papers, that have occasionally appeared,—*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*,—from these remarks. A sketch of Goethe's "Tasso," that we remember to have read in it some time ago, is a beautiful piece of literary discussion. But, in general, its wit is buffoonery; its satire is virulent and personal; its language belongs to no recognised form of the speech of a civilized people. In the review of Willis, there is a concentration of all these pleasing qualities of style. That paper abounds in phraseology, that no gentleman admits into his vocabulary. Its severity consists in the very witty and original device of calling nick-names. Now can this be considered criticism? Does any man in his senses

read, with any degree of trust, opinions expressed in such a style, by such a journal? In fact, the character of that journal for dishonest dealing in literature is notorious. Our readers will remember, that not very long ago, an English court of law awarded to Mr. Alaric A. Watts pretty heavy damages, in a suit brought by him against its conductor, for a fraudulent attack on his literary reputation. The attack was no more or less than a forgery, printed in that journal as the production of Mr. Watts, in which his style and manner were held up to ridicule.

We have no wish, that Mr. Willis, or any other American writer, should be sheltered from criticism. Every man, who ventures before the public with a book, ought to be held to the severest responsibility. We care not how sharply he may be dealt with. But there ought to be some recognised principle, stated or implied, in the criticism; and the language ought not to be such as would disgrace the carousers of a pot-house.

But to return to the work from which we have been partially drawn aside. Its merits in point of style are unquestionable. It is written in a simple, vigorous, and highly descriptive form of English, and rivets the reader's attention throughout. There are passages in it of graphic eloquence, which it would be difficult to surpass from the writings of any other tourist whatever. The topics our author selects, are, as has been already stated, not those which require long and careful study to appreciate and discuss; they are such as the poetic eye would naturally dwell upon, and a poetic hand rapidly delineate, in a cursory survey of foreign lands. Occasionally, we think, Mr. Willis enters too minutely into the details of the horrible. Some of his descriptions of the cholera, and the pictures he gives us of the catacombs of the dead, are ghastly. But the manners of society he draws with admirable tact; and personal peculiarities of distinguished men, he renders with a most life-like vivacity. Many of his descriptions of natural scenery are more like pictures, than sketches in words. The description of the Bay of Naples will occur as a good example.

It would be impossible to point out, with any degree of particularity, the many passages in this book whose beauty deserves attention. But it may be remarked in general, that the greater part of the first volume is not so fresh and various

and animated, as the second. This we suppose arises partly from the fact that France and Italy have long been beaten ground ; but Greece and Asia Minor have a newness of interest about them, which cannot but give more vigor and elasticity to a traveller's description. Mr. Willis's account of the Ionian Islands is exceedingly lively ; and his contrast between present scenes and classic associations is highly amusing.

We think most readers will find Mr. Willis's sketches of Turkish scenes and Turkish life the most entertaining parts of his book. They are written with great sprightliness, and will richly reward a careful perusal.

The last part of the book is a statement of the author's observations upon English life and society ; and it is this portion, which the English critics affect to be so deeply offended with. The most objectionable passage in this is the account of a dinner at Lady Blessington's. Unquestionably Mr. Moore's remarks about Mr. O'Connell ought not to have been reported, considering the time when, and the place where, they were uttered ; though they contain nothing new about the great Agitator, the secrets disclosed being well known to some millions of people who interest themselves in British politics, and read the British newspapers. We close our remarks on this work by referring our readers to a capital scene on board a Scotch steam-boat, and a breakfast at Professor Wilson's, the famous editor of Blackwood, both in the second volume, which we regret our inability to quote.

"Inklings of Adventure" is a collection of pieces, published originally in a London monthly journal. They purport to be the papers of Philip Slingsby, arranged and edited by Mr. Willis. As this Philip Slingsby is merely a *nom de guerre*, we must hold Mr. Willis responsible both for the thoughts and style, in spite of his disclaimer. In the preceding observations on Willis's writings, we have freely expressed the admiration we have felt, without yielding a whit to the prejudices or partialities of the day ; and we shall now express just as freely our disapprobation of many things in the volumes immediately under our observation.

There are many admirable passages in these "Inklings." The language is rich and varied ; many of the narratives are highly exciting ; and some of the characters are well drawn. But, so far as they are considered in

the light of delineations of *American* society, they must be pronounced unsuccessful. Considered in the light of tales and sketches, many of them are extravagant and improbable. They are colored falsely and glaringly ; character, incident, and catastrophe, in most of them, are out of keeping with American thought, American morals, and American life. But our most serious objection is, that many passages in them breathe a worldly and voluptuous spirit, which may be very taking to the imaginations of pert young gentlemen who affect *ennui* and disgust — the would-be *blasés* of American society ; but it must be condemned by every reader who cherishes a love of a hearty, sound, and moral national literature. We say this with regret, and in no over-prudish spirit. There are beauties, of the most exquisite sort, which will insure these volumes a wide circulation ; and we, in common with all the admirers of Willis's genius, cannot but lament that his brilliant and fascinating pen should have lent itself to the perpetuating of fashionable frivolities and a voluptuous tone of thinking.

We have spoken thus of what we consider the faults of the "Inklings." Of their numerous excellencies, their gorgeous descriptions, their brilliant wit, it is unnecessary to speak more at large ; they speak for themselves. We must content ourselves with merely referring to two short passages, the first, a description of Nahant, and the second a rich and daintily worded essay in the story of Edith Lindsay, in the first volume, as favorable specimens of the better parts of this book.

Every impartial reader must confess, that for so young a man, Mr. Willis has done much to promote the reputation of American literature. His position at present is surrounded with every incentive to a noble ambition. With youth and health, to sustain him under labor ; with much knowledge of the world, acquired by travel and observation, to draw upon ; with a mature style, and a hand practised in various forms of composition, Mr. Willis's genius ought to take a wider and higher range than it has ever done before. We trust we shall meet him again, erelong, in the paths of literature ; and we trust that he will take it kindly, if we express the hope, that he will lay aside those tendencies to exaggeration, and to an unhealthy tone of sentiment, which mar the beauty of some of his otherwise most agreeable books.

ART. V. — *Message from the President of the United States, transmitting, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, sundry Documents relating to the Northeastern Boundary of the United States.* 8vo. pp. 64.

WE have had occasion repeatedly to call the attention of our readers, to the subject of the disputed boundary between the United States and the British provinces of New Brunswick and Lower Canada. As it is a subject in which are involved the conflicting claims of Great Britain and the United States, to a valuable tract of territory, and one which has given rise to elaborate diplomatic discussions between the two nations, for a period of twenty years, without any approximation to an adjustment of the questions in controversy, we have deemed it a duty to keep the public correctly informed, respecting the various phases which these questions have assumed during the discussions.

The documents now published embrace the whole correspondence, between the two governments, on the subject, during the last four years. The whole of the correspondence is now for the first time laid before the public, having been communicated to the Senate of the United States, in compliance with their request, and printed by their order. In the course of this negotiation, some important changes have been made in the state of the question under discussion, which are deserving of attention, not merely as interesting historical facts, but from their bearing on the probable final adjustment of the controversy.

It is remarkable, that so much difficulty should have arisen in the actual designation of a line of boundary, which is defined in the treaty between the two countries, with so much precision, by reference to natural objects accurately known at the time, and is correctly delineated on maps then in common use. The main question in dispute, is that which relates to the Eastern and Northern lines, forming the Northeastern angle of the United States. These lines are thus described in the treaty; viz. "*from the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia*, viz. that angle which is *formed by a line drawn due North from the source of the St. Croix river to the highlands; along the said highlands which divide those rivers*

that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the Northwesternmost head of Connecticut river ;" and, after a description of the other boundaries, "East by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and *from its source directly North to the aforesaid highlands*, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean, from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence."

It will be perceived that there are three important and material parts to this description ;

1st. *The Northwest angle of Nova Scotia*, which constitutes the place of beginning of the boundary ;

2d. The Highlands forming *one side of the said angle, and dividing the waters* of the St. Lawrence from those of the Atlantic ; and

3d. The line to be drawn from the source of the river St. Croix, *directly North to the highlands* before mentioned, and forming the other side of the angle of Nova Scotia, at which the whole described boundary begins and ends.

The language in which these parts of the boundary are described is so precise, and refers to facts so notorious and indisputable, as to defy all mistake or doubt.

1. The first question is to ascertain the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia. This is easily done by reference to historical and legal documents of undoubted authority, notorious at the time when the treaty was framed, as well as at the present time. We will cite here a few of these authorities ; and, in doing this, we give the assurance, that all the other documents of any authority bearing upon this point, of which there are many, concur in proving the same fact.

At the date of the treaty of 1783, John Parr, Esq., was Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of Nova Scotia. In his commission from the King of Great Britain the limits of the province are described, and in that description are the following words, viz. "bounded on the Westward, by a line drawn from Cape Sable across the entrance of the bay of Fundy, to the mouth of the river St. Croix, by the said river to its source, and *by a line drawn due north from thence to the Southern boundary of our colony of Quebec, to the Northward by the said boundary*, as far

as the western extremity of the bay of Chaleurs," &c. This description, which is repeated, in substance, in subsequent commissions from the same authority, confirmed as it is by the treaty, shows that the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia is to be found, at the intersection of a line running due North from the source of the river St. Croix, with the southern boundary of the colony of Quebec.

The Southern boundary of the colony of Quebec is defined with equal clearness and certainty, in the royal Proclamation of October 7th, 1763, establishing that province ; also in the act of Parliament of 1774, for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec. In this last-named document, the province is described as " bounded on the South *by a line from the bay of Chaleurs, along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea.*" So also in the royal commission to Frederick Haldimand, Esq., as Governor-in-Chief of the Province of Quebec, granted September 18th, 1777, under which commission he remained in office until after the date of the treaty, the boundaries of the province are described, in part, in the following words, " bounded on the South by *a line from the bay of Chaleurs, along the highlands*, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea, to a point in forty-five degrees of North latitude, on the eastern bank of the river Connecticut."

No one can read these descriptions, of highlands *extending from the bay of Chaleurs to the source of the Connecticut*, and forming the southern boundary of the Province of Quebec (since known as the Province of Lower Canada), without being satisfied that the highlands described are those which lie North of the river St. John. The bay of Chaleurs is situated in a direction nearly East from the most northerly part of the St. John river, and no chain of highlands can be conceived of, as extending thence to the sources of the Connecticut, except to the Northward of the St. John. To the line here indicated, the jurisdiction of the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick has, in fact, always extended.

If there be any difficulty in determining which are the highlands dividing the waters as described in the treaty, how have the

Governors of the two Provinces been able to define the limits of their respective jurisdictions, as described in their commissions? It is well known that the jurisdiction of the government of Lower Canada has in practice never extended to the lands watered by the St. John; and that the government of New Brunswick, which succeeds that of Nova Scotia, by a division of the Province, has always extended beyond the St. John, to the waters falling into the bay of Chaleurs. It has never been suggested that the governments of the two Provinces found any difficulty in agreeing upon this boundary. It was, in fact, never thought that the language of the several proclamations admitted of but one interpretation. On what ground, then, can it be pretended that the treaty, which copies the same description, requires a different interpretation?

Thus we have clearly defined, by historical and official documents of the most unquestionable authority, the position of the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia. It is an angle formed by the meeting of the Easterly and Northerly boundary lines of the Province; the former running due north from the source of the St. Croix, and the latter running westerly from the bay of Chaleurs, by highlands north of the river St. John, and forming the Southern boundary of the province of Lower Canada. By necessary consequence, the adjoining angle, formed by the meeting of the same lines, constitutes the Northeasterly angle of the United States. Here the Northern boundary described in the treaty begins, and here the Eastern boundary ends. This point is readily determined, by reference to any map of the country in question. There is no map in existence, published either before or since the date of the treaty, on which this point may not be easily designated, by the description in the treaty; or on which the point, so designated, would not be shown to be north of the river St. John. Mitchell's map, which is known to have been consulted by the commissioners who framed the treaty, indicates as clearly the position of the angle north of the St. John, as do the maps published at the present day. To delineate the same angle upon the soil itself, it is only necessary to run a meridian line from the monument already established at the source of the St. Croix, and to ascertain by investigations upon the spot, the point at which the waters

begin to run into the bay of Chaleurs, which is a part of the waters of the St. Lawrence, in contradistinction from the waters of the Atlantic.

2. Having determined the position of the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia, we have necessarily determined, not only the point at which the boundary line described in the treaty begins, but that of the highlands along which this line runs, in its course to the source of the Connecticut river. This line is described by the treaty, as running "*along the said highlands*," and is of course identical with the line forming the angle. It is consequently identical with the southern boundary of the province of Quebec, and is defined in all the official descriptions of the limits of that province, from its establishment to the present day, as running from the bay of Chaleurs, along the highlands, to the source of the Connecticut. It is, consequently, a line running along the highlands north of the river St. John. In fact, we believe there is not extant a document of any sort, official or unofficial, in which any part of the territory watered by the streams falling into the St. John, is claimed as within the limits of the province of Quebec, or Lower Canada. It is not as a part of Lower Canada, but as a part of Nova Scotia, or its modern designation, New Brunswick, that an attempt is made to extend the British claim over the territory watered by the branches of the St. John. We assume it therefore as indisputable, that the Northern line of the United States, not only begins at the Northeast angle of Nova Scotia, but is an extension of the same northern line which forms that angle, along the same highlands which designate the Northern boundary of Nova Scotia, and also the Southern boundary of Lower Canada. Beginning upon these highlands, it necessarily continues along them, until it reaches the source of the Connecticut.

3. The only remaining part of the description in the treaty, to be considered, is that which defines the extreme Eastern portion of the boundary, namely, from the source of the river St. Croix "*directly north to the* AFORESAID *highlands*," which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence." That by the "aforesaid highlands" are intended the highlands before described as forming the Northern boundary of Nova Scotia, and consequently the Southern boundary of the province of Quebec, there cannot be the slightest question. Not only

does the language necessarily imply it, but, if they could be interpreted in any other sense, the description would be incomplete. The line described begins at the Northeast angle of Nova Scotia, and, after making the circuit of the territories of the Union, it ends at the same point. The Eastern boundary of the United States is consequently identical with the Western boundary of Nova Scotia, in its whole extent. It would not be answering the terms of the treaty that this line should terminate at Mars' Hill, on the South of the St. John, if it could be admitted that that hill is a highland dividing waters falling into the St. Lawrence from waters falling into the Atlantic, because this hill is clearly not the "*aforesaid* highlands," along which runs the line, forming the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia, and the Northeast angle of the United States.

The only grounds on which the British claimants would evade this construction of the terms of the treaty, we believe are two. 1st, That there are no highlands between the St. Lawrence and the St. John, which answer the description in the treaty; and, 2nd, That the St. John is not to be regarded as one of the rivers described in the treaty, "which fall into the Atlantic Ocean," since that river falls into the bay of Fundy, and the treaty must intend rivers which fall directly into the Atlantic. Resting on these two assumptions, they insist that the highlands which are not to be found north of the St. John, may be found at the south of that river, beginning at Mars' Hill, and extending to the source of the Connecticut, and that these highlands divide rivers which fall into the St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic.

I. The position that there are no highlands between the rivers St. Lawrence and St. John, which correspond with the description in the treaty, is an assumption without proof, and contrary to the fact. If it were true, that there is no elevated and mountainous tract of territory, answering the description of highlands in the ordinary acceptation of that term, it would be a sufficient compliance with the description, if there were designated a tract of ground, however low, so situated that the waters falling on one side of it, were found to flow into one of the rivers referred to, and those falling on the other side of it, to flow into the other. That there is such a tract of country between the St. Lawrence and St. John rivers, dividing the waters falling into one from those

which fall into the other, and consequently of a greater elevation than the adjoining country on each side of it, no one can deny or doubt. Such a tract of country is appropriately designated by the term *highlands*, and it is in no other sense that the term was originally applied to this range of country, in the proclamation of 1763, in the Act of Parliament of 1774, and in all the commissions of the governors of Lower Canada, or adopted from those documents in the treaty of 1783. Such a tract of country is not only discoverable, but has been actually discovered, and it forms the actual limit of the jurisdiction of the government of Lower Canada. It is only to give to the language of the treaty the same interpretation, which has been given by the British governors of that province to the same language in their commissions, and it will be construed according to its true and obvious meaning. Indeed a resort to this obvious definition of the term *highlands*, as used in the treaty, is unnecessary ; for it is certain, that the range of country, which in fact divides the waters of the two rivers, is an elevated, and in some parts mountainous ridge, well entitled to the appellation of *highlands* in the ordinary and popular sense of that term.

II. The second objection to our interpretation of the treaty, and that which more than any thing else puzzled the King of the Netherlands in making his award, is, that the St. John is not one of the rivers which is meant to be designated in the treaty as falling into the Atlantic. It is a sufficient answer to this objection, that the St. John river does in fact empty itself into the Atlantic Ocean, and not into the river St. Lawrence, or into the gulf of that name. It is true that its waters are first discharged into the Bay of Fundy, a branch of the ocean, and thence into the ocean itself, in the same manner as the river Penobscot discharges itself into Penobscot bay, and thence into the ocean. It is not only according to the literal sense of the words, but in conformity with the common use of language, that these rivers may be said to flow into the Atlantic Ocean, with the same truth and propriety as they can be said to flow into the bays through which they pass to the ocean. It may be replied, that, in this sense, the streams falling into the St. Lawrence may be said to empty themselves into the Atlantic Ocean. So we admit they might, if we were speaking of the head waters of this river, in contradistinction from waters falling into Hudson's Bay,

or the Gulf of Mexico. The language of the treaty was used to describe the summit ridge, dividing the country bordering on the St. Lawrence from that bordering on the Atlantic. This dividing ridge was naturally, intelligibly, and accurately described, in the language of the documents which we have cited, by reference to the course of the streams which water every part of the country. On one side they flow in courses more or less circuitous into the river St. Lawrence, and on the other in courses equally indirect into the Atlantic Ocean. Whether in their course they pass through waters bearing different names, whether rivers or bays, is a matter of not the least moment, and does not affect in the slightest degree the accuracy, or the intelligibleness, of the description.

The British negotiators argue, that the framers of the treaty, in using the words "rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean," could not have meant to designate any river, whose mouths were situated to the eastward of the river St. Croix, because that river is twice spoken of, in the same article of the treaty, as having its mouth in the Bay of Fundy. Sir Charles R. Vaughan, in his letter to Mr. Forsyth of December 8th, 1834, says,

"It is thought sufficient on the present occasion, to advert, in support of this construction of the words of the treaty, to the striking fact, that, whilst the river St. Mary, which was to form the Southern boundary of the United States, is described in the second article of the treaty as falling into the Atlantic Ocean, the river St. Croix, which was to form the Eastern boundary, not merely in the same article of the treaty, but in the very next member of the same sentence, is described as falling into the Bay of Fundy; while a little further on in the same article, the Eastern line of boundary, where it terminates at the mouth of the river St. Croix, and the Southern line of boundary, where it terminates at the mouth of the river St. Mary, are described 'as respectively touching the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean.' Can it be seriously maintained, that, in a treaty for settling a question of such vast importance as a boundary between two contiguous states, a matter which, of all others, imperiously requires preciseness of expression, the terms 'Bay of Fundy' and 'Atlantic Ocean,' should have been thus set, not once only, but twice in the same article, in pointed opposition to each other, and yet that no real distinction should have been intended to be drawn between them; but that the 'Bay of Fundy' and the 'Atlantic Ocean' should have been carelessly

used as synonymous and convertible expressions? His Majesty's Government conceive that no reasonable doubt can be entertained, that, where the St. Croix, the Eastern limit of the United States, is described as falling into the Bay of Fundy, it is advisedly so described, in contradistinction to the other rivers which are mentioned in the same article as falling into the Atlantic Ocean. But, if the St. Croix, whose mouth is situated at the very entrance of the Bay of Fundy, is not an Atlantic river in the meaning of the treaty, none of the rivers which discharge themselves to the eastward of the St. Croix, and higher up in the bay, can possibly be considered as such."

This reasoning is far from being conclusive. In both the instances in which the Bay of Fundy is named in connexion with the river St. Croix, it is not for the purpose of more definitely indicating the river intended, but for the purpose of indicating a specific point, namely, *the mouth of the river*. In one instance, the Eastern boundary line, is directed to be "a line drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, *from its mouth, in the Bay of Fundy*." In the other, it is provided, that all islands within twenty leagues of the shore, "lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic Ocean" shall belong to the United States. It is sufficiently evident, that the description of a line to be drawn from *the mouth of the river St. Croix in the Atlantic Ocean*, and of the point where the said boundary shall *touch the Atlantic Ocean*, would be much less definite and intelligible, than the language used above; for, although the river St. Croix as surely flows into the ocean, as it flows into the Bay of Fundy, yet the middle of the channel where it enters the ocean could not be so accurately determined, as that of the mouth where it enters the bay. This is a sufficient reason, why the terms "Bay of Fundy" and "Atlantic Ocean" should be placed "in pointed opposition to each other," and the reason did not apply to the cases where rivers were referred to, without the indication of any particular point upon them. On the contrary, it would have been quite superfluous, and even somewhat ludicrous, had the rivers, which are described with so much precision and certainty by the words "rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean," been described as "rivers which

fall respectively into Merry-Meeting Bay, into Penobscot Bay, into Passamaquoddy Bay, or into the Bay of Fundy."

Sir Charles R. Vaughan remarks, that his Majesty's Government conceive, that no reasonable doubt can be entertained, that, where the St. Croix is described as falling into the Bay of Fundy, it is advisedly so described, in contradistinction to the other rivers which are mentioned in the same article as falling into the Atlantic Ocean. It will be perceived from what we have said above, that it is not for the purpose of indicating the river in question, that the Bay of Fundy is named in connexion with it, but for the purpose of indicating a particular point on the river, at which certain lines shall begin. He remarks further, that, if the St. Croix, whose mouth is situate at the very entrance of the Bay of Fundy, is not an Atlantic river, in the meaning of the treaty, none of the rivers which discharge themselves to the eastward of the St. Croix, higher up the bay, can possibly be considered as such. Unfortunately for the pertinency of this remark, the St. Croix is considered, even in Mr. Vaughan's construction of the treaty, as an Atlantic river. He places his highlands, which divide the waters of the St. Lawrence from those of the Atlantic at Mars' Hill, between the rivers St. John and St. Croix, and consequently embraces the last-named river within the class of those described in the treaty as falling into the Atlantic ocean, although it is expressly named in the same article as having its mouth in the Bay of Fundy. This shows that the treaty does not use the terms "Bay of Fundy" and "Atlantic ocean" as descriptive of objects in contradistinction from each other, but, in this instance, as synonymous and convertible terms.

If the terms "rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean" do not embrace the waters of the river St. John, it is singular that neither of the governors of Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick have ever made the discovery. The highlands north of the St. John, and the Ristigouche river rising therein and falling into the bay of Chaleurs, have formed the limit of the two provinces, from their establishment to the present day. On all the maps of the country, of any note, from the date of the proclamation of 1763, to the publication of Bouchette's map in 1815, including the map in the Annual Register of 1763, introduced for the purpose of illustrating the newly established boundaries of the Provinces of

Quebec and Nova Scotia, and also the maps which were published in 1783 for the illustration of the boundaries of the United States, as established by the treaty, the boundary line is uniformly laid down North of the river St. John, and consequently upon the assumption, that that river is one of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean. Mitchell's map, which is known to have been consulted by the commissioners who framed the treaty, was published before the date of the proclamation of 1763, and consequently no boundary running along the highlands is indicated upon it. But a line drawn upon it from the bay of Chaleurs, along any highlands, to the source of Connecticut river, would necessarily leave the St. John upon the South; and it is not in the power of any man, with this map before him, as it is known to have been before the commissioners when they adopted the description of highlands, given in the treaty, to imagine for a moment, that they did not intend to include the St. John in the class of rivers described as falling into the Atlantic Ocean.

But if it were possible to doubt upon this point, — if there were no definition whatever in the treaty, of the line by which the boundary is to be drawn from the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia to the source of the Connecticut river, still the interpretation of the treaty must have been substantially the same. The supposed uncertainty respecting the highlands intended, can cause no uncertainty respecting the angle of Nova Scotia, on which depends the point where the boundary begins, and where it ends. But there is no uncertainty. Every part of the description is equally clear, and defies any other construction than that which we have given to it. The Northwestern angle of Nova Scotia, is formed by the Southern boundary line of Lower Canada, extending westerly from the Bay of Chaleurs on one side, and by a line running due north from the source of the river St. Croix on the other. Everybody conversant with the province knows, that this angle is far North of the river St. John, and that the jurisdiction of the province has always, both before and since the date of the treaty, extended North of that river. From this angle the boundary line defined in the treaty runs west by the southern boundary of Lower Canada to the source of the Connecticut river. Everybody conversant with the province of Lower Canada knows, that the jurisdiction of that province has always been, both before and

since the date of the treaty, limited to the highlands North of the river St. John. So also the Eastern boundary of the United States runs due North from the source of the river St. Croix, not to Mars' Hill as the British negotiators contend, for at this place there is no angle in the boundary of Nova Scotia whatever, but to "the highlands aforesaid;" that is, the highlands which form the boundary and angle, before so clearly described.

These points being so clear and indisputable, it is surprising that the government of the United States ever admitted them to be a matter of uncertainty, and as affording a question for elaborate discussion and for arbitration. They probably fell into the error, from the supposition that, on investigation, a different state of facts might be found to exist, which would authorize a different construction. Had it not been supposed, at the time of the framing of the treaty of Ghent, that there was some actual ambiguity in the language of the treaty of 1783, arising from some imagined misconception of facts, it is not probable that the position of the highlands which divide the United States from Lower Canada would have been admitted to be a debatable question.

That admission however was made, and the question was referred to an arbitrator for decision. The King of the Netherlands, who was selected as the arbitrator, declined deciding the question submitted, on the ground that the treaty contained requisitions which were irreconcilable, and that it was incapable of literal execution. He did not understand the question, because probably it was obscured by an excess of argument and illustration. He recommended, however, terms of compromise, which were infinitely preferable, for both parties, to a continuance of the controversy. It was a compromise, which, if it be admitted that there was any real uncertainty in the language of the treaty, or any doubt or difficulty in coming to a true interpretation of it, must be regarded as a reasonable and just one. But our government, not admitting the question to be one of real uncertainty, although they had made it a question for negotiation, and had submitted it to arbitration, refused to accede to the proposed terms of compromise. We do not propose here to go into a discussion of the merits of that question, because we have considered it at large on a former occasion. We then recommended a compliance with the terms of the compromise proposed by the

arbitrator, not because the government were strictly bound to comply with it, but because it would be putting an end to a difficult and irritating controversy, and because a part of the recommendation, relating to another question in controversy, would have secured to us advantages which we have no right to expect from any other mode of adjustment. The arbitrator recommended, that Rouse's Point, on which our government at the time of the late war built an expensive fort, and which is now found to be within the limits of Lower Canada, should be assigned to the United States, with a tract of territory embraced within a radius of a thousand kilometres. We recommended, that our government should accept of these terms of compromise, and that, in consideration of the advantage gained by the United States, by the happy settlement of all the points in controversy, and by the acquisition of Rouse's Point, they should make an indemnity to the States of Maine and Massachusetts, for the loss of territory, which would have been suffered by those States, by the acceptance of the award.

It now appears that the British government were willing, and repeatedly offered, to accept the terms of compromise recommended by the arbitrator. The State of Maine protested against the acceptance of those terms, and they were rejected by our government. This decision is greatly to be regretted. The British government has at length declared, that it is no longer ready to accept of terms so favorable, and has in fact since made a proposal of a basis of settlement much less advantageous to us. We now proceed to give some account of the negotiations since the date of the award, as contained in the documents now published.

These documents embrace the whole of the correspondence between the two governments, on this subject, since the decision of the King of the Netherlands was formally communicated to them. The negotiation opens with a letter from Mr. Livingston, the Secretary of State, to Mr. Bankhead, the British Chargé d'Affaires, at Washington, in which he informs him of the determination of the Senate not to consider the decision of the King of the Netherlands as obligatory, and of their refusal to advise and consent to its ratification ; and also that they had passed a resolution, advising the President to open a new negotiation with the British government, for ascertaining the boundary between the possessions

of the respective countries on the Northeastern frontier of the United States. He adds, that this decision was adopted, on the conviction felt by the Senate, that the sovereign arbiter had not decided the question submitted to him, or had decided it in a manner not authorized by the submission. No reference is made in this letter, to either of the questions which were referred to the decision of the arbiter, except that which relates to the Northeastern boundary. It will be recollected, that two other questions were submitted, relating to the rectification of the Northern boundary line of Vermont, which is at present run about a mile too far North, and to the determination which of the head waters of Connecticut river is to be regarded as the Connecticut river designated by the treaty. On both these questions the decision was favorable to the claim of Great Britain, with the exception of the recommendaion above mentioned, that the fortress at Rouse's Point should be suffered to remain to the United States. There is no room for pretending that the decision of the arbiter on these two questions was not correct.

The Secretary states, as a reason, why the recommendation of the line indicated by the King of the Netherlands, not as that which was intended by the treaty of 1783, but as one which would be convenient to the parties, could not be accepted by our government, that the State interested in the territory denied the right of the government of the United States to circumscribe the limits of the State, without its assent. But he states, that an arrangement was in progress with the State of Maine, with every probability of a speedy conclusion, by which the government would be clothed with more ample powers, by which they would be enabled to negotiate for a more convenient line of boundary. He was obliged subsequently to inform the British minister, that this negotiation, for obtaining more ample powers from the State of Maine, had failed. The Secretary intimated, that a negotiation for a more convenient boundary line would naturally embrace the question of the right of the navigation of the river St. John. It was apparently the intention of the government to propose to the British government, with the consent of the State of Maine, the adoption of the course of the river as the line of boundary, on the condition that the citizens of the United States should become entitled to the right of free navigation of the St. John to its mouth, within the limits of the British territory.

The receipt of this letter was acknowledged by Mr. Bankhead, and it was transmitted by him to his government. On the return to Washington of Mr. Vaughan, British Minister, in April, 1833, he gave a specific answer to the propositions contained in the letter. The British government, he says, had not hesitated to declare its acceptance of the decision of the arbitrator, notwithstanding the large sacrifice which it involved, of territory heretofore considered as belonging to the British crown. He expresses the regret of his government, that they cannot discover, in the new proposal of the American government, any probable means of arriving at a settlement of the difficult question. They considered it utterly hopeless to attempt to find out, at this time of day, by means of a new negotiation, an assumed line of boundary, which successive negotiators and commissioners, employed on the spot, had during so many years failed to discover, and which an impartial arbitrator, furnished by the parties with all the facts and arguments on either side of the question, had declared the impossibility of tracing, in conformity with the description contained in the treaty. He however requests to be informed, what is the principle of the new plan of boundary which the American government contemplate, and also what arrangement has been concluded with the government of Maine for avoiding the constitutional difficulty. He declares it to be necessary, that his government should be informed of the basis upon which it is proposed to negotiate, before they can either entertain the proposal, or decide upon the instructions which it may be necessary to give to the minister, to whom the negotiation when agreed to may be entrusted ; and also that they should be previously assured, that the President will possess the power to carry into effect the engagement which may be concluded between the Plenipotentiaries of the two governments. He moreover states, that he is ordered distinctly to declare, that it will be impossible for the British government to connect with the discussion of the boundary question, that of the navigation of the river St. John. They do not refuse to discuss that subject as a separate question, but cannot consent to embarrass the negotiation respecting the boundary, by uniting with it a question respecting the navigation of the river St. John.

Mr. Livingston, in reply to this communication, endeavours to show, that the probability of the success of a new com-

mission, appointed to examine and settle the question, is not so hopeless as the British government consider it. He proposes that a new commission be constituted, consisting of an equal number of commissioners to be appointed by each party, "with an umpire selected by some friendly sovereign, from among the most skilful men in Europe, to decide on all points on which they disagree; or by a commission entirely composed of such men, so selected, to be attended, in the survey and view of the country, by agents appointed by the parties." He intimates also an opinion, that a view of the subject not hitherto taken may be adopted, which may lead to a more favorable result. This view he proceeds to develope for the consideration of the British government. He remarks, that boundaries of tracts of country, which are unexplored, are frequently designated by natural objects, the precise situation of which is not known, but which are supposed to be in the direction of a particular point of the compass. This remark seems to be preparatory to an admission that such an error was committed, in the designation of the boundary in question, by the framers of the treaty of 1783. He proceeds to remark, that, "where the course will not touch the natural boundary, the rule universally adopted is, not to consider the boundary as one impossible to be traced, but to preserve the natural boundary, and to reach it by the nearest direct course." "Thus," he adds, "if, after more accurate surveys shall have been made, it should be found that the north course, from the head of the St. Croix, should not reach the highlands which answer the description of those designated in the treaty of 1783, then a direct line from the head of the St. Croix, whatever may be its direction, to such highlands, ought to be adopted, and the line would still be conformable to the treaty. As this principle does not seem hitherto to have been adopted, it appears to the government of the United States to offer to the commissioners, who may be appointed, the means of amicable adjustment."

Here Mr. Livingston makes an important admission, which is entirely gratuitous. It is perfectly well known, that the direct North line from the head of the St. Croix does reach the highlands which answer the description in the treaty; and a more important consideration is, that it is the direct Northerly course of this line, forming the Westerly boundary of Nova Scotia, which serves to indicate the precise highlands, at which the boundary line begins. To abandon one of the

lines described by the treaty is virtually to abandon both, because it is the meeting of these lines, in the Southern boundary of Lower Canada, that identifies the highlands intended. The British claim rests on the allegation, that highlands may be found, dividing the waters falling into the St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, other than the highlands North of the river St. John. This allegation our government has hitherto denied; because the description requires, not only highlands which divide the waters of the Atlantic from those of the river, but highlands running through the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia, which angle is formed on one side by a line running due North from the St. Croix. There are undoubtedly other highlands, which answer the first part of the description; and, if the part of the description resting on the direct Northerly course of the Eastern line be dispensed with, our claim is virtually abandoned. In such a case, the highlands at the source of the Kennebeck would answer the description, as fully as those at the source of the streams at the North of the St. John; and the consequence of the concession, offered by Mr. Livingston, would be the adoption of a line, running from the source of the St. Croix to the source of the Kennebeck, giving to Great Britain a greater tract of territory than her government has ever claimed. A bare inspection of the map will show, that this consequence will be inevitable.

Mr. Vaughan, however, was not tempted, by this brilliant concession, to close with the proposition made by Mr. Livingston. Whether he did not comprehend the bearing and extent of the concession, — whether he was apprehensive that a treaty made upon the basis of it would stand little chance of being ratified by our government, — or whether he was desirous of obtaining the concession in more explicit terms, before acceding to this basis of negotiation, cannot be clearly inferred from the tenor of his reply. In this reply, he repeats the expression of his regret at the rejection of the decision of the King of the Netherlands, and explains the grounds on which his government felt bound to accept the decision, although the arbitrator, having declared himself unable to trace the line of boundary described in the treaty, had suggested a different one, and although the acceptance of the line so suggested would cause a great sacrifice of territory, hitherto considered as belonging to the British crown. He expresses his convic-

tion that it is hopeless to expect a favorable result from a renewed negotiation upon the basis of the establishment of the boundary established by the treaty, and that it will be with great reluctance, that the British government will consent, after the expense, delay, and unsatisfactory result of the commission of boundary under the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, to have recourse to the appointment of another commission, like that proposed by Mr. Livingston. He professes not sufficiently to comprehend the new view suggested, by Mr. Livingston, for adoption as the basis of the renewed negotiation, and intimates that a deviation from a direct north line, might lead to the adoption of an oblique line towards highlands to the eastward of it, and thus trench upon the territories of New Brunswick. He intimates in the close of his letter, that the rejection of the award of the arbitrator by the government of the United States revives to the full extent the pretensions of Great Britain, in consequence of which it becomes an object of great importance to put an end to the present question of boundary.

After the receipt of this letter, Mr. Livingston explained his plan more fully to Mr. Vaughan, in two verbal conferences, and subsequently addressed to him a note containing the following further explanation.

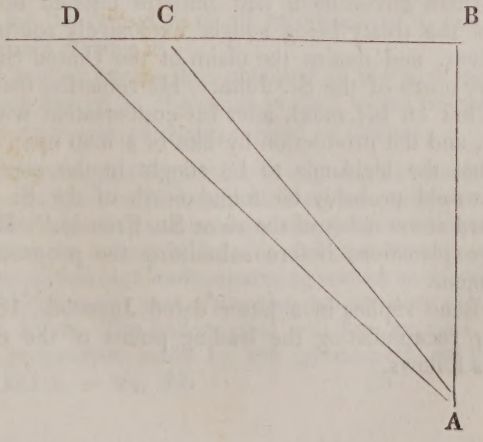
"The first point seems to be fully explained in my note above referred to, and I repeat that the President will agree to either of the modes therein suggested, to secure a final decision of the question. The reasons why, under the present circumstances, he cannot undertake to negotiate, upon any other basis than that of the treaty of 1783, drawn from the nature of our government, were fully explained to you in those conversations. And the probability of ascertaining the boundary according to that treaty, by applying the principle to which I, perhaps, too briefly alluded in my note, was further developed. That you may present it in a more precise form to your government, I now repeat the substance of my observations.

"The boundary, as far as the head of the river St. Croix, is ascertained and agreed upon by both nations. The monument erected there is then a fixed point of departure. From thence we have a two-fold description of boundary; a line in a certain direction, and a natural object to which it was supposed the line in that direction would lead; 'a line from the source of the river St. Croix directly North,' and the highlands which divide the waters that flow into the Atlantic ocean from those which flow into the river St. Lawrence. The American government have believed

that the two descriptions would coincide, that is to say, that the highlands designated by the treaty would be reached by a North line drawn from the head of the St. Croix. They make no pretensions further east than that line; but if, on a more accurate survey, it should be found, that the North line mentioned in the treaty should pass East of the highlands therein described, and that they should be found at some point further West, then the principle to which I refer would apply, to wit, that the direction of the line to connect the two natural boundaries must be altered, so as to suit their ascertained position. Thus, in the annexed diagram suppose A the monument at the head of the St. Croix, A B the North line drawn from them. If the highlands described in the treaty should be found in the course of that line, both the descriptions in the treaty would be found to coincide, and the question would be at an end; if, on the contrary, those highlands should be found at C or D, or any other point West of that line, then the Eastern boundary of the United States, would be the line A C or A D, or any other line drawn directly from the point A, to the place which should be found to answer the description of the highlands mentioned in the treaty.

"This being fully understood, the President is willing, in order to simplify the operation, that the commission should be restricted to the simple question of determining the point designated by the treaty as the highlands which divide the waters, to which point a straight line shall be drawn from the monument, and this line shall, as far as it extends, form part of the boundary in question; that they shall then designate the course of the line along the highlands, and fix on the point designated as the Northwesternmost head of the Connecticut river."

The diagram above referred to is in the following form.



It is not very apparent upon what ground the President, while he expressly disclaimed the power under the constitution of negotiating on a basis other than that of a recognition of the line described in the treaty of 1783, because such a negotiation would lead to a cession of territory claimed as belonging to one of the States, was yet willing, in the interpretation of the treaty, to wave one of the important clauses in it, the effect of which concession would be, to justify a different interpretation of that instrument, and an interpretation by which a large tract of territory claimed by the State of Maine would be abandoned to the British Provinces. Mr. Vaughan seems to have found it difficult to comprehend the distinction, in the mind of the President, which led him to prefer the basis proposed, to the direct proposal of an improved line. On the 31st of May, he addressed to Mr. McLane, who had succeeded Mr. Livingston in the office of Secretary of State, a letter in which he appears still not to comprehend the proposition made by Mr. Livingston. He thinks that the time has arrived, when the question can only be set at rest by an abandonment of "the defective description of boundary contained in the treaty," and by the two governments mutually agreeing upon a conventional line of boundary more convenient to both parties. In fact he says, that the operation of the principle proposed by Mr. Livingston is so restricted to the terms of the treaty, "that the basis of it is the same as that which the undersigned has been instructed by his government to inform the government of the United States that it was hopeless to negotiate upon." He proceeds to remark, that the British government had hitherto insisted upon the highlands of the treaty being sought exclusively south of the St. John river, and denies the claim of the United States to any territory north of the St. John. He remarks, that "the impression left on his mind, after his conversation with Mr. Livingston, and the production by him of a map upon a small scale, is, that the highlands to be sought in the manner he proposed, would probably be found north of the St. John, but westward some miles of the river St. Francis." He asks for further explanations before submitting the proposition to his government.

Mr. McLane replies in a letter dated June 5th, 1833, in which after recapitulating the leading points of the case he proceeds as follows.

"It is true that Great Britain has hitherto insisted upon the highlands of the treaty of 1783 being sought for exclusively south of the St. John river; but it is also true that the United States have, with equal confidence and pertinacity, insisted upon seeking for them exclusively north of that river.

"It is the difficulty of reconciling these conflicting pretensions, which has hitherto prevented the settlement of the boundary question, arising, chiefly, however, from the impracticability of finding a point of highlands answering the description of the treaty, to which a line due north from the monument could be drawn.

"It is now proposed, therefore, to make another effort, and by means which heretofore have not been tried, to overcome this difficulty, and, discarding the due north line, should that become necessary, to seek for, and find, in the first place, the 'highlands which divide those rivers which empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean;' and when these shall be found in any part of the disputed territory, north or south of the St. John river, to draw a line from the monument to said highlands, and to that point thereof which shall be nearest to a due north line from the monument. Mr. Livingston in his note of the 28th May, has already provided against any deviation eastward from the direct north line from the St. Croix."

It will be perceived, that the two most important clauses in the treaty, descriptive of the boundary sought, viz. that which fixes upon the northwest angle of Nova Scotia as the point of departure, and that which adopts a direct north line, the ancient boundary of Nova Scotia, as one of the lines forming that angle, are abandoned in the proposed new basis of negotiation, the first by the omission of all reference to it, and the other by expressly waving it.

Mr. Vaughan having thus obtained all the admissions which seemed necessary, in the most explicit terms he could extort from the Secretary of State, replied as follows;

"The undersigned begs leave to express his satisfaction upon learning that the President directed an immediate answer to be given to his inquiries, and an assurance that no limitations are to be put upon the course of the proposed commission, which is to endeavour to find highlands separating waters as described in the treaty of 1783, in any part of the disputed territory north or south of the St. John. The undersigned will lose no time in submitting the proposition made by the government of the United

States, to his Majesty's government, as the President, it appears from Mr. McLane's note, is not authorized, after the recent proceedings in the Senate, to agree upon a conventional line of boundary, without the consent of the State of Maine, which it is not probable will be given, while there remains a reasonable prospect of discovering the line of the treaty of 1783."

No reply to this proposition was received from the British government until February, 1834. On the 10th of February, 1834, Mr. Vaughan addressed two letters to the Secretary of State. One of them is devoted to certain remarks on the constitutional difficulty in accepting the decision of the King of the Netherlands, in consequence of the objections of the State of Maine. The purpose of these remarks is to argue, that, as in the Arbiter's opinion there are no highlands which fulfil both the conditions stated in the treaty, the territory which lies between the highlands claimed by Great Britain, and those claimed by the United States respectively, is not the absolute property of either party, but is in some proportion or other, to be hereafter determined, the property of both; and that therefore it is not territory belonging of right to Maine, and consequently is not such territory as the American government can be precluded by the Constitution from relinquishing.

The other letter is a direct reply to the proposition made by Mr. Livingston and Mr. McLane. It recapitulates the several points decided by the King of the Netherlands, and specifies those which the British government consider as being positively decided by the Arbiter, and as coming strictly within the terms of the reference. These decisions the British government considers binding on both parties. The decision on the question relative to the 45th degree of North latitude, is accompanied with a recommendation that Rouse's Point, with a surrounding circle with a radius of one kilometre, shall belong to the United States. The British government declares itself willing to accede to this recommendation. They say, that on two points out of the three the Arbiter has made a plain and positive decision, and on the other he has recommended a line which he considers conformable with the spirit of the treaty, and approaching most nearly to the probable intention of its framers; and they are still willing to adopt this line.

Mr. Vaughan proceeds to state a number of subordinate

questions, decided by the Arbiter, which have a bearing upon the main question, of the position of the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia, which decisions it is the opinion of the British government that the two governments ought to acquiesce in. They think that the spirit of the agreement, to make the reference, requires that the two parties should so acquiesce, and that, by so doing, the two governments would do away several of the remaining points of difference, and would materially facilitate an amicable adjustment of the rest. Mr. Vaughan recites seven of those decisions of the Arbiter, which he proposes that the two governments should adopt as the ground-work of future proceedings, and remarks that no satisfactory or useful result could be obtained from the local survey proposed by the American government, until the two parties are agreed upon these seven points. He adds,

"The treaty requires that highlands should be found dividing rivers which fall into the St. Lawrence from rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean; and that those highlands should be found in a direction due north from a spot which has already been determined, namely, the source of the St. Croix.

"Now, every thing which is known of the geography of the country, tends to show, that no such highlands can be found in that particular meridian; and the American government, almost admitting that fact, suggests that the required highlands should be sought for in a northwesterly direction from the ascertained spot. No doubt can exist, that, by going far enough to the Westward, such highlands as those required by the treaty could be found, because it is well known, that the high ground in the neighbourhood of the source of the St. John, divides the Kennebec, which falls into the Atlantic, from the Chaudière, which falls into the river St. Lawrence."

Mr. Vaughan then alludes to the difficulty, which prevents the American government from acquiescing in the recommendation of the king of the Netherlands, that it has no authority to agree to any other line of boundary than that which is described by the treaty, especially one which might imply a cession of territory, and asks if this objection would not be equally fatal to the line suggested by Mr. Livingston. He concludes with the statement, that "his Majesty's government think that in the first place, and previously to any further negotiation, they are entitled to claim from the United States an acquiescence in the decisions pronounced by the Arbiter upon all

those points which he has decided;" and that "they ought to be satisfied, that the government with which they will have to treat, is possessed of the powers necessary for carrying into effect any arrangement upon which the two parties might agree."

It is pretty apparent from this letter, that the real ground on which the British government declined acceding to the proposal of a new commission, on the basis proposed by Mr. Livingston, was an apprehension, which we cannot think without foundation, that an arrangement concluded on that basis would be vehemently protested against by the State of Maine, as a sacrifice of its rights as secured by the treaty, and would not be ratified by the Senate. They were therefore desirous, before proceeding farther, of having an explicit recognition of the basis, by the party most deeply interested.

In reference to the position taken by Mr. Vaughan, that no such highlands, as those described in the treaty, are to be found in a direction due north from the source of the St. Croix, we wish to recall the attention of the reader to what we have already said on this point. The only reason why he can find, in that direction, no highlands dividing waters falling into the St. Lawrence from waters falling into the Atlantic Ocean, is that he will not admit that the waters of the St. John fall into the Atlantic. But the most material, because the most specific part of the description in the treaty, is that of *Highlands running through the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia*, and consequently, highlands forming the Southern boundary of Lower Canada and running westerly from the bay of Chaleurs to the source of Connecticut river. Mr. Vaughan cannot deny, that the direct north line from the St. Croix will strike these highlands, nor can he deny that these highlands are as clearly indicated in the treaty, as it is in the power of language to describe them.

To the letter of Mr. Vaughan, above referred to, Mr. McLane replied under date of March 11th, 1834, by a long argument to prove, that an acquiescence in the seven points decided by the Arbiter, would not facilitate a decision. These seven propositions, he argues, instead of aiding the Arbiter in coming to a decision, brought his mind to the conclusion that the line of 1783 was impracticable. He therefore declined, although all the seven propositions are conceded in substance, by Mr. Livingston's proposition, to make any specific ac-

knowledgment of them. As to the necessity of obtaining the previous assent of the State of Maine, Mr. McLane says, that, the authority of the general government being unquestionable, their power to employ all the legal and usual means for its ascertainment is equally clear; and he expresses a hope, that his Majesty's government will not be deterred from embracing the means now proposed for settling the controversy, from an apprehension of difficulties, which it is confidently believed are not likely to occur.

Mr. Vaughan in a letter, dated March 16th, states to Mr. McLane his reasons for believing any further prosecution of the negotiation on the basis proposed, to be entirely hopeless. Mr. McLane, March 21st, replies in a long argumentative letter, concluding with the declaration that the United States have no power to adopt a new conventional line without the assent of Maine, and that this assent, in the present state of the controversy, it is not possible to obtain. He therefore invites the British government to unite with the President in another effort, "aided by the adoption of a plain and easy rule of surveying, to find the line of the treaty of 1783."

Mr. Vaughan in reply, March 24th, informs Mr. McLane, that he will seize the earliest opportunity of laying before his government, this invitation.

The question here rests until December 8th, 1834, when we have the answer of Mr. Vaughan, under instructions from his government, addressed to Mr. Forsyth, who had now become Secretary of State. In regard to the "rule of surveying" stated by Mr. McLane, the British cabinet do not consider it to be so generally established and recognised, as Mr. McLane assumes it to be.

"'His Majesty's government,' he says, 'indeed, do not recollect any case similar to the present, in which the principle here assumed has been actually put in practice; but, on the contrary, they recollect, that in an analogous case, arising out of the same article of the treaty of 1783, this supposed rule was inverted by the agents of the American government. The treaty of 1783,' he says, 'declared that the line of boundary was to proceed from the Lake of the Woods in a due west course to the river Mississippi. It was afterwards ascertained, by actual survey, that even the sources of the Mississippi lie south of the latitude of the Lake of the Woods, and that, consequently, it would be impossible to reach the Mississippi by any line drawn

due west of that lake. In order to escape from the difficulty thus encountered, it was urged by the American commissioners, that the natural object, the Mississippi, should be wholly disregarded; and in the final settlement of that part of the boundary, as it was fixed by the second article of the convention of October 20th, 1818, the principle now contended for by the American government was reversed; for, instead of the natural object being made the primary, and the connecting line the secondary guide, the natural object, namely, the river Mississippi, was put out of consideration, and the connecting line, namely, the line to be drawn due west from the Lake of the Woods, was converted into a primary element of the boundary. It was demonstrated that such a line could never reach the Mississippi at all; but, instead of adhering to the source of the Mississippi as one fixed point, and drawing a new connecting line to it from the Lake of the Woods, which was the other fixed point, the commissioners adhered to the arbitrary line to be drawn due west from the lake, and wholly abandoned the Mississippi, though that river was specifically mentioned in the treaty as a landmark.'"

Mr. Vaughan proceeds to state, that in the arguments which were laid before the Arbiter, it was, as he thinks, conclusively proved, that the framers of the treaty in using the words "rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean," could not have meant to designate any rivers whose mouths are at the eastward of the St. Croix, which falls into the Bay of Fundy. This view, he says, was confirmed by the opinion of the King of the Netherlands, an opinion, which, although not accepted by the government of the United States, as carrying with it the authority of an award, is at least as described in the report of the Senate, "the impartial opinion of a disinterested judge, selected by both parties, to settle a question of great perplexity." The British government therefore propose, that the American government shall concede this point, and shall agree in deciding, "that the Atlantic rivers, which are to guide the commissioners in searching for the highlands described in the treaty, *are those rivers which fall into the sea to the westward of the mouth of the river St. Croix.*" This, of course, would be to yield the whole point in controversy, which although virtually yielded in Mr. Livingston's proposition, was not conceded in express terms. Mr. Vaughan closes his letter by saying,

"The undersigned is instructed to represent to Mr. Forsyth that his Majesty's government consider a clear agreement between the two governments on this point to be an indispensable preliminary to the establishment of any new commission of survey. Till this point is decided, no survey of commissioners can lead to any useful result. But the decision of this point turns upon the interpretation of the words of a treaty, and not upon the operations of surveyors; and, his Majesty's government having once submitted this point, in common with others, to the judgment of an impartial arbiter, by whose award they have declared themselves ready to abide, they cannot now consent to submit it to any other arbitration."

Upon receiving this letter the President seems to have abandoned the attempt to obtain a delineation of the line of the treaty of 1783 through the agency of new commissioners, and Mr. Forsyth closes a long explanatory letter, dated April 28th, 1835, by informing Mr. Vaughan that "he is instructed to say, that he will be most happy to receive any such proposition as his Britannic Majesty's government may think it expedient to make." He intimates, that whatever proposition is made for the establishment of a conventional boundary, must, before being ratified, receive the assent of the State of Maine. In the course of his explanation of the views with which the previous negotiation had been prosecuted, Mr. Forsyth remarks, that in the instance cited by Mr. Vaughan, of a supposed departure from the rule of surveying laid down by the President, the line adopted was not assumed as the true line described by the treaty, but was adopted as a conventional substitute. He does not, however, press further the adoption of that rule. He remarks, that Mr. McLane had been authorized by the President to propose to Sir Charles R. Vaughan, for the consideration of his Majesty's government, that if the proposition made by Mr. Livingston for the adjustment of one of the three points of difference was accepted, the United States would, on their part, consent to adopt the place designated by Great Britain, as the Northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, and would also, as to the remaining point, the line from the Connecticut river to the St. Lawrence, adopt that which was run by Valentine and Collins, which, it was believed, would not be unacceptable to Great Britain. He also informs Mr. Vaughan, in reply to the suggestion that a negotiation should

be opened for the establishment of a conventional boundary, which, while it respects as far as practicable the existing pretensions of the two countries, shall secure the best interests of each, that he is specially instructed to assure him, that the President duly appreciates the suggestion ; and that he may assure his government, that, if the President had like powers with those which the British government has, "he would have met the suggestion in as favorable spirit as that by which it was prompted."

Mr. Vaughan in replying to some of the positions in this letter, remarks that "the general result of the arbitration, to which his Majesty's government expressed a willingness to adhere, was so manifestly in favor of the United States, that to them were assigned three fifths of the territory in dispute, and Rouse's Point in Lake Champlain, to which the American government had voluntarily resigned all claim." He promises to transmit Mr. Forsyth's note to his government without delay, and at the same time intimates the necessity of taking measures, in the first instance, for obtaining the consent of the State of Maine, to the adoption of a conventional substitute for the line of the treaty of 1783.

On the 28th of December last, Mr. Bankhead, the British Chargé d'Affaires, by instructions of his government, replied to the letter of Mr. Forsyth, by taking a little higher ground, and a more positive tone, than had been before assumed. After recapitulating the course of proceedings, in reference to the arbitration, and the readiness which had been repeatedly expressed by his government to accept the award, he proceeds to make the following communication.

"The Senate of the United States refused, in July, 1832, to subscribe to the award ; and during the three years which have elapsed since that time, although the British government has more than once declared that it was still ready to abide by its offer to accept the award, the government of the United States has as often replied that, on its part, that award could not be agreed to. The British government must now, in its turn, declare that it considers itself, by this refusal of the United States, fully and entirely released from the conditional offer which it had made ; and the undersigned is instructed distinctly to announce to the President, that the British government withdraws its consent to accept the territorial compromise recommended by the king of the Netherlands."

He proceeds to state the objections of his government to the several modes of proceeding which had been proposed by the President. They are willing, however, to assent to the proposal for a commission of exploration and survey, provided that there is a previous understanding that neither party shall be required to give up its own interpretation of the river question, and that the commissioners be instructed to search for highlands, upon the character of which no doubt could exist on either side. If this modification of the proposal shall be declined, they see no alternative but to abandon the attempt to draw a line in conformity with the words of the treaty, and to fix on a conventional line, on equitable principles, and with a view to the interests and convenience of the two parties. He proceeds to submit the following proposition.

"When a tract of country is claimed by each of two states, and each party is equally convinced of the justice of its own claims to the whole of the district in question, the fairest way of settling the controversy would seem to be, to divide in equal portions, between the two claimants, the territory in dispute. Such a mode of arrangement appears to be consistent with the natural principles of equity. His Majesty's government would, therefore, propose to that of the United States, to adjust the present difference by *dividing equally between Great Britain and the United States the territory in dispute;* allotting to each party that portion which, from contiguity or other circumstances, would be most desirable as a possession for each.

"The general outline of such a division would be, that the boundary between the two states should be drawn (as required by the treaty) due north from the head of the St. Croix river, and should be carried straight on till it intersected the St. John; from thence it should run up the bed of the St. John, to the southernmost source of that river; and from that point it should be drawn to the head of the Connecticut river, in such manner as to make the northern and southern allotments of the divided territory, as nearly as possible equal to each other in extent; the northern allotment to remain with Great Britain, the southern allotment to belong to the United States."

To this note Mr. Forsyth replied on the 29th of February, by apparently admitting the necessity of abandoning the attempt hitherto made, to establish the line defined by the treaty.

"The President, therefore," he remarks, "as at present informed, is under the necessity of looking to the new and conventional line offered in Mr. Bankhead's note. That equity in disputes about territory, when both parties are satisfied of the justice of their respective pretensions, requires a fair division of the disputed property, is a truth the President freely admits; but the undersigned is instructed to remind Mr. Bankhead of what has been heretofore stated, that in a conventional line the wishes and interests of the State of Maine were to be consulted, and that the President cannot, in justice to himself or that State, make any proposition utterly irreconcilable with her previous well-known opinions on the subject. His Majesty's government will not have forgotten, that the principle of compromise and equitable division was adopted by the King of the Netherlands in the line recommended by him to the parties; a line rejected by the United States, because unjust to Maine. And yet the line proposed by the King of the Netherlands gave to Great Britain little more than two millions, while the proposition now made by his Britannic Majesty's government secures to Great Britain of the disputed land more than four millions of acres. The division offered by Mr. Bankhead's note is not in harmony with the equitable rule from which it is said to spring, and, if it were in conformity with it, could not be accepted without disrespect to the previous decisions and just expectations of Maine. The President is far from supposing this proposition is founded upon a desire of his Majesty's government to acquire territory, or that the quantity of land, secured to Great Britain in the proposed compromise, was the leading motive to the offer made. His Majesty's government has, no doubt, made the offer without regard to the extent of the territory falling to the north or south of the St. John, from a belief that a change in the character of the boundary line, substituting a river for a highland boundary, would be useful in preventing territorial disputes in future. Coinciding in this view of the subject, the President is nevertheless compelled to decline the boundary proposed, as inconsistent with the known wishes, rights, and decisions of the State.

"With a view, however, to terminate at once all controversy; and satisfactorily, without regard to the extent of territory lost by one party or acquired by the other, to establish an unchangeable and definite and indisputable boundary, the President will, if his Majesty's government consents to it, apply to the State of Maine for its assent to make the river St. John, from its source to its mouth, the boundary between Maine and his Britannic Majesty's dominions in that part of North America."

Mr. Bankhead in reply, March 4th, recalls the attention of Mr. Forsyth to the modification proposed of the President's proposition, for a commission of exploration and survey, and repeats the proposal of such a commission on the conditions before specified. He considers it his duty, to state frankly and clearly, that the proposition offered in Mr. Forsyth's note, to make the river St. John, from its source to its mouth, the boundary between the United States and the Province of New Brunswick, is one to which the British government, he is convinced, will never agree.

Mr. Forsyth in a note to Mr. Bankhead, dated March 5th, which forms the last document of the series now published, expresses the hope that the British government will think more favorably of the proposition than Mr. Bankhead anticipated. In relation to the modification suggested of the President's proposal, he declines answering, until the President shall be more fully informed of the views of the British government in offering it, that he may be enabled to judge how the report of a commission, thus limited in its powers, is likely to lead to a settlement of the question. The President also desires to be informed which mode of selecting the commission, in case the modification shall be agreed to, the British government prefer. At this point the correspondence now rests.

Thus this long-continued negotiation leaves the two governments apparently much further from an adjustment of the matters in controversy, than when it began. The terms of adjustment now proposed by the British government demand a much greater sacrifice from this country, than those which they were willing to accede to, during the first three years of the negotiation; and the admissions, which have been made by our government, will make it much more difficult to insist, with any hope of success, on a literal execution of the treaty of 1783. The question has in the mean time become of much greater moment, from the great enhancement in value of the lands in controversy. The rapid diminution of the supply of timber, for the immense market now open for it, has led to an unprecedented advance in the price of timber lands in the State of Maine, and in the Province of New Brunswick. This consideration will naturally render both parties more tenacious of their claim to a tract of territory consisting of some millions of acres, of the finest timber lands now remaining on the continent.

It is much to be regretted, that a controversy, which a short time since might have been terminated with so much ease, should be protracted for so long a period of time, and be suffered to endanger the friendly relations between the two countries. The line of boundary remains undetermined along a frontier of several hundred miles in extent, which is becoming daily more fully peopled, and on which serious collisions are constantly in danger of arising, from the conflicting claims of individuals, resulting from the conflicting claims of jurisdiction of the respective countries. In a former discussion of this subject, we expressed an opinion in favor of the acceptance of the award of the King of the Netherlands, accompanied with an indemnity to the States of Maine and Massachusetts for their loss of territory and of property, in consideration of the advantage which the United States would gain, as an equivalent for this sacrifice, in the acquisition of Rouse's Point, and in the satisfactory adjustment of all the points of difference between the two countries. It is probable, that a settlement may still be made on nearly the same terms. We are clearly of opinion, that the attempt should be made, and that the consent of Maine should be obtained to such a settlement. As an inducement to Maine to make the sacrifice of a portion of her territory, so incontestably secured to her by treaty, the strict terms of which have been virtually abandoned by the course which the negotiation has taken, an equivalent in other lands, or in money, should be secured to her by law. It would be expedient, while negotiating for a new line of boundary on equitable terms, that an arrangement should be made, by which the existing boundary between Vermont and Lower Canada shall be preserved, instead of rectifying it by running the line of the 45th degree of latitude anew. By such an arrangement we should retain not only Rouse's Point, but a tract of territory along the whole northern border of Vermont, of nearly a mile in width, and it would afford a further reason for offering an indemnity to the State of Maine for the loss of territory.

ART. VI. — *England in* 1835; *being a Series of Letters written to Friends in Germany, during a Residence in London, and Excursions into the Provinces;* by FREDERIC VON RAUMER, Professor of History at the University of Berlin, Author of the "History of the Hohenstaufen," &c. &c. &c. Translated from the German by SARAH AUSTIN and H. E. LLOYD. Philadelphia; Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 1836. 8vo. pp. 512.

THE title of this book ensures its being opened with an eager curiosity. England, in 1835, was in the midst of that hitherto peaceable revolution, from whose progress such great things have been hoped and feared. Professor Von Raumer arrived in the kingdom in the month of March of that year, and left it in September, passing the intervening time in London, with the exception of four or five weeks spent in a rapid tour, which extended to some cities of Scotland and Ireland. A fortnight after his arrival, Sir Robert Peel's government was dissolved, and the Melbourne ministry, "like Antæus, stronger from its fall," undertook again the guidance of the laboring vessel of the state; and, about as much time before his departure, the Municipal Reform Bill for England was passed, the most vigorously supported and contested measure, which has yet followed in the train of the Reform in the House of Commons. During the excitements growing out of such a movement, Professor Von Raumer, through his numerous introductions, was enjoying uncommon facilities for observing the state of opinion and feeling in the highest and the middling classes of English society; being now a guest at Windsor and Buckingham House, now passing from Sir Robert Peel's presence to O'Connel's, and now enjoying the hospitality of merchants, manufacturers, artists, booksellers, and men of letters.

They would have been opportunities lost upon many a traveller, who would notwithstanding have written a very agreeable journal of what he saw and heard, did and suffered. Merely *piquant* and popular works of this class are among the easiest and most common of all literary productions. Let a man but set down, in decent language, the history of his movements and experiences from day to day in a foreign country, and he cannot possibly fail to be entertaining. Let

him be indelicate enough to give personal anecdotes, and reports of conversations with eminent men, and he avails himself of an additional source of powerful interest. Let him traverse a country in search of materials to feed the prejudices of some party at home, and, if tolerably artful and industrious, he is likely to find calls for edition after edition rewarding his paltry labor. Poor feats are these; and as unprofitable or mischievous, as they are easy of performance. But to view the institutions and habits of a country in the lights of a cautious, benignant, and comprehensive philosophy, and so penetrate to their sense and spirit; and, this done, to use the knowledge acquired, in endeavouring to promote the adoption in one state of what is good in another, and lead the different families of men to more mutual respect and good will, by bringing them to a better mutual acquaintance, is a task for the highest minds, and a worthy service to literature and humanity. It has been well performed by the author of the volume now before us.

Professor Von Raumer brought to the preparation of his book the wisdom of theory, of history, and of active business life. He had already acquired a distinguished name by several publications, among which were the "History of the Hohenstaufen," "Illustrations of the History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," some volumes of a "History of Europe from the End of the Fifteenth Century," and "Letters from Paris in the year 1830," in which last work it is striking to remark the gay, confident, buoyant strain, so contrasted by the seriousness, the gravity, one might justly say the burdened tone of thought and spirits, which runs through the speculations upon the mighty theme of England. The earliest years of his mature life had been passed in public office, in which he obtained successive promotions till 1811, when a wish long indulged was gratified, in his appointment to a Professorship of History at Breslau. From this university he was transferred to the chair of Political Science at Berlin, where he still remains, having since had no place in the administrative government, except as a member of the *Obercensurcollegium*, or High Board of Censorship, which place he also resigned some years ago, in consequence of entertaining more liberal views than his colleagues respecting the freedom of the press.

These facts give a marked peculiarity to the point of view, from which "England in 1835" is described in this im-

portant volume. To the civilized world there are few questions of the passing time, of such exciting interest, as those which relate to the prospects of that kingdom ; and it is an interest, which we Americans, perhaps, feel far more profoundly than any of the nations, whose parchment relations with the fast-anchored isle are the closest. We want much better authorities on the subject, than often are accessible. From the ebullitions of the British press, still in the heat of the unfinished conflict, we obtain little except materials for speculation of our own, which at this distance, is necessarily unsatisfactory and vague. While the Tory press insists that English prosperity has received its death-blow in the recent changes, and the Radicals will have it that only a glimpse of hope has been opened, to be realized in a much more thorough purgation, to which shall we refuse credit, or shall we refuse it to both, or how far may we give it to either ? Nor do we feel altogether safe in trusting the judgments of our own countrymen, on the spot, with the disturbing force of their Republican partialities. "Non *nostrum* . . . . . tantas componere lites." We covet the judgments of some present observer, who shall be at the same time a man of theoretical and practical wisdom. A foreigner he must be, or else he belongs to one of the excited parties. And if he is the subject of an arbitrary government, so much the better for us; for, if he too looks at passing events under a bias, it is a bias of an opposite direction to our own, and whatever he may be found to admit in the face of his political predilections, we have some substantial authority for assuming to be true. All this Professor Von Raumer is ; and, besides all this, he is a person of an uncommonly fair, enlarged, and penetrating mind, of a truly German industry, and of a learning which puts him readily in possession of the key to all which he is undertaking to investigate.

Professor Von Raumer affects but little a parade of sentences. But, at the first view of England, his feelings naturally break out in something more animated than their usual strain.

"When I came on deck early on the 22d, we had already left the North Foreland and Margate behind us; on one side lay the island of Sheppy with its wooded hills, and shortly after the somewhat lower coast of Essex came in sight. Vessels of every kind swarmed around us like sea-birds; but when we

reached Gravesend, their number increased so much, and the beauty of the nearer and richly-cultivated shores became so much greater, that I was involuntarily overcome by wonder and emotion. Recollections of the gradual upward course by which this happy island had for eighteen centuries been advancing to a pitch of elevation unmatched in the history of the world; of the deeds and the sufferings, the exertions and the errors, the wars and the conquests, of her kings, her barons, her churchmen, and her people, — all came crowding upon me. I enjoyed the delight of that high and generous enthusiasm which the ordinary incidents of life cannot call forth, and my whole journey seemed to me to be justified and rewarded by this single hour. But this was only rendered possible by my having been for years at home in England, and my having attuned the strings of my head and heart for this Æolian touch of external impressions, by solitary historic labor." — p. 28.

Arrived in London, he divided his time among investigations in the public archives, which were the chief objects of his visit, society, examination of institutions and of objects of art, and the writing of the letters, which, in their English dress, compose the present volume. One of the first scenes he witnessed, of a public nature, was a further excitement to the enthusiasm expressed in the extract given above. On the day of the dissolution of the Peel ministry, he was present at a dinner of a Society for the Relief of Decayed Authors.

"I could tell you a great deal more about the dinner; but all these particulars lost their interest with me in comparison with one thought. In this very same hour the ministry was dissolved; and this dissolution was not (as it so often is in France) a mere concern of *cotéries* and *tracasséries*, but had a real, substantive meaning, and tended to real and efficient changes. What a deal of wit, good and bad; what angry passions; what hope and fear; what praise and blame, would have foamed over like *champagne mousseux*, in such an hour, in Paris! Here, not a trace of the kind. The first toast to the King (not as with us, with three times three, but with nine times nine, and as *sforzato* as possible); then to the Queen, the Royal Family, all with the greatest applause; so, likewise, 'God save the King.' It seemed as if all that was passing without were but a light ripple on the face of the waters. The weal of England, her riches, her laws, her freedom, seemed moored to some immovable anchor in the securest and serenest depths of ocean, whence neither winds nor waves can ever tear them loose. The clouds

which flit along the face of heaven, and so often seem, to us timid spectators, to portend a coming storm, may here be regarded as but the passing fleeces of a summer sky; or rather, as the proof and the earnest of an equable and safe state of the atmosphere.

"In short, there was something to my mind in the whole proceeding, — both what was done, and what was left undone, — so wholly peculiar, so above all measure exciting, that in my sympathy with England, (and have not years of my life been given to this country?) I could hardly refrain from tears; and I earnestly prayed God that this star might not be quenched, but that He would be pleased to purify and enlighten it, and to remove from it all the spots which partially obscure its brightness." — pp. 71, 72.

Here is already struck the key-note to the whole volume. Our author is not one of those, who "travel from Dan to Beersheba, to say that all is barren." Everywhere, on the contrary, he finds marks of profuse fertility. The more he learns, the more discriminating he becomes, but not the less satisfied and sanguine. Out-breakings of good-natured judgment, and happy anticipation, like the following, terminating the description of some much vexed subject, are scattered through the book.

"I live, therefore, in the hope that England will not want skilful steersmen to pilot her through this rocky channel; whence she will come forth greater and mightier than ever; to the wonder of those who now understand her not, and to the salvation of the continent from the dangers of the east and of the west." — p. 191.

"———'s letter deserves the greatest admiration for the number of good jokes, *jeux de mots*, similes, &c. What I complain of is, that the general impression of England which he produces is a dark one, while I am continually more and more struck with the bright side. Many believe that her last stormy evening has set in, while I feel only the fresh morning breeze that precedes the dawn." — p. 352.

"Party is opposed to party; one accuses the other; and in the end, all are better than they are represented, either by themselves or their opponents. If I fancy myself, many centuries hence, — if I, in imagination, set myself the task of writing the History of England, what a different shape does every thing then assume, how do the complaints and the discords die away! For must not he be prejudiced and narrow-minded who is

unable equally to appreciate Pitt and Fox, Burke and Mackintosh? Do not the trophies of Wellington, the splendid ability of Peel, the energy of Russell, triumphing by its simplicity, the clear and well-directed understanding of Spring Rice, the enthusiastic struggle of O'Connell, belong to each other? Do they not, by their reciprocal action, promote what is right? Would not the picture be poorer, the result more confined, if I should take out, condemn, or throw aside the one or the other?" — p. 511.

"While Italy still reposes on the laurels of its splendid twofold existence in antiquity and the middle ages; while Spain, shaking off its compelled inactivity, is now torn to pieces by the fury of internal dissension; while France can never find permanent happiness, so long as it does not add to courage humility, to dominion self-control, to activity perseverance, and to talents morality; where is the hope of the world, the guarantee for the future, the safeguard against the irruptions of barbarism? IT IS IN THE PRIMÆVAL SOUND STEM OF GERMANIC DEVELOPEMENT, AND ITS TWO MAIN BRANCHES, GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN. If these two nations thoroughly comprehend their noble task, if they exert all their energies for its accomplishment, then, even the diseased portions of Europe will recover their health, the manifold harmonies of life will again resound, and the smallest quarter of the globe will, in spite of all defects, still take the lead in the advance of knowledge throughout the world." — p. 512.

We may distrust, if we will, the soundness of some of the views upon which are based such bright prognostics. But we shall do well to pay a very respectful attention to the reasons urged in their behalf. Professor Von Raumer is no theorist of the liberal school, that he should think so indulgently of what is doing by those who are. He is very little of a theorist of any kind. His political philosophy recognises more fully than any writer, whom we could name, that, among governments, "that which is best administered is best." With him the king of Prussia, who (as much as Louis the Fourteenth was,) is himself "the state," is "the greatest reformer in Europe," and "the head of civilization." He is a friend to *centralization* in all the departments of authority and influence, and has evidently more confidence in reforms accorded by the government, than in those which the governed project and extort. The phrase *Rights of Man*, in its familiar acceptation, has no place of honor in his vocabulary, while the Well-being of man is with him a matter of transcendent import. So far from

having any sympathy with "the movement," merely as movement, he seems even to consider the mere general agitation of political questions as likely to cost as much as it is worth.

"——, to whom I was introduced by ——, called on me. A well-informed, clever man; but so much a citizen of England, that Prussia and his native city Berlin, appear to him petty, and in all respects behindhand. I know how much of this is true, and how much false; and, in spite of all my discretion, I could not forbear saying that all trees did not grow with the same bark, neither was it desirable that they should; but that each *was* a tree nevertheless, and had a bark of its own. . . . . "The assertion that Prussia has no political education, has only a partial and conditional meaning; for all real education must eventually have a political significancy, and a political influence; and if that of Prussia is not conducted by means of parliamentary debates and newspaper articles, on the other hand, many parts of England are wholly without the first elements of instruction. When events demanded it, there was no more lack of political perspicacity, vigor, and enthusiasm, in Prussia than in England, although they arose under other circumstances and other conditions. I dissent, however, entirely from the notion that it is incumbent on every man to busy himself perpetually with politics, and to bestow the greater part of his thoughts and energies on public business. This French excitement seems to me just as much a disease, as the apathy which is displayed in some passages of the history of Germany. Where politics exercise an immoderate influence over the present, all other subjects of human thought and action, however noble and refined, are apt to fall into neglect. Nor do politics, in a high and large sense, consist in the events or opinions of the day; but in that statesmanlike science, which can only grow out of a profound acquaintance with the past as well as present condition of mankind. The old complaint, that history and science lose their interest to men excited by the business and the passions of the day, may be repeated with great truth, even in London." — p. 62.

"What battles of words about words!— how often is an unmeaning or a dyslogistic word accepted as decisive of a question! One day I had briefly explained to an Irish Catholic member of Parliament the state of religious parties in Prussia. He replied, 'Your *despot*, then, has *forced* upon you very useful institutions.' The words 'despot' and 'forced,' made me wince; and in spite of all my caution I could not entirely 'close

the edge of my teeth' (as Homer says). I said, 'Yes; if a kind father is to be called a *despot,* and the love and gratitude of children to be deemed *forced.*'

"If ten votes in Parliament had given legal perpetuity to all the atrocities which have been practised against the Irish ever since the year 1650, would that have been no 'despotism'? and would the observance of a certain *form* have rendered the question of the *matter* superfluous? I repeat, how can men practise this idolatry of forms and formulæ, and be so enslaved to them that they either cannot understand any thing which deviates from their darling usages, or peremptorily deny its very existence." —p. 67.

Nor is it by any means to a mere facility of temper, inclining him to a favorable judgment of all belonging to a people, among whom he was hospitably treated, that we owe Professor Raumer's representations of the state and prospects of Great Britain. So far from it, that on many points he is a malecontent, and in respect to others, if we were to undertake to exhibit the grounds on which his judgments rest, we should have to follow him through elaborate discussions of some of the most intricate questions of political economy. The subjects of taxation, tithes, corn-laws, pauperism, the funding system, protecting duties, wages, machinery, and others similar, are treated by him at large, and with an abundant array of facts, as well as (in the original,) with frequent and full abstracts of parliamentary debates, which, if the translator thought them superfluous for English readers, ought still to have been inserted in an edition prepared expressly for American use. He deals with the subject of penal law in a spirit of moderation and liberality. As to the church establishment, he is much impressed with the inequalities of the emoluments of ministers of religion, but does not think the church too rich, nor, as is natural for him, has any favor for the voluntary system of support for religious institutions. With the condition of the Catholics he is utterly dissatisfied, and finds no difficulty in allowing to them, as in his own country, a full share of the ecclesiastical revenues. The institution of a lay English peerage for life, at least as one more component part of the Upper House, appears to him a desirable improvement of the constitution of Parliament. The abolition of the East India Company's monopoly he commends, as a measure demanded by all reasons of sound policy; and the obligations of Great Britain to her East India possessions are urged by him in a

fine tone of remark. The requisition of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles by students at the Universities, he condemns as an absurd iniquity; and all the British institutions for education, from high to low, strike him as quite inferior to those of his own country, and inadequate to the wants of the times. Poor-laws he would have sustained and extended, while their faulty provisions should be revised, and a stop put to practical abuses. In one suggestion under this head, more prominently than in any other in the volume, the influence of Prussian birth betrays itself. He would have the government relieve the Irish poor, (whose misery and degradation he paints in the strongest colors,) by converting them from tenants into freeholders; in short, making them a present of their landlords' farms. He does well to express his apprehension of the probable dissatisfaction of Whigs and Tories alike, with any such arrangement. It does not approve itself to the judgments of any division of the exported Saxon race. Yet it is no new proposal. It is only that a man is not to keep his own, if another, mightier than he, has a mind to make some other disposition of it; the very point on which the one-headed and the many-headed monster of misrule, despotism and anarchy, Ahab and Bæbius, Achmet and Jack Cade, Frederic William and Robespierre, have always been agreed.

So much for matters of the most pith and moment. Professor Raumer is also a practised connoisseur in art, and the state of art among the luxurious islanders by no means contents him. "Their music, sculpture, and painting," he pronounces to be "now, as formerly, very inferior to those of any of the nations which have acted as leaders of the human race." Even Chantrey's works, to his judgment, "lie on this side the line beyond which lay the whole region of art among the Greeks; at which beauty of form, and the ideal (in the true sense of the word), appear as the proper scope of art." Nor does modern English architecture please him better. So far from it, that his indignation against the expensive enormities of Buckingham House, which was intended to supply what the King of England has not, a befitting palace in his capital, breaks out in one of the most animated passages of the volume. On the other hand, he does eloquent justice to the noble old Gothic structures. Fountain Abbey, and that grandest of all relics of feudalism, Windsor, awaken all his enthusiasm; while at Westminster Abbey he gives vent to the dismal dis-

appointment which all its visitors are sure enough to feel, at finding that most awful pile (would they but let one look on its glory-haunted vastness) broken up into closets and alleys in favor of the fees of the showmen, whom one would rejoice to pay tenfold for "the charity of their silence."

"On a sudden turn in the road, the magnificent ruins of Fountains Abbey stood before me, towards which I hastened with my intelligent guide. I thought that I was entering the aisle of the church, but it was only the transept; and the extent and sublimity of the building again surprised me when I reached the intersection of the cross. An extremely lofty and slender column still supports two bold arches; the vaulted roof, which covered the centre, has fallen in. The ancient library, the vast refectory, the vaulted cloisters, — they are not the ruins of a single edifice, but an astonishing assemblage of ruins of many splendid buildings. The solemn stillness, the beauty of the scenery, the ivy which mantled the walls and towers, and in part completely covered them, presented an image of the bygone world of mind, and the fresh and youthful energy of nature. I have never seen ruins so grand and striking, — I might almost say, so full of thought and feeling." — p. 431.

"Lord H——— very obligingly showed us the whole of the castle, much more than is usually shown; which brings me to the introduction of this letter. Windsor far exceeded my expectations, and made a greater impression on me than all the other castles I have ever seen, put together. It combines the bold originality of the middle ages with the highest pitch of splendor and comfort which our times can reach. It is not an empty, tedious monotonous repetition of the same sort of rooms, over and over again; but every staircase, every gallery, every room, every hall, nay, every window is different, surprising, peculiar; in one word, poetical. In the rich, busy, hurrying London, I have often longed for the quiet of decaying Venice, — often looked for a tinge of poetic melancholy, or of fantastic originality. In vain; no trace was to be found, even in society. Always the sharp outline of reality; the mathematics of life; the arts of calculating, of gaining, of governing. In Windsor, on the contrary, England's history, so rich in interest, with all its recollections, suddenly stands before my eyes. These gigantic towers, bastions, balconies, chapels, churches, and knightly halls in fresh and boundless variety; at every step, new views of rivers, valleys, woods, and fields; the fancies of a thousand years crowded together into one instant, and far surpassing everything that opera decorations would dare to represent on paper and canvass.

"I could understand Versailles, and see Louis the Fourteenth and his court walking up and down in the straight rectangular walks among the formal hedges, fountains, and half fabulous animals; it was just a scene from Racine or Corneille. In Windsor, for the first time since I was in England, I fully understood that Shakspeare was an Englishman. Here he reigns as monarch, and his romantic world here finds a local habitation. As we were afterwards whirled along in the royal carriage through the green meadows, and the ancient oaks and beeches, where the wildest nature is interspersed with beautiful gardens and quiet lakes, where richly ornamented boats lay ready to transport us to the distant wooded and mysterious shore; I felt that I was on the spot where the Henrys reigned, and acted their great and gorgeous tragedies; where, in moonlight nights, Oberon and Titania sport with their fairy troops; where Rosalind wanders in the forest, or Jacques indulges in his melancholy musings, or Beatrice throws out her keen jests like bright arrows." — pp. 249, 250.

"Westminster Abbey, as I saw it in Paris, — the painted Westminster Abbey of the Diorama, — made a grander, more sublime, and more harmonious impression on me, excited and touched me far more, than the reality. There I saw the solemn edifice at one glance; the whole extent was before me, and an awful stillness seemed to invite the mighty dead from their tombs, although those tombs were not visible. Here, on the contrary, is a perfect labyrinth of wooded partitions, doors, screens, railings, and corners. Nowhere a grand general effect; nowhere a feeling of congruity, and of regard to the main object, — the architectonic character of the building. It seemed as if all these nooks and swallows' nests were contrived merely to increase the number of showmen and key-bearers who lurk in them." — p. 141.

Professor Raumer finds one of the few points on which all opinions agree in England, to be, that the stage "has declined, and is declining." This fact gives him much concern, and he submits several explanations, occurring to himself, or proposed by others. Some of these, such as the monopoly of the legitimate drama by the two principal theatres; the want of police regulations, securing the comfort of the audience; the late hours of dining which have become the fashion; the size of theatres, inconsistent with the best exertion of the voice; the costliness of the amusement; the attraction of concerts and the opera; and the discontinuance,

under the present reign, of encouragement given to the stage by former sovereigns, do not strike one as going far towards a solution of the question. Other circumstances specified are of a more important character, and probably of much more considerable influence; such as the increase of the supply of popular books, and of habits of reading; the character of part of the audience, which theatres attract, and which in England is made conspicuous by a separate place; and the "indecorous and immoral" character of dramatic literature. Our author ascribes much efficacy to this last cause of the growing unpopularity of the stage in England, and would have it removed by a rigid exercise of the Lord Chamberlain's authority of dramatic censorship.

We have touched upon some topics of Professor Raumer's exceedingly useful work, and given some specimens of his style of remark, sufficient, perhaps, to indicate its general tone and character. If report says true, he is again in England, where we hope he is preparing to send out some testimony of a confirmation of his favorable first impressions. We honor the diligence of his researches, and the abundance of his knowledge; we admire his candid and philanthropic spirit; we cordially welcome the conclusions to which he would conduct us respecting the state and prospects of our glorious mother country. "With all its faults," (and these it seems determined that we, of all people, shall never forget) "we love it still," and that right heartily. Twenty-five years ago, Mrs. Barbauld, in her poem of 1811, wrote of it in the Cassandra vein, as follows. It has seen some hard service since, but the prophecy seems now quite as far as then from its fulfilment.

"Fairest flowers expand but to decay,
The worm is in thy core, thy glories pass away;
Arts, arms, and wealth, destroy the fruits they bring,
Commerce, like beauty, knows no second spring,
Crime walks thy streets, Fraud eats her unblest bread,
O'er want and woe thy gorgeous robe is spread,
And angel charities in vain oppose;
With grandeur's growth the mass of misery grows," &c.

We have been seeing, that much of this is denied by our author. In fact he allows no part of it. He will not admit even so much as that states, like men, are necessarily born to die. His thoughts on this head are too agreeable for us to choose any other for his parting communication with our readers.

"I should not have a drop of historical blood in my veins, if I did not sympathize in the melancholy with which many look back into past times; if I could not understand the feeling which urges so many a noble mind to try to retain unchanged the institutions which support the power, and increase the glory of England. But flowers fade, trees decay, buildings fall into ruins, and nations disappear from the earth. Where, then, lies the sustaining and revivifying power? Not in the unchanging, the uniform, the motionless; these are rather the signs and characteristics of death, — nay, even death is another name for change and re-creation; and thus, for the continuance of vegetable life, we require fresh seed; for the maintenance of the strongest edifice, constant inspection and repair.

"The individual man must die; but he dies and leaves his blessing to posterity. He knows that they will not be like him in every thing; far from regretting this, he wishes that they should avoid his faults and his weaknesses.

"But all this is trivial. I meant to say something very different. I deny the necessity for the utter decay and fall of nations. It is said, nations consist of individuals, — all individuals must die, — therefore all nations must die. The analogy and the inference are false. Because all plants die, does it follow that all the genera and species must die out? Does not a power of eternal regeneration lie in the great whole?

"No nation has ever fallen but by its own vice and crimes; and the belief in an eternal existence, — the duty of maintaining that existence, — is the first article of a nation's creed, the first rule of a national law. — *Nil desperandum.* This firm persuasion rests not on selfish presumption; on the contrary, it is inseparably connected with the recognition of the existence and the permanence of others, and the utter rejection of all lust of conquest and of overthrow. According to the common notions, Athens was doomed to death when the Persian, and Rome when the Gaul, was within her walls; Prussia, in the Seven Years' War, and the war with France; Spain and Russia, when Napoleon entered Madrid and Moscow. But it was not so.

"There indisputably do exist incurable causes of ruin. But even then the laurel may overshadow the grave, as well as the cypress, — witness Carthage and Numantia.

"Our times are more prolific in the means of prolonging national life than any preceding ones. First, in material means, — in the greater knowledge and improvement of the earth and its productions, in more active intercourse and more liberal mutual assistance. Secondly, financial and military, — in the more equal division of all things, and the more equitable claims

on property and life. Thirdly, legal and political, — in the abolition of slavery, villanage, and the exclusive tyranny of any individual or any class. Fourthly, moral and religious, — in the stream of eternal life, which may and should pervade, sanctify, and bless, every relation of life from the fount of Christianity. Therefore, again I say, — *Nil desperandum.*" — pp. 333, 334.

Art. VII. — 1. *The Life of Richard Bentley, D. D., Master of Trinity College and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, with an Account of his Writings, and Anecdotes of many distinguished Characters, during the Period in which he flourished.* By James Henry Monk, D. D., Dean of Peterborough.* 4to. London. 1830.

2. *Litterarische Analecten, herausgegeben* von Fried. August. Wolf. Th. I. Berlin, 1816. (The Article Richard Bentley, in the First Number of Wolf's *Literary Analecta.*)

Richard Bentley is the greatest classical scholar ever produced by England. Bishop Monk calls him "the most celebrated scholar of modern times." Whether his name could be safely placed above that of Erasmus, Scaliger, and Hemsterhuys, not to mention any of the renowned scholars of the last generation, may be a question on which the learned of England and other countries might differ. But this we think may be safely said, that if Bentley, in all other things the same, had passed his life in the quiet of a University in Holland or Germany; — if he had redeemed to those studies for which he was born, the time and the talents which he wasted in the petty squabbles of his College mastership, he would unquestionably have made himself, beyond all rivalry, the most celebrated scholar of modern times. Most of his works, as he boasts of several of them, were hasty effusions; thrown off without labor, and while his time was engrossed,

* Dr. Monk is the present bishop of Gloucester.

and all the strong passions of his soul enlisted, in the controversies and litigation, which he seemed to court as his element. Although, at first blush, the headship of one of the great collegiate establishments of an English University might seem to be precisely the place best adapted for a scholar, it proved the reverse in the case of Bentley. Those efforts, in which his talents and acquisitions appear to greatest advantage, were made before his elevation to the mastership of Trinity; and from the period of his promotion to that distinguished station, his life was one long, uncomfortable, undignified, and profitless quarrel. Most of his publications, after that period, leave, in one way or another, much to regret, and show only what he might have done. But this they do show; and with the single exception of his ill-starred edition of Milton, which more than any thing else has detracted from his reputation, they all bear witness to that wonderful sagacity, that peculiar critical tact, and rare learning, in which no man ever excelled, and few, very few, have ever equalled him.

The work which we have named first, at the head of the article, is a noble monument to the fame of Bentley. Its author, Bishop Monk, himself a bright ornament of the College over which Bentley presided, has engaged in the subject with the interest which might be expected from such an association. It is no matter of surprise, that he has entered more fully into the detail of Bentley's controversies with his College, with its visitor, and with the courts, than was necessary to satisfy the curiosity of men of letters at the present day, at least in foreign countries. It was perhaps not possible, without this detail, to do justice to the life of Bentley; and the questions of academical law, and the facts relative to the organization and visitation of the English Colleges, contained in the narrative, make it well worth the perusal of all who seek information on these points. Bishop Monk, himself one of the best Greek scholars of the day, was of course the individual properly marked out, to write the life of the most illustrious of the learned men of Cambridge. He has executed the task with great diligence, ability, and candor. We have rarely seen a fairer book. The merits of Bentley are emphatically set forth, but not exaggerated; his errors impartially stated, and his works ably criticized. We scarce know a biographical performance, which discloses less

of the partisan. It is unnecessary to state, that a great amount of literary history and anecdote is incidentally introduced, rendering the volume an interesting repository for the department of philology. — If our readers derive any amusement or instruction from the present article, they will owe it almost exclusively to Bishop Monk, whom we have closely followed, and often *verbatim.*

The other work, named at the head of this article, is a biographical sketch. Its author, Frederic Augustus Wolf, of Homeric fame, is well known to our readers as one of the most distinguished scholars in Germany, of the last generation. He informs us, in the outset, that he had employed himself for some time in collecting materials for a life of Bentley, with a thorough criticism of his works. This design was abandoned, and the essay before us prepared from the materials which had been collected. Few persons were better able than Wolf to appreciate Bentley. Their characters and tempers were not entirely dissimilar. Thrown into a similar position, Wolf was not at all indisposed, if we have formed a right estimate of him, to play a similar part. As critics, their tastes were not unlike ; though the direction of their studies varied, in conformity with the changed fashion of the day. It is a somewhat curious fact, that in one of the controversial publications of Bentley, a suggestion is thrown out, seemingly without much consideration, and afterwards abandoned to its fate, without any attempt to push it to its consequences, which goes the whole length of Wolf's famous hypothesis on the subject of the Iliad and Odyssey. Wolf's sketch of Bentley's life is certainly valuable, as embodying the opinions of a scholar so distinguished, on the general character of Bentley and the merit of his several works ; but as a piece of biography, independently considered, it is of no great account. — The principal authority relied on by Wolf, for his facts, is the article in the Biographia Britannica, which he appears, however, to have consulted only in the first edition. In Kippis's edition of that work, the article upon Bentley received many additions and alterations, from the pen of his grandson, the well known Richard Cumberland. The diligence of Bishop Monk, however, has added very many facts to the biography of Bentley, which had escaped the researches even of his partial relative.

Richard Bentley was a native of Oulton, in the parish of

Rothwell, a village not far from Wakefield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. His progenitors were of the class, "which has supplied every profession with many of its brightest ornaments, the higher description of English yeomanry." Their property suffered in the civil wars; but his father, Thomas Bentley, was left at the Restoration in the possession of a small estate. On the 27th of January, 1662, Richard Bentley was born, and through the assistance and interposition of his maternal grandfather, Mr. Richard Willie, he received the rudiments of a good education. It is justly stated by Bishop Monk, as a circumstance worth recording, that "the most celebrated scholar of modern times" received his first classical education from a female, having been taught the Latin accidence by his mother. He was first sent to a village school at Methley, and afterwards to the Grammar School at Wakefield, a seminary of considerable reputation. Of Bentley's school studies or school friendships nothing is recorded; and it is matter only of inference, that he received a principal part of his preparation for the University from Mr. John Baskerville, the master of the Wakefield School from 1672 to 1681. It is a remarkable circumstance, that two persons, who filled the chair of Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, contemporaneously, were both educated at this school. John Potter, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, filled that office at Oxford, when Bentley was chosen to the same place at Cambridge. — At the age of fourteen, his father having deceased, Richard Bentley was sent by his grandfather to the University of Cambridge, where, in May 1676, he was admitted a subsizar of St. John's College. Bishop Monk mentions the singular fact, that the University was at this time crowded with students, to a degree of which there has since been hardly any example. No particulars are recorded of the progress of his studies, but it is inferred from a passage in his Dissertation on the Metres of Terence, that he had come to some of the results, which authorize him to claim to be a discoverer in Metrical science, at this early stage of his career. — Sir Isaac Newton was Lucasian Professor of Natural Philosophy at Cambridge, while Bentley was an undergraduate. A friendship which ripened into intimacy commenced at this period, between these two eminent men; and, though their paths were wholly different, the lectures of Bentley on the Boyle foundation show, that he had given no small attention

to the scientific speculations of Newton. He continued through life his intimate associate, and rendered very important aid, in the publication of the works of the great philosopher.

Among the contemporaries of Bentley at the University were Dr. Samuel Garth, the author of the Dispensary, John Dennis, the famous critic and dunce, and William Wotton, the antagonist of Sir William Temple, in the controversy relative to ancient and modern learning, to which we shall have occasion, in the progress of this article, to revert. Wotton is mentioned by Bishop Monk as the best authenticated instance of a youthful prodigy, of which there is any account. It is certified, on the testimony of many persons of sense and learning, that at six years of age, he was able to read and translate Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, to which at seven he added some knowledge of the Arabic and Syriac. On his admission to Catherine Hall, one of the Colleges at Cambridge, in his tenth year, the Master of the College, Dr. Eachard, recorded, "*Gulielmus Wotton, infra decem annos, nec Hammondo nec Grotio secundus.*" His surprising proficiency, while an undergraduate, is testified by some of the best scholars of the day. When he proceeded bachelor of arts, he knew twelve languages ; and, as there was no precedent for granting that degree to a boy of thirteen, Dr. Gower, one of the *Caput*, thought fit to put upon record a notice of his proficiency in every species of literature, as a justification of the University. Bishop Monk observes, that Wotton maintained in after life a reputation much higher than is generally the case, with persons famed for precocious intellect in childhood. It is, perhaps, not invidious to add, however, that in this respect he is immeasurably below Grotius, to whom at the age of ten, he appears to have been compared by the head of the College, where he received his education.

After the usual course of studies, Bentley took his bachelor's degree ; and appears to have been entitled to the third place in the list of honors for his class. He was prevented from becoming a fellow, by a regulation then existing, which prohibited two fellowships to one county. He probably continued to reside at Cambridge, in the pursuit of his studies, and supported by his grandfather. At the age of twenty, he was appointed head master of the Grammar School at Spalding in Lincolnshire, a place in the gift of St. John's College.

This appointment, conferred on so young a man, implies, in the opinion of his biographer, not merely distinguished scholarship, but a character for steadiness and discretion. He had scarcely filled this situation a year, when he was invited by the celebrated Stillingfleet, then Dean of St. Paul's, to become the domestic tutor of his son. This situation transplanted Bentley, at the age of twenty-one, from a country school to the metropolis; to the free use of one of the best private libraries in the world; to the enjoyment of the society of some of the most distinguished men in church and state, who visited his patron, as well as of the daily intercourse of Dr. Stillingfleet, a person of great learning and the most amiable temper.

Bentley took the degree of master of arts in course, and from that time, for some years, had no connexion with his University. He passed his time mostly with the family of Dr. Stillingfleet in London. This was the most tranquil and happy period of his life. It was no doubt, at this period, that he made his greatest acquisitions, and laid the foundations of his fame. He might perhaps, with as much justice as Dr. Johnson, have exclaimed, How melancholy it is to reflect how little is learned in after life. He appears at this period to have made a systematic study of theology, and in a tract written by himself, when nearly at the age of threescore, he records, with singular satisfaction, his laborious method of acquiring Hebrew. "He wrote," he tells us, "before he was twenty-four years of age, a sort of *Hexapla;* a thick volume in quarto, in the first column of which he inserted every word in the Hebrew Bible alphabetically; and in five other columns, all the various interpretations of those words in the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate Latin, Septuagint, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, that occur in the whole Bible. This he made for his own use, to know the Hebrew, not from the late Rabbins, but from the ancient versions; when, bating Arabic, Persic, and Ethiopic, he read over the whole Polyglot." At the same time, he mentions having written another volume in quarto of various readings and emendations of the Hebrew text, drawn out of the ancient versions; "which, though done in these green years, would make a second part of the famous Capellus's *Critica Sacra.*" It can scarcely, however, be doubted, that Bentley's principal studies were in philology, a branch of learning in which, for want of the

critical aids that have since been so abundantly provided, it was vastly more difficult, a century and a half ago, than at the present day, to make a satisfactory progress. Bentley, in one of his controversial works, admits that his memory was none of the best, a statement, we must own, scarcely reconcilable with his inexhaustible erudition. He early formed the habit of noting, in the margin of the books he read, the suggestions and conjectures which occurred to him, during their perusal; and was also accustomed to prepare for himself indexes of the authors quoted by the principal scholiasts, by Eustathius, and other ancient commentators, like those afterwards published by Fabricius, in the *Bibliotheca Græca*, which are the joint production of several hands.

Shortly after the accession of King William, Dr. Stillingfleet was made Bishop of Worcester, and about the same time, 1689, his son was sent to Wadham College, in the University of Oxford. Bentley accompanied him as his private tutor, and was soon admitted master of arts *ad eundem*, of that College. Richard Cumberland states, that young Stillingfleet was sent to Oxford rather than Cambridge, which was his father's University, at the instance of Bentley, who wished to make himself acquainted with the treasures of the Bodleian library. Here he commenced his labors by collating three manuscripts of Hephæstion, writing in the margin of his copy his own annotations on this author. Of these collations and annotations Professor Gaisford has made use, in his valuable edition of Hephæstion. The following year, Bentley was ordained a deacon, and shortly after received an appointment as chaplain to his patron the Bishop of Worcester.

It appears from his epistle to Dr. Mill, which will be presently mentioned, that Bentley had formed the plan of a complete collection of the fragments of the Greek poets. In this work he made some progress; but was induced to abandon it as an undertaking, of which the labor would exceed the value and interest. By some of his learned friends, who knew the attention he had given to the Greek lexicographers, he was advised to undertake the gigantic work of publishing their remains. The project contemplated an edition of Hesychius, Suidas, and the Etymologicum Magnum, to be printed in parallel columns on the same page, in the manner of Walton's Polyglot. These, it was supposed, would fill three folio volumes, and that Julius Pollux, who could not be

reduced to alphabetical order, with Erotianus, Phrynicus, and the minor glossaries, with an appendix from manuscripts, would make a fourth. The different character of the works proposed to be included in the parallel columns led, on farther consideration, to its abandonment. Hesychius remained, however, a favorite study with Bentley. He first discovered the two principal sources of the corruptions of this author, which had made him comparatively useless, viz. the practice of transcribers in incorporating into the text words found by them in the margin of the manuscripts which they copied, and the neglect of alphabetical order. By attending to these and other points, he had early made five thousand corrections in the text of Hesychius. If our space holds out, we shall present a beautiful specimen of one of these corrections, in the progress of this article.

While Bentley was thus employed, his attention was accidentally turned to the subject, which, in the words of Bishop Monk, "actually established his unrivalled fame as a Greek critic." Among the manuscripts in the Bodleian was the only copy known to be extant of a Greek historical work, compiled in the ninth century, by *Johannes Malela Antiochenus*. The first and last leaves of this chronicle, which may be supposed to have contained the name of the author, being lost, it was known to be the work of Malelas only by a passage being discovered in it, which is quoted in another ancient work as from Johannes Malela. It is one of the numerous chronicles, drawn up by Christian writers, of events from Adam to their own time, the real value of which consists in their being taken from older writings, which have perished, and from their being the sources, from which Suidas and other lexicographers drew their information on chronology and history. This work had been consulted in manuscript by Usher, Selden, Pearson, Lloyd, and other learned Englishmen, but several attempts to effect its publication had proved abortive. At length, the curators of the Sheldon press, at Oxford, committed the chronicle to the press in 1690, with the notes and Latin translation of Chilmead, who had proposed an edition of it forty years before. The care of the publication was committed to Dr. Mill, well known afterwards as the editor of the New Testament; and Dr. Hody (at that time a tutor of Wadham College, afterwards professor of Greek, and a colleague of Bentley in the chaplaincy to the Bishop of Worces-

ter,) was employed to write the *prolegomena*. While the work was in the press, but before it was printed, Bentley expressed to Dr. Mill some curiosity on the subject of the chronicle. Mill promised him a sight of the sheets, on condition of being furnished by Bentley with his comments, to be published as an appendix. Bentley complied with the condition; of which he soon repented, in consequence of the intolerable dulness of the author. Mill, however, held him to his agreement, as well with an eye to the interest of the publication, as believing that it would afford his young friend an opportunity of making an advantageous display of his erudition. As Bentley was about removing with Bishop Stillingfleet's family to London, he transcribed and carried with him those portions of Malelas, on which he proposed to comment. These were principally citations from the Greek poets, which Malelas, or his transcribers, had turned into prose, or allusions to the poets, particularly the Attic dramatists, which Bentley restores with the marvellous metrical tact, which is one of the chief characteristics of his scholarship. In his commentary upon these extracts, he displays a wide extent of reading, not only in the classical authors, but in the literature of later ages. In the elegant ribaldry, which Pope showered upon the head of Bentley, he represents him as saying of the poets whom he edited;

> "Write what they will in verse, their toil is vain;
> Critics like us will make it prose again."

It is a curious illustration of the fairness of Pope's satire on Bentley, that he laid the foundation of his critical fame, in this first effort of his pen, by restoring to verse the citations from the Greek dramatists, which the chronicler had corrupted into prose; — a work which Pope was as little able to perform for a single line of an Attic dramatist, as Bentley to write the "Dunciad." But Pope unfortunately, as we shall see hereafter, had too good an apology for his sarcasm. This work of Bentley's was thrown into the form of a letter to Dr. Mill in Latin, and published as an appendix to the forthcoming edition. Its appearance produced *a sensation* in the learned world. The various and accurate learning and astonishing sagacity displayed by Bentley, the originality of his style, the boldness of his opinions, and his conscious reliance upon an unfailing erudition, marked him out as a scholar, to be ranked with the most

distinguished of other days. His pretensions to the highest rank of scholarship, were by common consent instantly recognised. The learned of the continent of Europe were particularly enthusiastic in his praise. Grævius and Spanheim, at that time the dictators of the republic of letters, lavished on him all the flowers of classical panegyric. "Such," says Bishop Monk, "was the production, which established the fame of Bentley, at the age of twenty-nine, in the highest rank of literary eminence; and from that moment the eyes of every scholar in Europe were fixed upon his operations. Great as is the number of persons, who have since appeared with success in this department, it would not be easy to name a critical essay, which for accuracy, ingenuity, and original learning can take place of the appendix to Malelas."

After the publication of this essay, Bentley gave himself up for a while exclusively to theological studies. The general voice, however, of his learned friends called upon him not to abandon the philological pursuits, in which he had already so greatly distinguished himself, and he soon projected editions of Philostratus, Hesychius, and Manilius. The last appears to have been a favorite author with Bentley, and he made considerable preparation for the edition; but his attention was soon called away in a different direction. In the year 1691, the honorable Robert Boyle, a person justly entitled to that epithet for his scientific and moral worth, founded by will his lectureship against infidelity, appropriating to that object an income of fifty pounds *per annum*. The trustees, four persons of great eminence, immediately appointed Bentley first lecturer. Bishop Monk justly observes, that "we can scarcely conceive a greater compliment to the merits of a young man only in deacon's orders, than the selection of him from the whole clerical profession, to be the first champion in such a cause, and that, too, upon an institution, to which the celebrity of the founder was of itself sufficient to draw the eyes of the public. He mentions this distinction at different periods of his life, in such terms as to show, that he considered it the greatest of the honors with which he had ever been invested."

In the discharge of the honorable trust, Bentley surpassed expectation. The lectures were principally devoted to the demonstration of the folly of Atheism in reply to Hobbes, and they appear to have been the first popular work, in which

the philosophy of Newton was laid open and applied to a moral purpose. Before publishing his lectures, he took the precaution to consult Newton on the subject, that he might be sure he had rightly comprehended the reasoning of the great philosopher. This application drew forth four letters from Newton, which were published by Cumberland in 1756. In one of these, he expresses the following memorable sentiment; "When I wrote my treatise about our system, I had an eye upon such principles as might work with considering men for the belief of a Deity; and nothing can rejoice me more than to find it useful for that purpose. But if I have done the public any service this way, it is due to nothing but industry and patient thought." Among all the distinguished performances, which the Boylean lecture has produced, Bentley's is admitted not to have been surpassed. He was shortly after advanced to the rank of prebendary in the diocese of Worcester, and thus secured in an honorable independence.

Without attempting to follow Bishop Monk in the detail of all the learned labors of Bentley, we may observe that in 1693 he was appointed librarian to the King, a circumstance which incidentally involved him in a controversy, in connexion with which his name is still more frequently repeated than any other, viz. that of Bentley and Boyle. A few years before this period, the notion of the superiority of the moderns over the ancients had been broached in France by Fontenelle, Perrault, and other *savans* of that country, and spreading to England, the dispute on this subject had attracted the notice of Sir William Temple, a retired statesman of eminent character, and the most accomplished writer of the English language of his age. Sir William, not content with refuting the paradoxes of the French writers, rushed to the opposite extreme, claiming for the ancients an unqualified superiority in every department of learning. His work, though in every respect an inferior performance, except as a piece of English composition, was received with general favor. It was translated into French, applauded by Boileau and Racine, and brought Perrault to a recantation of his heresy. In this state of things, William Wotton, whom we have already mentioned, the friend of Bentley from his college years, engaged in the discussion, and in his "Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning" triumphantly replied to Sir William Temple.

Among other arguments to prove the degeneracy of the

moderns, Sir William had asserted, "that the oldest books extant were still the best of their kind," and adduced as instances, what he believed to be the most ancient prose books written by profane authors, the Fables of Æsop and the Epistles of Phalaris. He advanced this preposterous judgment, in the most emphatic and eloquent terms, and drew from internal evidence a confirmation of his opinion. While Wotton was employed upon his reply, Bentley in a casual conversation with him, told him, that the two works, which Sir William had pronounced the oldest and the best in the world, were neither old nor good; that he could prove the present collection of Æsopian Fables, not to be Æsop's; and that the Epistles, upon which such extravagant praises were heaped, were not the production of Phalaris, but an impudent and clumsy forgery of later times. Wotton engaged Bentley to reduce to writing the arguments in favor of this opinion, to be published as an appendix to his book; but, being prevented by other engagements, and habitually disposed to procrastination, he did not fulfil his promise at this time, and Wotton's work appeared without the intended appendix.

The extravagant panegyric pronounced by Sir William Temple on the Epistles of Phalaris, a work then in few hands, created a strong desire for a new edition. Dr. Aldrich was at this time dean of Christ Church, at Oxford, and it was, it seems, his practice to encourage a few of the best scholars of his college each year, to publish an edition of some classical author, of which, on the first of January, the dean presented a copy to every young man of his college, as a new year's gift. The book thus selected for publication at this time, was the Epistles of Phalaris; and Charles Boyle, a brother to the Earl of Orrery, was selected as the editor. He was a young man of handsome talents, respectable attainments, amiable disposition, and a general favorite in his college. In the course of preparation for his edition, he was desirous of obtaining a collation of a manuscript of his author, in the Royal Library at London. In consequence of the negligence and the misrepresentations of the bookseller, whom he employed as agent to obtain this collation, Mr. Boyle thought he had been unhandsomely treated by Bentley, the librarian, in whose conduct there had, in reality, been nothing to complain of. The supposed offence was aggravated by Bentley's having dropped the remark to the bookseller, pending the negotiations for the

collation, — that "he need not be afraid of undertaking it, since the great names of those who recommended it would ensure its sale, but that the book was a spurious one and unworthy a new edition." This remark was reported to Boyle by his bookseller, and, coupled with the imagined obstacles thrown in the way of the collation, was taken in very ill part. Accordingly, when the edition of Phalaris came out, the Preface was found to contain the following passage, "Epistolas collatas etiam curavi usque ad epist. 40, cum msto in Bibliothecâ regiâ, cujus copiam ulteriorem bibliothecarius *pro singulari suâ humanitate* negavit." As soon as this offensive passage met his eye, Bentley courteously wrote to Boyle, explaining the transaction relative to the collation, and assuring him that no unkindness had been practised or intended.

This pacific overture was unwisely rejected by the youthful nobleman; but no steps were taken by Bentley, at the time, to redress himself for the affront contained in the Preface. Not long after this occurrence, he was appointed a chaplain in ordinary to the King and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. It may be mentioned as a fact, illustrating the condition of the mechanical arts in England, at this period, that Bentley, being commissioned by the University at Cambridge to provide the University press with a new printing apparatus, felt it necessary to order the types from Holland. The beautiful Greek type of Kuster's Suidas, Taylor's Demosthenes, and other Greek authors printed at Cambridge about this time, was imported from that country. In the year 1696, he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity in course at Cambridge, with distinguished honor. The same year he sent to Grævius, at Utrecht, his collection of the fragments of Callimachus, gathered to the number of over four hundred, from the whole range of Greek Literature, and of which Valckenaer, a judge entirely competent, says "*quâ nihil in hoc genere præstantius prodiit, aut magis elaboratum.*"

But the time was now come, when he was unavoidably drawn into his controversy with Boyle, the introductory steps to which we have already related. A second edition of Wotton's "Reflections" was called for, and Bentley was urged by his friend to redeem the pledge, that he would prove the present collection of the Fables of Æsop, and the Epistles of Phalaris, to be spurious works. Bentley sought to excuse himself, on the very ground that he could not take up the

subject without repelling the calumny contained in the Preface of Boyle, with whom he desired no controversy. Wotton did not admit the validity of this excuse, and accordingly Bentley furnished, as an appendix to his work, his dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, the Fables of Æsop, and the Epistles ascribed to Euripides, Themistocles, and others. This essay was afterwards eclipsed by his enlarged edition, and was a somewhat hasty production ; but it is, at the same time, a work of consummate erudition, ingenuity, and power, and cannot be read without pleasure, even by a person unversed in classical learning, who has a relish for logical argument, sagacious distinction, or happy illustration. From the chronology, language, contents, and late appearance of the Epistles of Phalaris, (they are quoted by no author before the tenth century,) he demonstrates their spuriousness beyond the shadow of a doubt. Having effected this, he relates the circumstances relative to the collation of the manuscript, and winds off with the following defiance ; — "Let this serve as a short specimen of their care and skill in using of manuscripts. I have many more instances ready at hand, but their *humanity*, I hope, will pardon me, if I don't produce them now, nor now proceed, as I once thought, to weed all their book for them. My time does not lie upon my hands ; and this tract must be only a short appendix to the book of my friend. But it 's likely hereafter, if in their way of speaking, they mightily exhort me to it, I may be at their service ; if not in this, yet in another language ; to carry the fame and glory of our editors, whither such editions as theirs seldom go, to foreign Universities."

This lofty tone and comprehensive defiance gave a sting to the work of Bentley, which exasperated the scholars at Christ Church. Mr. Boyle had left the University and engaged in public life ; but an answer was determined on, to appear in his name, but principally prepared by Atterbury, Smalridge, Freind and others, all persons subsequently of high note. The plan of the confederacy was simple. It was to cavil at the irrefutable arguments of Bentley, and lay out their strength in a personal attack, — to hold up every point in his character to ridicule and odium, — to dispute his honesty and veracity as well as his learning ; and by representing him as a model of pedantry, conceit, and ill manners, to drive him for ever from the literary stage. How painful to reflect, that

the first scholars of Oxford, in a wish to wreak their vengeance in a literary quarrel on a man like Bentley, should descend to the base arts of the venal and profligate political hack, who vilifies the character of the man whom he would destroy, regardless alike of decency and truth.

Sir William Temple, of course, was not of the number who could look with indifference on the Dissertation of Bentley. It demonstrated the spuriousness and worthlessness of a production, which he had pronounced the oldest prose work in profane literature, and then adduced, as proving in itself, by its unrivalled excellence, the superiority of the writings of antiquity. He made a feeble attempt at reply, which did not however appear till after his death, and then had better been suppressed. Swift was living at this time in the family of Sir William at Moor Park, and sympathizing with the griefs of his patron, added a section or two to the *Tale of the Tub*, (the first part of which had been already prepared,) for the especial purpose of ridiculing Bentley and Wotton, and soothing the feelings of Sir William, by showing that the men, who had refuted his arguments and exposed his ignorance, were dunces. Precious consolation! The "Tale of the Tub," however, was not published for some years. At this time, and while the storm against him was brewing, Bentley formed a club in London, which met once or twice a week at the rooms which he occupied as librarian in the royal palace. The club consisted of Sir Christopher Wren, Evelyn (author of the Silva), Sir Isaac Newton, John Locke, and Bentley. What names, what men!

At length the long threatened reply, usually called "Boyle against Bentley," appeared; and, not greatly to the credit of the age, it was generally deemed a triumphant answer. It is now universally conceded, that on every point, not merely of the main argument but of the illustrations, Bentley was in the right, and Boyle, or rather the association that carried on the war under his name, and not much, at it seems, to his satisfaction, were in the wrong; and that the injurious tales raked up against Bentley, on points of probity, manners, and temper, were purely imaginary or grossly exaggerated; and (as the rejoinder of Bentley sufficiently showed) that his adversaries in their defence plunged from one depth of ignorance to another. All this is now conceded, and yet the book had a prodigious run, and enjoyed its little hour of triumph. The

Christ Church men were delighted, — the enemies of Bentley rejoiced over his supposed ruin, — and even his friends hung their heads. Sir William Temple passed the highest encomiums on the book, though he could not himself stoop to notice such "a mean, *dull*, unmannerly pedant" as Bentley. Keill, the natural philosopher, of Baliol College, went out of his way, to pick a flaw or two in Bentley's lectures against Atheism. Milner, a schoolmaster at Leeds, launched his little cock-boat upon the ruffled sea. Garth, who was Bentley's contemporary at Cambridge, and a relation of the Boyles, author of a poem which no mortal for the last eighty years has looked into, erected a monument to his own sagacity, in the only two lines of the "Dispensary" ever cited, —

> "So diamonds take a lustre from their foil,
> And to a Bentley 't is we owe a Boyle."

Dean Aldrich had the credit of taking part in a lampoon at Oxford, entitled *Poeticum Duplex;* and, at Cambridge, some wag prepared a caricature, (the best thing, by the way, that was produced by Bentley's opponents,) in which Phalaris was represented, forcing the unfortunate critic into his brazen bull, with the exclamation beneath, "I had rather be roasted than Boyled." Rymer, the collector of the "Fœdera," who passed for a great critic in those days, came out with a kind of a Review, in which he abused both parties, a piece of temerity, which awoke the ire of the Boyleans, and drew forth a reply alternately belaboring Bentley and Rymer. The only thing written against Bentley, on this occasion, which has survived, is Swift's "Battle of the Books," in which he pursues the vein opened in the "Tale of the Tub." It was composed with the same design of soothing Sir William Temple's mortification; and for those who can follow wit undaunted into the depths of ribaldry, and join with glee in laughing truth out of countenance, the "Battle of the Books" will continue to be a treat. The objects of Swift's satire on this occasion, Bentley and Wotton, might console themselves by the reflection, that they shared the lash in company with Dryden, who in this work, as in the "Tale of the Tub," comes in for a portion of Swift's spleen. Dryden was distantly related to Swift, and gave him mortal offence, by saying, when Swift had shown him some juvenile poems, "Cousin Swift, you will never make a poet." But the "Tale of the Tub" and

the "Battle of the Books," though written at this period, circulated only in manuscript for some years.

Bentley did not break his heart for any or all of them. Bishop Smalbroke met him at the time, and telling him not to be discouraged at the run made upon him, Bentley replied, "Indeed I am in no pain about the matter; for it is a maxim with me, that no man was ever written out of reputation, but by himself." Evelyn was the only one of his friends, who seems to have stood by him unshaken; and to him he declared, that he would soon be ready with an answer, so full "both in points of learning and points of fact; that they themselves would be ashamed."

At length it came, the following year (1699) in the form of an enlarged edition of his Dissertation on Phalaris. Each paragraph of the original essay was reprinted in large type, and followed by an ample commentary, in which every thing asserted by his opponents was more than refuted, — their new crop of blunders rooted up, — and the original argument brought to the certainty of a mathematical demonstration. The introduction contained an answer to the personal charges, and the whole was executed with as much address, enforced with as much sarcasm, and adorned with as many of the manly graces of style, as the more elegant production of the Boyleans. The appearance of this volume is justly stated, by Bishop Monk, to form an epoch in literary history. Its controversial power is its least merit; for it embodies a fund of information on almost every branch of ancient learning, which may be sought in vain in any other volume; and a vein of real humor runs through the whole. Some paltry attempts were made by the Boyleans to keep up the controversy. Tyrwhit regrets, that Bentley did not retouch his Dissertation on the Æsopic Fables, as he did that on Phalaris; but nobly adds, "Sed ille, adversarios dissertatione secundâ Phalarideâ, velut fulmine, prostravisse contentus, a pugnâ impari indignabundus recessit." It is a little remarkable that not one of his adversaries ever appeared as a critic again. It is another singular circumstance of this controversy, that it was carried on in the English language, — a great disadvantage to Bentley. He wrote, it is true, the English language as well as his opponents; but in Latin he would have greatly excelled them; and, by confining the discussion to that tongue, he would have deprived them of the aid of the laughers and

small vernacular wits, and brought the cause at once into the forum of the learned. As the case was, this masterpiece of learning, argument, and wit remained unknown to the continental literati for nearly eighty years, when a translation was published by Lennep.

Bentley soon received a distinguished testimonial of the repute in which he was held, at the close of this triumphant conflict. The mastership of Trinity College, the leading society at Cambridge, became vacant, and Bentley, the alumnus of another College, was appointed to fill it. This splendid reward, however, proved the destruction of his peace, and the great impediment to the progress of his fame. Henceforward our interest in his career is greatly impaired. We behold him plunging with Herculean strength into the politics of a College, and wasting the powers, which might have thrown light into the darkest nooks of antiquity, on wretched struggles with fellows, visitors, and courts of justice. The repairs of the master's lodge, the fees of graduation, the *tracasseries* of the combination-room, absorbed his time and irritated his passions. Henceforth, his studies were pursued at snatches, and his critical works thrown off *currente calamo*, and for the most part at unpromising junctures of his affairs, to produce, as it would seem, an impression in his favor. From this time forward, — the better half of his life, — it may be perhaps safely said, that he did himself full justice on no one occasion.

For this reason, and proposing for the most part a sketch only of the literary life of Bentley, we shall follow the guidance of Bishop Monk's book less closely, than we have hitherto done. His accurate and candid detail of Bentley's College and University squabbles has less interest in this country than in England; although, for the curious in these matters, — especially for those who would like to obtain accurate information relative to the interior of Academic life in England, — the condition of Fellows, and the law of visitation, we know not a volume more instructive. But the space we have already given to what we deem the most brilliant part of Bentley's career, will compel us to condense the residue of our article.

Shortly after his appointment to the mastership of Trinity, Bentley established himself in a very happy matrimonial union with Joanna, daughter of Sir John Bernard, a lady of

excellent character and powerful family connexion. Whiston preserves an anecdote, the authenticity of which is well questioned by Bishop Monk, that, during the period of courtship, Bentley had nearly forfeited her confidence, by expressing some doubts of the authority of the Book of Daniel.

Not long after his removal to Cambridge, Bentley proposed an edition of Horace. The care and controversies of his new office occasioned some delay, but the text appeared in 1704. This was the beginning of his ill-judged efforts. Bentley's *forte* was much more in the Grecian than the Roman philology. In the pride of conscious ingenuity, he ventured upon numerous alterations of the Horatian text, disturbing passages which were familiar to the learned world. Reserving his annotations for a period of greater leisure, which was long in coming, he sent out this amended text unexplained to the world; an experiment of gratuitous rashness, of which he had ample time afterwards to repent. We shall revert to this subject presently. About the same time, he bestowed great encouragement on Kuster's Suidas and Aristophanes; and at the request of the youthful Hemsterhuis, then but eighteen years of age, he contributed a learned epistle on the criticism of Julius Pollux, of which Hemsterhuis had published an edition. His remarks principally related to the comic fragments in the tenth book, and displayed all the richness of Bentley's metrical learning and sagacity. Hemsterhuis, our readers are aware, lived to be himself, in extent of learning and nicety of judgment, the Bentley of his own generation. The account of the reception of this letter, as Hemsterhuis was himself accustomed to relate it, is exquisitely told in the Elogium of Ruhnken. For the honor of the two great men whom it concerns, we make the following quotation. Bentley's letter was written after the publication of the edition of Julius Pollux. "Its editor, Hemsterhuis, — (for who at the age of eighteen undervalues himself?) — was well content with his work. In a short time he received a letter from Bentley, the British Aristarchus, in which the labor bestowed upon the edition by Hemsterhuis was highly commended, and at the same time Bentley's emendations were given of the citations made by Pollux from the comic authors. In restoring these passages Hemsterhuis himself had spared no pains, justly deeming it the most important part of his editorial duty. But, on the

perusal of Bentley's emendations, he perceived his own labor to have been in vain, and that Bentley had accomplished the task with almost superhuman sagacity. And what do you suppose were the feelings of Hemsterhuis under these circumstances? He was so disturbed, so dissatisfied with himself, that he resolved to abandon the study of Greek for ever; nor did he, for two months, dare to touch a Greek author. If this had happened to any other man, with what art he would have concealed it; — what pains and care he would have taken, that the knowledge of it should not get abroad. But he, oh, exquisite art, was accustomed to relate it to his scholars, — to introduce it frequently in conversation! I know not what others may think; but I confess that Hemsterhuis never seemed greater to me than in making this confession." *

Although the intercourse of Bentley with his collegiate associates was of a dictatorial character, and his administration of the college affairs conducted in a highly offensive manner, it must be admitted that he did much, not merely to adorn the exterior of the institution by enlarging and beautifying the public edifices, but rendered the most important services to it as a place of education and seat of science. The University press was put into a state of high efficiency; a professorship of astronomy, and a school of natural philosophy, founded; great pains taken to make Trinity College a resort of men of learning; a chemical laboratory provided, and the interior of the chapel repaired and ornamented, at an expense of six thousand pounds, mainly in consequence of the energy and influence of the master. These expensive necessaries greatly embarrassed the funds of the institution, and distressed the fellows; and their pecuniary sacrifices were rendered doubly galling by the arrogance with which they were enforced on the part of the master. The College, however, was greatly benefited. As a relaxation from these cares, he prepared an appendix of near a hundred pages to Daveis's edition of the Tusculans of Cicero, a tract, in the judgment of Bishop Monk, "far surpassing all preceding commentaries, and claiming a high rank among the works of Bentley himself." In 1709, he effected an object, which he had greatly at heart, in inducing Sir Isaac Newton to undertake a second and corrected edition of his *Principia*.

* Wolf's Analekten, p. 21.

From this period (1709) the troubles of Bentley with his fellows assume a more serious character, and the Bishop of Ely was appealed to, as visitor of the college; but, for the reasons already stated, we cannot enter into the detail of this controversy. He found leisure, however, in the heat of these contests, to write his strictures on Le Clerc's edition of the fragments of Menander and Philemon. This was done under the signature of Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, and sent to Peter Burman, at Utrecht, to be published. Le Clerc was handled in this diatribe with unsparing severity, and shown to be totally incompetent for the task he had undertaken.

Bishop Monk suggests, that Bentley might have found a provocation in the tone, in which Le Clerc, in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, had spoken of the Notes to the Tusculans; and a stronger motive perhaps existed in a project, which is said to have been entertained by Lord Halifax, of bringing Le Clerc to Great Britain and providing an establishment for him. Bentley's own place of royal librarian was spoken of, for this object; and his pride, perhaps, was piqued to show the deficient scholarship of a person proposed to supersede himself. Nobody was better qualified than Bentley to criticize an edition of the fragments of the Attic Comedy, and after a *petite guerre* of some friendly continental philologians, and a feeble attempt to sustain himself, the work of Le Clerc sunk under the ponderous mace of the British Aristarchus. Jacob Gronovius and De Pauw endeavoured to come to the rescue, but without drawing any other reply from Bentley than a contemptuous allusion to them in a note to his Horace, in which he tells them, that a blow from his scourge is not cheap enough for their shoulders.

In the latter part of 1710, Joshua Barnes, professor of Greek at Cambridge, gave to the world his edition of the Iliad and Odyssey. Barnes was a man of learning of what was deemed the *Old School* at the beginning of the eighteenth century; but vain, irritable, and impatient at the suggestion of improvements beyond his own standard. Bentley had treated him with kindness and even tenderness; but the testy veteran could not bear the clatter which Bentley's metrical skill, intuitive sagacity, and endless learning kept up among the lumber of his antiquated studies. Barnes could get no bookseller to undertake the expensive publication of his Homer, and was reduced to the necessity of relying on his own resources.

His wife had a considerable jointure, and the zealous professor, to induce her to invest it in this undertaking, convinced her that the Iliad and Odyssey were the work of King Solomon. Barnes appears to have believed that Bentley was his enemy, and had prevented the Queen from accepting the dedication of his work. His preface accordingly overflows with an impotent rage, directed in part against Bentley, who, though not named, is mentioned as a "Zoilus," a "homo inimicus." Bentley no sooner saw the publication, than he wrote a letter to Daveis, who was much the friend of Barnes, handling the edition with great severity. This letter, however, was not made public at the time, but intended only to be shown to Barnes. It contains so happy a specimen of Bentley's skill in conjectural emendation, that we feel tempted to quote a paragraph.

Before Barnes's time, in all the editions, the reading of Iliad xiv. 101, was as follows:

Ἀλλὰ ἀποπτανέουσιν, ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρμης.

Barnes was offended with the hiatus, and boldly changed the text to αὐτὰρ, simply adding the note αὐτὰρ, *ita omnino pro* ἀλλὰ, *ut olim*. Of this correction, Bentley remarks as follows;

"So we have αὐτὰρ, clapped in, *pro imperio*, only to avoid the hiatus of the two vowels ἀλλὰ ἀ. Now, for this interpolation alone his book deserves to be burned. Let us examine into the passage a little. He translates it *respicient*, but says not a word to explain it. His friend Eustathius, to whom he owes the better half of his notes, knows not what to make of it, whether it be ἀπ-οπτανέουσιν, from ὀπταίνω, ὄπτω, i. e. ἀποβλέψουσιν; or ἀπὸ-πτανέουσιν, from πτῶ, πταίνω, φοβοῦμαι, i. e. πτήξουσι, or from πέτω, πταίνω, i. e. πετασθήσονται. But who ever heard of either ὀπταίνω or πταίνω? Where does our Professor find either of them? He is wholly mute upon this word, which is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; and yet the wretch would venture blindfold to put in αὐτάρ. But the true reading is thus;

"Ἀλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρμης.

Ἀποπαπταίνω. fut. παπτανῶ, Ionice παπτανέω. Παπταίνω comes forty times in Homer, and if he had been, as he thinks himself, *Mæonides sextus pavone ex Pythagoreo*, he would have found out the explanation, which is clear, *per se;* but I will prove it so by authority. Etymol. in Ἀποπτάμενος· πετῶ, πεταίνω, καὶ παπτανῶ παπτανοῦσι, καὶ μετὰ τῆς προθέσεως ἀπὸ, ἀποπτάνουσι; so it is printed indeed, but it is evident that he writ it ἀποπαπτανέουσι, and had respect to this place, as Sylburgius well observes.

Again, Hesychius, in the right series, between ἀπόπαξ and ἀπόπαρ, has it thus, ἀποπτανέουσιν, περιβλέψουσι ὅπως φύγωσιν. Correct ἀποπαπτανέουσι, περιβλέψουσι. He means this very passage, as appears by the scholiast ἀποπτανέουσι, ἤτοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἀποβλέψουσι, ἢ ἀλλάχοσε, ὅ ἐστι, φεύξονται. What says our Professor to this job? Ἔργον Ὡμηρείοιο τόδ' ἔπλετο Βαρνεσείοιο, to foist in αὐτὰρ of his own head, and so, *quantum in se*, extinguish the true reading for ever, which, while ἀλλὰ was preserved in the text, might some time be retrieved."

This, bating the personal coarseness (barely palliated by the fact that the *critique* was not designed for the public eye), is written with a sunbeam. You behold the true correction of a corrupted line of Homer *eruted*, — disinterred from out of the rubbish of two depraved texts, of the Etymologicum Magnum and Hesychius. No man doubts, that it is the line as Homer wrote it; — but what must have been Bentley's satisfaction, when, sixteen years afterwards, his nephew wrote him from Rome, "There are two or three Homers here (manuscripts) that have better readings than Barnes's edition. In the best of them I looked at that fine emendation of yours, ἀλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσι, and found it exactly and plainly so, and a scolion upon it!" Life has few things, humanly speaking, that can be compared with finding a conjectural emendation confirmed by a good manuscript.

At the close of the year 1711, and ten years after he had first projected his edition of Horace, it was at length completed. It was accompanied with a dedication to the Earl of Oxford, and a preface describing the manner in which he had executed the work, and the requisites for a consummate critic. The dedication was a piece of the loftiest classical panegyric, and, as Bentley had been a supporter of the former ministry, reflected no great credit on his political consistency.

The preface was arrogant and dictatorial, and well calculated to awaken the wrath of all but those who were willing to acknowledge a dictator in the republic of letters. His emendations were incorporated into the text; they amounted to between seven and eight hundred, and Bentley commends, in the highest terms, his candor and moderation in having rejected about twenty, which he had adopted, when, as we observed, he first published the text. His annotations were chiefly written in the space of about five months; and Bishop Monk thinks that he must have condensed into that period a greater

amount of labor, than into any other equal space in his life. Besides the serious offence likely to be given by his alterations in the readings of the text, he changed the orthography in conformity with the manuscripts, in words like *volgus*, *divom*, *auris* (in the accusative plural), and others ; an alteration which, in so familiar an author as Horace, offended the eye. Some of his emendations are unquestionably just. Many are supported by reasons of great plausibility, which almost extort consent ; the greater proportion are unquestionably groundless ; but all supported by a profusion of learning, or a shrewdness of argument, which, if it does not convince, fascinates and bewilders the judgment. The edition raised up a host of critics great and small, who attacked it in English and Latin, and in every point. It was, however, soon exhausted and a reprint called for, which was in all respects amended. It is a literary production, which it is impossible to bring to any standard of works of the same class ; a work of its own kind, which cannot be praised or blamed without great qualification ; a work which no other man could have executed but Bentley, and replete with faults which the meanest of his critics was able to detect.

A somewhat ludicrous instance of the manner, in which he laid himself open to exposure, by the painstaking accuracy of humbler men, occurred in his preface. After having stated, in a boastful manner, in how little time his annotations were prepared ; he adds, " Sic tamen, uti spero, ut nec *sermonis puritatem*, nec ordinis lumen, neque rationum vim et perspicuitatem, vel in his *αὐτοσχεδίοις* desideres." One of the most learned of his critics, John Ker, a schoolmaster, published an examination of his Horace, in which he observes, that this very boast of the purity of his Latin style is expressed in language of doubtful purity. *Puritas* is found only in a writer of recent age and poor authority ; and, admitting the word to be good, *sermonis puritas* is an English idiom. The Latin style of Bentley was fluent, vigorous, and clear, but not exquisitely correct.

It is a somewhat curious circumstance, that among those, who commended the new edition of Horace, was Bentley's old antagonist Atterbury, the chief of the Boylean wits, now raised to the head of Christ Church, Oxford. A letter is preserved by Bishop Monk, in which Atterbury thanks Bentley for " the noble present of one of his new edition of Horace,"

and declares that it is every way equal to the public expectation.

In 1713, appeared the second edition of the *Principia* mentioned above; and at the close of the preface, Professor Cotes, who had been selected by the illustrious author to prepare this edition,* bestows upon Bentley, in the highest terms of panegyric, the credit of having procured its publication. A handsomer eulogium could not well be bestowed, and it came at a time when it was peculiarly welcome, to console him under the adverse aspect of his academical litigation. Still more important was the public favor, which crowned his reply to Collins's *Discourse on Free Thinking*, which appeared in 1713. This plausible and insidious work of Collins called out a multitude of opponents, among the ablest of whom were Hoadly and Whiston. But the remarks of Bentley, under the title of Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, threw every thing else into the shade. Collins had made a considerable display of classical learning, and this was the portion of the work, which Bentley of all men was best calculated to expose. This work contains the famous passage relative to the composition of the poems of Homer, (quoted in our Number for July, 1835, page 255,) in which Bentley seems to adopt the theory, which has been more formally propounded in recent times by Wolf. We do not find, however, as we have already hinted, that his remarkable suggestion to this effect was pursued into its consequences by himself, or that it has attracted, to the extent that might have been expected, the attention of the learned in England.

In 1716, he projected a critical edition of the New Testament, to contain a text rectified by manuscripts, citations, and versions. Dr. Hare, in a pamphlet entitled "A Clergyman's Thanks," written on occasion of the reply to Collins, had invited Bentley to undertake this great work; and Wetstein, who afterwards earned so distinguished a reputation himself, as an editor of the Greek Testament, was urgent with Bentley to devote himself to this noble enterprise. He made up his mind to do so, and announced his intention to the archbishop of Canterbury, in a published epistle. The design was universally approved, and considerable progress made by Bentley toward its execution. It remained, however, among

* When Cotes died prematurely, Sir Isaac Newton pronounced upon him this splendid and memorable panegyric, "Had he lived, we should have known something."

his abortive plans, and was left for more diligent or single-hearted laborers in the field of learning. He collated himself some manuscripts within his reach, and caused others to be collated at Paris. In 1720, proposals for publishing the edition by subscription were issued. This paper contained, in considerable detail, a plan of the work. No alteration was to be made in the text. It was to have been executed in two folio volumes. These proposals were criticized, with great asperity, by Conyers Middleton, but a large subscription was obtained. Bentley desired to obtain leave of the Government to import his paper from Holland, and was much mortified by the refusal. He continued, however, to labor upon the great work at intervals, and in the opinion of Bishop Monk awaited only a collation, which he took measures to obtain, of the Vatican manuscript, to commence the publication. This did not arrive till the growing infirmities of age unfitted him for the laborious enterprise. About the same time, a plan was in agitation for a series of editions of the classics, *in usum principis Frederici*, to have been executed by Bentley in rivalry of the Delphin editions of France; but, before the arrangement was matured, a change in the ministry occasioned its abandonment.

In 1717, the office of professor of divinity, the most valuable and respectable at Cambridge, was vacated, and Bentley aspired to the succession. He compassed this object by a succession of manœuvres, which form a singular contrast with the character of the place. His prelection on the day preceding his choice, was an examination, on critical grounds, of the authenticity of 1 John v. 7. This discourse, though believed by Bishop Monk to be in existence, has never been printed. Its purport is satisfactorily ascertained to have been adverse to the text. In the same year, and on occasion of the visit of King George to Cambridge, Bentley drew upon himself new controversies and troubles, by exacting an unusual fee for the creation of Doctors of Divinity. This was the grievance, which called into activity Conyers Middleton, one of the most successful and untiring of Bentley's enemies. In 1718, his opponents in the University so far prevailed as to inflict on him the extraordinary indignity of a privation of his degrees. They were restored by virtue of a peremptory mandamus from the crown, in 1724.

In 1724, the bishopric of Bristol was offered to Bentley by

the Duke of Newcastle, then just commencing his ministerial career. It was declined in consequence of the inadequacy of the income. His Grace inquired what sort of preferment he desired or expected, and Bentley replied, "Such preferment as would not induce me to desire a change." It has generally been the policy of the British Government, at least for the last century, not to confer the highest and most influential posts in the hierarchy on persons of a temper so bold and uncompromising, as that of our Aristarchus. An able, dignified, and unimpassioned administration of the Church, appears to have been deemed the first object to be secured, in selecting its high dignitaries.

At this time, Bentley engaged in one of his chief literary enterprises, the edition of Terence. He had long contemplated this work, but its execution had been interrupted by his academical controversies. It was now called forth by the indignation, which was excited in his mind at the appearance of an edition of Terence by Dr. Hare. A strong friendship had formerly existed between them, and, as we have already stated, on the appearance of Bentley's reply to Collins, Hare had made it the subject of a warm eulogium, entitled "A Clergyman's Thanks." Bentley, however, had occasion afterwards to suspect, that Hare had delayed, and thereby prevented the execution of the project already alluded to, of an edition of the Classics, *in usum Frederici principis*, to have been prepared by Bentley on an allowance of a thousand pounds *per annum*. This unkind office, though it did not at once produce a rupture, broke off their intimacy. Other matters of offence had occurred, and wrought Bentley's mind into a feeling of entire alienation. In this state of things, Hare's edition of Terence appeared. Although a good Latin scholar, Hare had no knowledge of the niceties of the Terentian metres, except that which Bentley, in the days of their friendship, had imparted to him. A prolix and elaborate dissertation on metres, was prefixed to his edition, evincing the late-taught amateur rather than the thoroughly-trained scholar. The text was deformed by lines marking off the scansion of the verses; and, from an unlucky misapprehension of one of the canons which he had derived from the oral instructions of his master, Bentley, one species of verse was invariably marked wrong.

Bentley was provoked by this interference with a classic,

which he had announced his purpose of editing, — by the ostentatious use of the learning not well acknowledged, which had been borrowed from himself, — and some pretty intelligible personal allusions of no very obliging character in the dedication. He immediately resolved to crush the work of Hare by a rival edition ; and instantly executed the purpose, with a scarcely conceivable vigor of will and promptness of learning. He corrected the text in nearly a thousand places, assigning the reasons in his notes. These he despatched, at the rate of a comedy a week. In order to point out the metrical system of Terence, the first syllable of every *dipodia* was marked with an acute accent, throughout the book. The Terence labors with the fault which besets all Bentley's editions, a rashness of emendation ; but it is the almost unanimous opinion of the learned, that this fault is less apparent in this, than in any other of his editions. The notes were the vehicle of a perpetual warfare with his rival Hare, made more irritating by the constant suppression of his name, and the emphatic designation of *vir eruditus* when any gross error was to be castigated. The dissertation on the metres of Terence, prefixed to the work, under the somewhat affected name of *Schediasma*, comprehends, in nineteen pages, the whole learning of the subject, in reference to which Bentley enjoys the reputation of an inventor ; and is as admirable a specimen of his peculiar talent as the compass of his works affords. Had Bentley stopped with his Terence, it would have been a monument to his fame. Unfortunately, Hare had announced an edition of Phædrus ; and, resolving to anticipate him, Bentley appended to his Terence, a hastily revised text of Phædrus, swarming with emendations, of which scarce a shadow of defence was attempted in a few meagre notes. This unfortunate appendix gave to Hare, and the other enemies of the great critic, a considerable advantage in the virulent attacks on his publication, which poured from the press. During the progress of the quarrel, Dr. Hare was advanced to the deanery of St. Paul's, and in about a year after to the bishopric of St. Asaph. A dispute between a dignitary of his rank and a Professor of Theology, carried on with such asperity, upon a topic so foreign to their profession, is reported to have given much scandal; and, in particular, Sir Isaac Newton is said to have complained, that two such divines should "be fighting with one another about a playbook."

A year or two after this period, Sir Isaac Newton died. Bentley's intimacy with him continued to the last; and upon his death the following epitaph for his monument in Westminster Abbey was suggested by the great critic.

Hic quiescunt ossa et pulvis
Isaaci Newtoni.
Si quæris, quis et qualis fuerit,
Abi:
Sin ex ipso nomine reliqua novisti,
Siste paulisper
Et mortale illud philosophiæ numen
Gratâ mente venerare.

In 1731, a serious accident happened to the Cottonian library, which, like all the royal libraries, was under Bentley's charge. A fire broke out in the night of October 23d, that threatened the destruction of this invaluable collection. Bentley happened to be in town, and hastened to rescue from the flames what he justly considered the palladium of the library, the Alexandrian manuscript of the Scriptures. Dr. Freind, a witness of the fire, gives a ludicrous description, in a letter, of his figure, coming out of the house in his night-gown, in his great wig, with his *codex* under his arm. The number of volumes destroyed, or greatly injured, did not, however, exceed two hundred.

Bentley had now reached the age of threescore years and ten. His fate was soon to be decided by the House of Lords on appeal from the lower tribunal, and at this juncture he conceived the disastrous idea of his edition of Paradise Lost. It is said, that the first notion of an edition of Milton, to be corrected on the hypothesis, that numerous errors had crept into the text, in consequence of the blindness of the poet, occurred to Fenton, one of Pope's assistants in the translation of the Odyssey, who actually published an edition of Paradise Lost, on this principle. Bentley was struck with the idea. It harmonized with his taste for conjectural criticism, and he gave out that he meditated such an undertaking. At this juncture, Queen Caroline expressed a wish, that he should publish an edition of the immortal British epic; and interpreting this wish into a command, he rushed to the execution of the work.

He proposed to reduce Paradise Lost to his own standard

of taste, by freely altering, or wholly omitting, every thing which he deemed amiss; not indeed disturbing the text except by his italics, brackets, and corrections placed in the margin; the reasons of the changes to be contained in the notes. Conscious that the bold procedure, contemplated by him, would revolt the admirers of Milton, he resorted to the pestilent hypothesis of an ignorant, conceited, and audacious editor, who, taking advantage of the poet's blindness, foisted all sorts of impertinences into the text. The shallowness of this theory (if theory it could be called) is as evident as its audacity; since it supposes that the poem, as printed, was never read over to its author. Once possessed of this unhappy machinery, Bentley takes a pleasure in loading his imaginary editor with every species of reproach, which, by every one who rejects the miserable assumption, — that is, by all mankind, — must immediately be considered as heaped by Bentley on Milton himself. In this way the edition, with a precipitation worthy of the villanous plan, was hurried through the press.

Had Bentley possessed qualifications for the work; had he been gifted with poetic genius, or taste for the beauties of poetry, or even sound, sober sense; he might, with his woful doctrine of a fraudulent editor, have still wrought out a result, a little less despicable. He might have fastened judiciously on the unquestionable blemishes of the divine work, and modestly proposed his corrections. But he was, for a wonderful genius, singularly destitute of capacity for the task. Where all mankind but himself beheld gorgeous beauties, Bentley saw nothing but the pompous absurdities of his fictitious editor. By a singular perversity, he undervalues the only thing in Milton, which he was able to appreciate, his affluence of classical allusion; and the passages where this is poured forth are the favorite objects of his spleen. He seemed desperately set to illustrate his own remark in early life, that "no man was ever written out of reputation but by himself," and the united attacks of all his adversaries never did half so much, as this doleful edition of Milton, not merely to throw suspicion on all his other critical labors, but to impair his character as a man of sense. Dr. Johnson, in his Life of Milton, speaks of the notion of a fictitious editor with singular severity. He calls it "a supposition rash and groundless, if Bentley thought it true; and

vile and pernicious, if, as is said, he in private allowed it to be false." We should gladly, if our limits permitted, extract the whole of what is said of this ill-starred performance in Bishop Monk's work. The painful topic is handled with candor and impartiality; but we dwell upon it with regret, and almost wish that *dotage* could be pleaded in excuse for the unhappy performance. We intended to present a few specimens of the work, but it is too bad to be quoted.

Bentley's character and station were now, as we have observed, to be decided by the House of Peers. It was an anxious moment, but he was not without friends. Among the most able was Lord Carteret, who appears, by literary sympathy alone, to have been led to interest himself in Bentley's fortunes. Bentley, on his visits to London, often spent an evening with Lord Carteret. One day, old Lady Granville, the mother of his Lordship, reproached her son with keeping the country clergyman, who was with him the night before, *till he was intoxicated*. Lord Carteret denied the charge; upon which the lady replied, that the clergyman could not have sung in so ridiculous a manner, unless he had been in liquor. The truth of the case was, that the singing, thus mistaken by her ladyship, was Dr. Bentley's endeavour to instruct and entertain his noble friend, by reciting Terence, according to the true *cantilena* of the ancients.

In due time the case was argued with great ability in the House of Lords, and a preliminary question was decided unfavorably to Bentley; but the final action of the Peers was deferred to another session. They at length decided in favor of the visitatorial power of the Bishop of Ely. The case was accordingly a second time heard by him, and a decree finally pronounced by the Bishop, deposing Bentley from the mastership of the College. The intrepid Aristarchus defied the power of the Bishop, and resisted the execution of the decree. Application was made to the Court of King's Bench for a mandamus to enforce its execution. New technical difficulties were conjured up by the master, who contrived to keep the ministers of the law, civil and ecclesiastical, at bay, till finally the Bishop died, and all the proceedings died with him.

Just before his cause was remanded by the House of Lords to the Bishop of Ely, Bentley planned an edition of Homer! His principal object was to reform the versification,

the harmony of which is perpetually impaired by open vowels and other metrical defects. This was to be accomplished by the aid of manuscripts, quotations, and scholiasts, and particularly by the introduction of the Æolic digamma. It would of course be impossible to enter into the details of the curious learning relative to this subject. It is sufficient to say, that it is now admitted by scholars, that the Æolic digamma was one of the original sixteen Cadmæan letters; that the Homeric poems were probably composed while it was still in use; that from the roughness of its sound or some other cause, it was gradually disused, sooner in some parts of Greece than others, being latest retained in the region where the Æolic dialect prevailed. Having wholly dropped out of use in Athens, before the poems of Homer were committed to writing, they now appear without it. Whether there was any traditionary pronunciation which supplied its place in digammated words, as used by the Ionics and Attics, so as to avoid the hiatus now occasioned by its absence, it is in vain to inquire. Of this lost digamma, some mention is made by the ancient grammarians; and certain Latin words, like *ver*, *vicus*, *vinum*, were understood to represent it, as it existed in the Greek words from which they are derived.

Bentley's sagacity perceived that the offensive hiatus in Homer constantly recurred in the same words, some of which, he was led to believe, from the slender accounts we have of the Æolic digamma, were written with that element. By trying the experiment of inserting the consonant in all those words wherever they occurred in Homer, he found that, in a great majority of cases, he succeeded in improving the versification. On proceeding to make the same insertion, in other words where the metre required support, his success was too general to be ascribed to accident, and proved to a demonstration the truth of his discovery. At the same time, this restoration of the true orthography of so many words enabled him to correct numerous faulty verses, with perfect success and certainty. It must be remembered, to the credit of Bentley's sagacity, that this discovery was made, at a time, when much less was known of the orthography of the Greek than at the present day. Some ancient grammatical works have been brought to light, since his time, from which we find that several words, written with a digamma by Bentley, were so used by the primitive Greeks; and inscrip-

tions, discovered in portions of Greece, where it remained longest in use, confirm the practice. Sir William Gell found an inscription in the territory of Elis, containing the digamma seven times in ten lines, and some of the words were those marked with a digamma by Bentley.

Bentley seems to have satisfied himself of the existence of this lost letter as early as 1713, but he was not yet prepared to announce it to the world. His steady friend, Dr. Samuel Clarke, having undertaken an edition of Homer, Bentley communicated his discovery to him, and one of the last notes which Clarke lived to write, being on the sixteenth book, related to this subject. This was in 1732, and about the same time, in his edition of Milton, in two Greek quotations the digamma appears, a capital F being made use of to represent it. This is about the only thing worth remembering in Bentley's Milton. The appearance of this letter, rising above the rest of the word, furnished Pope with the material for a sarcasm in the well known lines :

> " While towering o'er your alphabet, like Saul,
> Stands our digamma and o'ertops them all."

In preparing for an edition of Homer, a bold undertaking at any age, but truly Herculean for the septuagenarian, he went through the two poems from beginning to end, availing himself of all the collations to which he had access, and correcting the text from the citations or references of scholiasts and grammarians. The digamma was applied throughout. Many lines were happily relieved of their metrical defects ; many skilfully amended ; some subjected to rough treatment ; many discarded. In short it is, upon the whole, happy, that Bentley did not publish his edition. His materials, being preserved, remain an illustrious monument of his learning and sagacity ; and having been liberally imparted to Heyne, by the University of Cambridge, have been applied to the improvement of the Homeric text, with a more cautious judgment than the great critic himself would have brought to the task. The reverence with which Heyne speaks of Bentley's copy of Homer marked with his annotations, and the generosity with which he ascribes a great share of the value of his edition to the use of Bentley's materials, reflect the highest honor on both these distinguished scholars, and contrast strongly with the attempts of Dawes to derogate from the merit of his master. The

reader, who would wish to inform himself more thoroughly on this interesting subject, will probably obtain his object from the Essay of Mr. Knight on the Greek alphabet, and his edition of Homer, and from the Excursuses of Heyne, subjoined to the nineteenth book of the Iliad, and the authorities there cited.

In 1739, Bentley determined to publish an edition of Manilius, which he had prepared forty-five years before. This difficult and little studied writer was, from early life, a great favorite with Bentley. He is reported to have said, while yet a young man, that Ovid and Manilius were the only Latin writers of wit; an opinion which, when assailed for it by the Boyleans, he defended on the authority of Scaliger. Deeming the preparation of Homer an object sufficient to engross his time and strength, he committed the care of this edition to his nephew Richard.

Not long after its appearance, Bentley appears to have been attacked with palsy. From this period, his literary labors seem to have been nearly or quite intermitted. His notes on Homer were finished for the press, as far as the sixth book of the Iliad, and there abruptly broken off. It was at this period, and while the veteran was alike unable to attack or defend, that Pope fell upon him in the Dunciad. In company with Drs. Clarke and Mead, he is made by the satirist to figure by the side of the small Grub-street fry, whom Pope took such infinite pains to show he regarded with indifference. Bentley's chief transgression, in Pope's eyes, was his having uttered the judgment, which all after time has confirmed, relative to his translation, that it is a beautiful poem, but that it is not Homer. For this, and some minor offences, after a very cautious approach, and alternately inserting and suppressing his name in the Dunciad, he came down upon the toothless lion, in the last days of his life, with all his strength and fury. Unhappily the edition of Milton had given too just a provocation. In stimulating and assisting this attack of Pope, Warburton, who was able to appreciate Bentley's merit, which Pope was not, bore none too magnanimous a part.

A very short time before his death, a singular confirmation was given of Bentley's sagacity and learning. Chishull had inserted in his *Antiquitates Asiaticæ* an inscription from an ancient temple of Jupiter, at the entrance of the Euxine.

It had been separately copied long before by Wheeler and Spon, and Chishull printed the eight elegiac lines of which it consisted, in a somewhat corrected form. Hereupon, Bentley undertook still farther to correct them, and restore them to what he deemed their original condition. These corrections, having reached Chishull, were partly approved and partly rejected by him. It was unquestionably a pretty bold procedure to dispute the ocular testimony of two learned travellers separately given. In 1731, however, the original marble was brought to England, and found, extraordinary as the fact seems, to coincide precisely with Bentley's conjectural emendations!

We have now gone through our meagre and imperfect sketch of Bentley's literary labors. Of the real labors of his life, his academical controversies, we have said next to nothing, and in this omission we leave the greater part of his history untold. In his advanced age, he used to compare himself to "an old trunk, which if you let it alone, will last a long time; but, if you jumble it by moving, will soon fall to pieces." Tradition in Cambridge has recorded, that he said he thought himself likely to live to fourscore, which was long enough to read every thing that was worth reading; adding in his peculiar manner,

"Et tunc magna mei sub terris ibit imago."

In January 1742, he completed his eightieth year. In June, he was still able to discharge some slight official duty; but, about a month afterwards, he was seized with a pleuritic fever. He himself suggested, that his case required bleeding; but Dr. Heberden, then a young physician, practising at Cambridge, would not venture on that remedy. The illness grew more alarming, Dr. Wallis was sent for from Stamford, but, before his arrival, the venerable patient had expired. Dr. Wallis is said to have expressed regret, that the opinion in favor of bleeding had not been complied with. He was buried in the College Chapel, and the place of his rest is indicated by a small square stone, with an inscription setting forth nothing but his name, his title as Professor, and the day of his death and his age. Even his rank, as Master of the College, is suppressed;—a circumstance which Bishop Monk ascribes to the ascendency, in the affairs of the College, possessed by his opponents, at the time of his decease.

We have scarcely alluded to the domestic relations and habits of Bentley. He was most happily married. His wife conciliated the respect even of her husband's enemies, and is alluded to with kindness in some of their most violent attacks. He was singularly fortunate in his children. They were three in number, and all that the fondest parent could desire. His son, Richard, was remarkably forward, and was admitted to Trinity College, under his father's eye, at the age of ten years. The other two children were daughters, of whom Joanna, the youngest, was the object of universal admiration for her beauty, wit, and accomplishments. She is said, from her earliest youth, to have captivated the hearts of the young collegians. Bishop Monk observes, with the caution due to so delicate a topic, that several hints lead him to infer, that this young lady inherited as large a portion of her father's spirit, as could be amiable in so charming a creature. She was his favorite child, and, having received from him the fondling appellation of *Jug* in her infancy, she continued to be called *Jug Bentley*, as long as she remained unmarried. Few beauties, even in a University, have ever been so much celebrated as this young nymph, and it was her fortune to have her praises first sung in her childhood. Byrom, a name well known in literary history, when a bachelor of arts at Trinity College, wrote for her amusement a pastoral, of which she was the Phœbe, which was afterwards inserted in the eighth volume of the "Spectator." This piece is still celebrated; but some sagacious critics have discovered that it does not breathe the spirit of real passion; one doubts that Colin was not truly in love with Phœbe, and another has discovered that Byrom was not serious in his attempt upon Miss Joanna's heart; but, being a candidate for a fellowship, took this method of gaining the favor of the father. Had they compared the dates they would have found, that, when the pastoral appeared, poor little Phœbe was but eleven years old. This fascinating lady was the mother of Richard Cumberland; and we know not better how to dispose of the entire topic of the domestic character of Bentley, than by referring to the beautiful description of it, which is given in the sprightly and once much read memoirs of his grandson. Did our limits admit, we would extract the passage.

In declining to enter into a summary of Bentley's personal character, Bishop Monk, with great propriety, assigns, as one

reason for this omission, that his passions do not appear always to have been under the control, nor his actions under the guidance, of Christian principles; that in consequence, pride and ambition, the faults to which his nature was most exposed, were suffered to run riot without restraint; and that hence proceeded the arrogance, selfishness, obstinacy, and oppression with which, it must be confessed, his career was disfigured. This is moderately and candidly expressed. Bentley was a doctor and professor of divinity, and a theological lecturer, and the master of one of the great nurseries of the Christian church. But he led the life of a civilized Ishmael. His administration of the College was a long lawsuit; his literary career a great quarrel; and, in all his writings, it would probably be impossible to detect one burst of pure, glowing religious sentiment. He was not, however, deficient in certain amiable qualities of the heart; and he retained, through all his warfare with his associates, the friendship of some good and great men, — of Newton, of Clarke, and of Mead. He handled ably some topics of polemic theology, natural and revealed; but did not, we fear, manifest in any part of his course, any portion of the humble spirit of practical Christianity. Bishop Monk bestows on him the epithet of the Prince of Scholars, and, if we were disposed to deny his title to this proud appellation, we should be at a loss to say who better deserves it. Of English and continental scholars there are hundreds, whose massy tomes contain stores of erudition, such as it is, more bulky than is to be found in the works of Bentley; but the remark may be applied to almost all of them, which was made by D'Orville of de Pauw, — one of Bentley's revilers, — "ex unâ Bentleii paginâ plus discere licet, quam ex omni chartâ quam unquam Pavius commaculavit et disperdidit." * But it cannot be denied by his warmest admirers, that his talent and learning were, even in his literary studies, most wofully misapplied. Of that small portion of leisure for tranquil study, which his contentious spirit left, the greater part was wasted in propping up, with boundless learning and a tact never surpassed, his arbitrary changes in the text of Latin poets. His *forte* was unquestionably Greek; and though he possessed an acuteness of verbal criticism, which has never been equalled, it is

* D'Orvillii Vannus Criticus; apud Heyn. Excurs. II, ad Lib. xix. Il. p. 722.

greatly to be deplored, that he had not devoted himself to the elucidation of the really great questions, that present themselves in the compass of Grecian literature. His Dissertation on Phalaris, written at the age of thirty-eight, is his greatest work. You there see what he might have done. All history, chronology, philosophy, geography, as well as language, lay open before him. He strikes a ray of light from every thing he touches. The corrupted text of the lexicographers of the monkish ages, — trashy, mutilated scholiasts, — tasteless epitomizers, — are made to furnish instructive quotations from lost authors of the best days, and to pour light on important questions of fact. What might not Bentley have done with the great Homeric mystery, reproducing as he did one of the lost characters in which it was written? It is plain, from the passage in the tract against Collins, that this grand theme had been revolved in his mind; but, from his subsequent silence on a topic so important, we are inclined to think, that he saw reason to distrust the accuracy of the theory there intimated, at least in the unqualified form, in which he seems to have conceived it. The usefulness of Bentley was destroyed by the rewards of his labors. The promotion that raised him to the head of a college, plunged him fathom deep into a troubled sea, where, if his books were not absolutely drowned, they were sadly damaged. Had a smoother way been opened before him; could he have mounted the path of honor unopposed, and redeemed his time and talents to tranquil studies, it is not easy for the imagination to place bounds to the brilliancy of his career. As it is, there is much about his greatness to reconcile humbler powers and smaller gifts to their peaceful mediocrity; — and we see in the career of Bentley, that, as well in the intellectual as the active world, the allotments of Providence, however unequal they may seem, are distributed with righteous equity. Who would purchase the honors of Bentley with his controversies; who would be the author of the Dissertation on Phalaris, pronounced as it is by Bishop Monk the most learned work of the Prince of Scholars, if he must at the same time be the editor of Bentley's Milton?

ART. VIII. — 1. *On Emulation.* By the REV. J. EMERSON. — Annals of Education, Vol. II. p. 355.

2. DR. DWIGHT *on Emulation.* — Annals of Education, Vol. VI. p. 108.

3. *Emulation in Colleges.* By WARREN BURTON. — Annals of Education, Vol. V. p. 368.

4. PROFESSOR ROBINSON'S *Account of the German Universities.* — Biblical Repository, No. 1.

FEW objects are of more importance to a country, than the prosperity of its institutions of learning. And to no country does this remark apply with greater force than to our own. Here public opinion makes the law and the magistrate; and hence whatever controls public opinion, controls every thing. It is for this reason, that our colleges and higher seminaries of learning are, we apprehend, more vitally connected with the public welfare than is ordinarily supposed. There is, probably, no period of equal extent in the life of the scholar, or the professional man, in which so much is done to store his mind with principles, form his character, and instruct him in the proper use of his mental powers, as the four years of his college course. Individual exceptions no doubt there are, but they are comparatively few. And in these few, the causes of failure to realize the legitimate results of a liberal education must, for the most part, be sought in the character of the pupil, not in that of the institution. The labors of the college manifestly lay broad and deep, in the youthful mind, the foundation for that professional eminence which is the fruit of riper years. The refined discriminations of criticism, the commanding eloquence of the forum and the desk, and the profound researches of philosophy, owe something, and, in truth, not a little, to the severe and perhaps irksome discipline of the recitation-room. The connexion is obviously most intimate between the successful accomplishment of a college education, and the successful discharge of those high and varied professional duties to which the student is shortly to be called. And hence the destiny of a great country, — a country, if judged by the increase of its population, its wealth, the extent of its resources, and the demand for every kind of professional service, without a parallel in the history of

the world, is really, in no small degree, dependent upon the condition of our higher seminaries of learning. And hence, too, there is reason, above what every one perceives, or is willing to admit, for cherishing them with peculiar solicitude. Any thing which can seriously affect their welfare is worthy of the most careful consideration. To watch over them with vigilance is the imperative duty of the public.

The friends of reformation, (without however setting aside the good old maxim of letting what is well alone,) we are not disposed to be offended with those, nor entirely to discourage their efforts, who have labored with commendable diligence to reform what they have been pleased to consider the errors, and sometimes the abuses, of our colleges; and to render them, as is pretended, more conducive to the *practical* business of life. It must be confessed, however, and is much to be regretted, that such labors have not always been conducted with very enlarged views, either of the objects of academical instruction or the best means of attaining them. The truth is, the public mind, from some cause or other, has been for several years in a morbid, restless, feverish state upon the subject of college education. At one moment, the current of opinion is strongly opposed to an extended study of the ancient classics; at another, the exact sciences become the subject of relentless proscription; at still another, the abstractions of metaphysics are vehemently assailed as a remnant of the scholastic jargon of the dark ages. Numberless, in turn, are the reasons for throwing all these out of the list of subjects, and for making education *practical*. These efforts of reform may imply a commendable zeal, but certainly not according to knowledge. They are no doubt well intended, and let this consideration be an apology for treating them with respect.

But it is not in the *subjects* of study alone that there is need of reform. The *motives* for studying have been subjected to a new analysis, and the result is that *the principle of emulation*, as it has been called, which, in all former times, has entered so largely into the business of study and of life, is no longer admissible as an incentive to diligence. It is encompassed with dangers, social, moral, and religious. It addresses itself to the worst passions and inflames them; and by the desolations which it spreads around, effectually destroys all the salutary fruits of knowledge. Its complicated and alarm-

ing evils have, from time to time, been held up to the public in various discourses and periodicals devoted to the interests of education. The special object of these labors seems to be the removal of all those honors, and those distinctions in scholarship, which have been conferred as the reward of merit, to the end that students may not be tempted to study from improper motives; and may not subject themselves and the community to the evils, which are conceived to follow such a departure from the principles of right conduct.

We have not been inattentive to the progress of this reform. At first, we viewed it as a misdirected but harmless effort to eradicate a principle of action, which is interwoven with the very texture of the human mind, and which, of course, it is impossible to destroy. But the experience of a few years has shown, in this case, what has often been observed in others, that the attempt to accomplish what is impossible has been attended with serious evil. Sentiments unfavorable to distinctions in scholarship and to literary honors, having received the sanction of a few respectable names, have been warmly espoused by a certain portion of the students in several of our colleges. Instead of endeavouring, by a diligent application to the studies assigned them, to merit honors and distinctions, they have wasted, and worse than wasted their time, in meetings, discussions, resolves, and petitions intended to abolish them. And we fear that, in two or three instances, which have fallen under our notice, their efforts have been attended with more than merited success. And we fear, too, that in these cases, on the supposition that evils existed, the mode of redress is more to be deprecated than the evils complained of. Among the ancient Israelites, one of the tokens of their greatest degradation was that "children should be their princes." It is certainly, to say the least, not more auspicious to the interests of the public than becoming the modesty of youth, for those, who have not yet numbered half their *teens*, to band together in the character of reformers; and to reform too a usage which has stood the test of time, and been approved by the wise and good for more generations than they have seen years. But in this there is nothing wonderful. Reform is the spirit of the age; and often it demolishes the rampart which time and experience have thrown up for the protection of society, merely to show the levelling power. The truth is, in colleges as in other communities, there are and will be some malcontents; and there, as else-

where, they are clamorous for change ; and there, too, as elsewhere, the clamor is apt to begin, not at the head, but with some less aspiring member of the body politic, and to proceed upwards with a vehemence somewhat proportioned to the distance between them. This we take to be the general fact. It would be unjust to maintain that there were no exceptions.

Now we would neither conceal, nor underrate the grievances of any portion of the community ; nor would we maintain that there is not sometimes in colleges, as elsewhere, just ground of complaint in respect both to the principles which are adopted, and the manner of carrying them into effect. But we do maintain that, in a community where the full benefit of enterprise and industry is offered to the acquisition of every competitor, there is a very special connexion between discontent and indolence ; between a dissatisfaction with distinctions and a consciousness of not deserving them. It is not indeed every one who professedly seeks, or would ostensibly be willing to accept of distinctions. Even he, whose "lowliness was young ambition's ladder" "did thrice refuse the kingly crown ;" but it, alas ! was urged upon him. And there have been many others equally humble in their pretensions, who, fortunately for their consistency of character, have not been so sorely pressed with honors as was "the noble Cæsar." The truth is, and vain is any attempt to disguise it, the love of approbation and the love of honorable distinction, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, the desire of those benefits which this distinction either implies or confers, are natural to man ; and he who labors to suppress or eradicate them will not be likely very soon to be out of employment.

But, however it may suit the convenience of some to join in the proscription of honors and distinctions as unnecessary, and as motives of action, unjustifiable ; and especially to urge their banishment from the halls of instruction ; others, entitled to the greatest respect, are sincerely of opinion that such incentives are wrong and dangerous, and that the best interests of education call for their discontinuance. The alleged consequences of these distinctions are the evils chiefly referred to in discussions upon "the principle of Emulation." We propose to go somewhat more particularly into the examination of this question, with the hope of correcting some mis-

apprehensions on the subject, and of arresting the progress of an opinion, which, if we are rightly informed, has already introduced disaffection and disorder, with their attendant evils, into more than one of our respectable colleges. The subject presents three questions for consideration.

1. What is meant by the "principle of Emulation"; or in other words, what is really the principle in discussion?

2. Is this principle justifiable as a rule of action?

3. Is it expedient to resort to it, as an incentive to diligence in the discipline and government of colleges?

These questions, we suppose, embrace all which is materially concerned in its issue.

I. The principle of Emulation, so called, has been defined "*the desire of surpassing others.*" In defence of this as a principle of action, we have nothing to offer. Nor do we suppose that any one charged with the instruction of youth would be justified in urging upon his pupils the adoption of a principle, which had so little to recommend it. Nor do we believe that it is urged as a motive to exertion by any respectable teacher. If this be really what is meant by the principle of Emulation as applied to this subject, no one could treat it with less respect than ourselves. But this definition seems not to have been satisfactory. It has been amended thus; "*the desire of surpassing others for the sake of the pleasure of surpassing them.*" We are still less disposed to enter the lists in defence of Emulation understood in this sense. Nor is it the mere definition of a term that we are to discuss. We are to examine into the legitimacy of an important principle of action. And here we cannot but remark, that so far as our observation goes, all those, who have come before the public with views adverse to its use, have erred in their notions of the real principle in discussion. They have first called it *Emulation*, and have then resorted to the *jus et norma loquendi*, to fix the meaning of the term. We shall take the liberty of pursuing a different course. Without further troubling our readers or ourselves with a mere matter of nomenclature, we shall endeavour to ascertain the principle by examining the actual circumstances of the case.

From time immemorial, it has been the practice in almost all institutions of learning, in all countries, to confer some mark of distinction upon successful scholarship. Such a practice is as old at least as the time of Herodotus and the Olympic games;

and it has obtained in every succeeding age, in which scholarship has been held in the least estimation. As it respects our own colleges, this principle has been recognised and acted upon from the beginning. The conferring of literary degrees was originally intended to certify on the part of the recipient a large and *bonâ fide* proficiency in liberal studies. They do still guarantee a proficiency in literature and science not unworthy of respect, and we trust of great value. But it must be confessed, that they do not now imply all that the friends of a high order of scholarship could desire. If with us, as in Germany, degrees were restricted to those who pass the ordeal of an extended and rigid examination before men of tried abilities, it might obviate the necessity of any other stimulus to exertion. But the practice of conferring degrees on easy terms is of too long standing to be readily changed. With us, degrees are not distinctions. For the purpose, however, of encouraging diligence and rewarding merit, a system of honors and distinctions was long ago established by all our older institutions, and has with few exceptions been adopted by the younger, intended to mark the first, second, third, and, in some instances remoter grades of scholarship. In some few instances special prizes have been established, for the reward of excellence in some particular department; and, in most cases, Literary Societies exist, in which a selection of members, based upon scholarship, is made from each successive class. The hope and desire of these distinctions are, as is well known, with here and there an exception, powerful incentives to exertion.

Now let it be particularly observed, that no teacher so far as we know, ever holds up to his pupils the mere fact of *being distinguished*, or of attaining to a *superiority*, as a motive of action. Nor would we willingly think so poorly of any student capable of attaining eminence, as to suppose that he could be influenced by so narrow a view of the subject. So far as the institution is concerned, the honor or distinction *is intended to be strictly a reward of merit.* This is the true and only light in which it can be viewed. There is, so far as we are informed, no investigation into the motives of the student, nor would the motives, if known, at all alter the fact as to his diligence, good behaviour, or superior proficiency; and it is in consideration of these substantial realities, not the varying motives which have been instrumental in attaining them, that the honor is awarded. So far and no further is the

institution concerned. This arrangement is left to produce its natural effect upon the mind of the student. In what way it will operate upon each particular member of a college, it is impossible to determine. The presumption beforehand is that it would operate as a strong stimulant to exertion; and from long observation, we are well assured of the fact, that it does so. If we descend to a more minute inquiry, as to the precise motive by which students are actuated in view of honors and distinctions, we think it will be found to be not the mere distinction, nor the mere attainment of an honor, but the important good which these either guarantee, or imply. That good may consist in personal advantages; such for instance as the means of an easy and comfortable living, the acquisition of wealth and its attendant enjoyments, the pleasures of knowledge, of a cultivated intellect, and a refined taste; — or it may consist in an increased ability to promote the welfare of others, and to advance the best interests of the human race. In the mind of the student, (we must of course be understood to speak of the thing generally,) the honors and distinctions are simply the means of attaining ends ulterior to themselves. By the principle of Emulation, then, so far as this question is concerned, must be meant *the desire of securing those benefits and advantages, which naturally belong to superiority in knowledge, virtue, and abilities.* This, if such we may call it, is the principle in discussion. As the student looks forward into life and contemplates the prospect before him, his first object is to *merit* and *secure*, on leaving his Alma Mater, an honorable distinction among his associates. This being done, he enters upon professional studies, or upon the more immediate business of life, with the advantage of a good preparation and a favorable introduction to the public. This we believe is the true statement of the case. So far as the principles of morality are concerned, it is precisely the same as being *actuated by the hope of reward.* It may be said that this reward implies distinction, that what one gains another must lose, and thus one is built up by the destruction of another. But it must be admitted that this does not alter the principle. Moreover, this distinction is only the distinction of merit, which is equally implied in all cases of reward whatever. The disadvantage which may incidentally, or even necessarily, accrue to others, is chargeable, not surely upon the successful competitor, but upon the nature of things. And it may be

that this kind of disadvantage forms an important part of the great disciplinary scheme of the present world, and is therefore a thing from which we may derive improvement, but against which all objections are vain. The hope, then, of a reward, of a substantial benefit, not that of an empty distinction or a worthless superiority, is the incentive to diligence in the case before us.

II. If these remarks are well founded, we fear that any extended discussion of the question, *whether this is a justifiable principle of action*, will be deemed a work of supererogation. We shall therefore be brief. But to prevent misapprehension, let it be distinctly borne in mind that we are not now endeavouring to determine what is the best possible motive of action, nor does our argument involve any comparison of the merit of different motives. The simple and only question is, whether the one proposed is justifiable.

1. It is sanctioned by revealed religion. The scripture commands us to love the Lord our God with all our hearts. This, beyond all doubt, is our first and highest duty. But is there no hope of a reward, that is, of a special good, resulting to ourselves, from keeping this command? The same authority which revealed the command, has assured us that obedience brings along with it the highest possible happiness of which we are capable; and what is more to the purpose, the very object of this assurance is, to urge us, by the consideration of our highest interest, to the performance of our duty. The quotation of particular passages of scripture in illustration of this fact, is unnecessary. It appears on almost every page of revelation.

2. This principle is sanctioned by the whole course of God's present moral government. Thus for instance, competence is the reward of industry and frugality in the common affairs of life, and the attainment of this competence is the chief incentive to the practice of these virtues. Approbation is the natural consequence and reward of generosity, kindness, and benevolence; and very few, we fancy, have attained to such an exalted pitch of virtue, such an entire devotion to abstract right and duty, as not to feel desirous of securing the approbation of the wise and good. Public confidence is the reward of faithful public service, and this confidence is a natural object of desire; and we cannot but think that, in all these cases, it was intended by the great framer of our

moral constitution, that these fixed and known consequences should operate upon us, as incentives to the performance of our duties. This principle is so palpable and so pervading, that further illustration is needless. Whoever wishes to see it developed with profound and masterly skill, may consult the first part of the Analogy of Religion to Nature.

3. As a third reason we may add, that this principle is inseparable from the present condition of human nature. The love of approbation is coeval with the dawn of intelligence. It is inherent in the constitution of the being, and can no more be removed or suppressed, than the desire of good. At mature age it is subjected to the control of reason and conscience as all other desires are ; but it still exists, and, under this control, plays a most important part in the changing scenes of life. Who needs be told that the hope of reward and the desire of future good, flow out with every pulsation of the youthful heart ? And who does not know, that the principles of action inherent in the youthful constitution, grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength, subject only to the modification of new conditions, and directed more wisely to the purposes, of life ? No doubt we may imagine a being never conscious of the love of approbation, never animated by the hope of reward, never quickened in his powers of action by the desire of ameliorating his condition. But such is not the human being, nor one fitted for the appointed sphere of human activity. Discard this class of motives, and what would be manifestly the result ? The hum of industry would soon die away ; the plough would stand still in the furrow, the reaper lie down in the field, the loom and the spindle would cease their motion, the stately ship would crumble in the dock, and the restless activity of business would give place to universal lethargy. Paralysis would seize on every branch and member of the social system. Man would be unfitted for the task most clearly assigned him in the present world.

From all these considerations we conclude, that *the hope of reward is justifiable as a principle of action.* The title to a reward is not rendered null and void by endeavouring to secure it, and the morality, which requires that it should be so, must proceed upon a principle nowhere recognised in the code of revelation.

III. We are prepared, then, to inquire in the third place, whether it is expedient to resort to this principle of action in

the discipline and government of colleges. The discussion under this branch of the subject must be somewhat extended. Several important considerations evince, in our opinion, the expediency of this course.

1. We remark, first, that from the peculiar circumstances of the case, there is *need* of some strong, some controlling incentive to diligence and good behaviour. Students in our colleges are, for the most part, of an age peculiarly critical as it respects the formation of habits. Youth is proverbially giddy, thoughtless, and rash ; and no period of youth is more strongly marked by the outcropping of those qualities than that in which a college course is ordinarily begun. The spirits are then buoyant, the passions are predominant ; the love of novelty, of change and adventure, are the prominent characteristics of this period of life. Upon the then new and fertile soil, every thing shoots forth with luxuriance, and very special care is necessary in order to check the growth of what is noxious and useless, and to cherish what is salutary and valuable. Add, moreover, that at the time of entering college, youth are just freed from the wholesome and needful restraints of parental authority. Notions of independence and self-control are but too apt to verge on the dangerous extreme. Men, aided by maturity of judgment and reason, and taught by large experience in the affairs of life, do not always turn liberty to the best account ; much less is it to be expected of boys, when first left to act for themselves, and placed in circumstances which call for prudence and discretion. The transition from the paternal roof, where the eyes of an anxious father are seldom withdrawn from the object of his warmest affections and fondest hopes ; and from the school-room, where the personal presence of the master frowns upon the idle, urges forward the loiterer, cheers the industrious, and rebukes the wayward; to the halls of the college, where personal superintendence is but occasional, where habits of self-government to a considerable extent are presupposed, and where the time of the pupil must be left in a great measure to his own disposal ; — this transition we say is great, and to very many whose characters and principles of action are not previously formed, it is a transition fatal to industry, to virtue, to the fairest promises of untried youth. And hence is there need of some controlling principle of action placed in the hands of the teacher, which may operate as a safeguard in this period of danger.

2. We remark further, that as young men at this age *need* the influence of some strong incentive to diligence and good behaviour, so they are *peculiarly* susceptible of being influenced by the hope of reward and of honorable distinction. This arises from the very nature and circumstances of the case. Manhood looks around, before and after, with watchful care; old age looks backward and lingers upon the past; but youth looks forward, its gaze is fixed upon the future, it is naturally aspiring. The physical powers are then fast reaching perfection, the intellect is just beginning to repose with confidence on its own energies, the imagination paints the scenes of future achievement with all the vivid coloring of reality, and the passions, ardent and impetuous, prompt to deeds of deathless fame. Under these circumstances the love of approbation, the hope of reward, the desire of honorable distinction, will be found among the most powerful incentives to action which can be addressed to the young. And is it not justifiable, expedient, and wise, to seize the opportunity to turn them to good account? May we not conclude, with a good degree of confidence, that it was intended that we should avail ourselves of these natural and indestructible elements of the human mind, peculiarly prominent in youth, to shape and guide the course of that perilous age? For ourselves we cannot but think, that this peculiar fitness should vindicate the propriety of a practice, which seems to be founded in nature.

3. A third consideration, evincing the expediency of the measure in question, is the fact, that it serves materially to increase the influence of the teacher over his pupils. We here take it for granted that this is a desirable end, an important object; and we take it for granted, too, that teachers in colleges are generally such persons as, from their age, discretion, virtue, and intelligence, are fitted to exert, in every respect, a salutary influence over those committed to their care. It scarce need be remarked, that the business of government is at all times responsible, often difficult; but in no case is it more responsible, or more difficult, than in the government of colleges. Its responsibleness arises from the momentous consequences which must follow successful or unsuccessful discipline. The youth, who constitute the inmates of the college, are destined shortly to figure in the various walks of professional life. They are to stand in the high places of the community. They are to become the accredited advisers of the great mass of the people, in matters touch-

ing their highest temporal and spiritual concerns. To them will the public look for example and precept. Their influence, often silent and unperceived and difficult to trace, will yet be widely diffused, nay, all-pervading. It will affect even the discipline and amusements of the nursery ; it will direct the order and instruction of the public schools ; it will speak to listening multitudes from the desk ; it will frame the law in the hall of legislation, and on the bench expound it and pronounce its sentence. The forms of social intercourse, the policy of trade, the maxims of morality, the supreme tribunal of republics, public opinion, will all feel its presence. Such, without exaggeration, is the character of that influence. How responsible is the business of forming the principles and moulding the character of those, who are destined to wield it! He, who governs the college well, who, aside from the intellectual discipline actually imparted, makes it the school of wakeful industry, of sound morals, of amiable deportment, of generous purposes and laudable ambition, confers upon society one of the richest blessings, which fall within the competence of man to bestow. But this task is by no means easy. He who governs the college must contend with all the difficulties which lie in the way of parental government, without the natural means of the parent to overcome them. He stands, it is true, *in loco parentis*, but parental authority when thus transferred loses much of its peculiar efficacy. This efficacy in fact is not transferable. By the laws of nature, it is vested inalienably in the parent. In addition to this disadvantage of the derived authority, as the youthful community increases, is the necessity increased of stricter discipline and more effective means of control. The college officer is, indeed, armed with the authority of law ; but it is not the law of the civil magistrate, nor is it expected that it will be executed in the same manner and on the same principles. Personal influence after all is his most effectual means of preserving order, and of securing diligence and good behaviour on the part of his pupils. It is, therefore, a matter of sound policy to make that influence as commanding as possible. And in order to this, we must concentrate, as far as may be, in his hands, and place at his disposal, all those incentives to action, which are most powerful with the young.

4. We must advert to still another consideration, of too much importance to be overlooked in the decision of this

question. It is the relation which students sustain to the public as candidates for patronage. In this point of view, the propriety of college honors and distinctions, will appear, if we mistake not, in a strong light, whether we consider the rights of the student, or those of the public. Can any pretend that the student is not justly entitled to the distinction, which by diligence, good behaviour, and proficiency, he has fairly earned? Is there any thing which can more properly and justly be called his own, than his reputation as a scholar? Is there any thing more dear, or more valuable to him? Nay more, is there any thing, save a good conscience, which ought to be more valued? To many a young man, destined to be the ornament and pride of his country, the literary reputation which he brings from the seat of learning stands in the place of a patrimony. It is his inheritance, secured to him not by the laws of the land, but by the common consent of mankind. Take from him this reputation, and you leave him, in every sense of the word, poor indeed. Might we not with as much justice deprive him of his legal possessions in houses and lands, as deprive him of what is no less his, the reputation on which alone he relies for an introduction to honorable and useful employment? So far as the question of right is concerned, we confess that we can see no difference between the cases. The matter of fact is, that such a distinction actually exists; within the limited circle of academic intercourse, it is acknowledged, and cannot but be acknowledged so long as the sentiment of justice and the approval of merit remain inherent in the human breast. It will be said, perhaps, that this very fact completely obviates the necessity of the usage for which we are contending; that it renders any other distinction needless and uncalled for. It is certainly true, that under all ordinary circumstances merit will sooner or later find its own level. But why should obstacles be thrown in its way? Why should it be knowingly and voluntarily thrown in the back ground, and doomed repeatedly to struggle into notice, before it can realize the benefits to which it has long been entitled? We most frankly affirm that we know not by what principle of morals, or what obligation of conscience, or what maxim of a just and sound policy, we are called upon to withhold a public declaration of that distinction, which already exists in fact, and which, in point of justice, is as fairly due as the wages of labor.

But the community has some interest, and we think some

rights, in this matter. The services of educated men are a kind of public property, in constant demand. They, who by their public acts, and their liberality, have established and patronized our seminaries of learning, have certainly acquired some right to enjoy the fruit of them. And with respect to those, who have received the benefit of a liberal education, and present themselves as candidates for patronage, there is an undoubted right, on the part of the public, to inquire into their qualifications, to ask for testimonials, and to receive them. In this point of view, the awarding of a distinction, or the conferring of an honor, is no other than a testimony to the public respecting the character and qualifications of the recipient. So far as any principle worth the naming is concerned, what is the difference between a public honor and a private certificate signed by the officers of instruction? If the honor is not justifiable, or is inexpedient, the same must be true of the certificate. It may seem a little incongruous (possibly we may not be duly informed on the subject) that those who are most strenuously opposed to distinctions do not feel any embarrassment in asking for private letters of recommendation, nor any reluctance in accepting such as award to them their full measure of merit; nor have they, on such occasions, manifested the slightest misgivings on account of any injustice thereby done to others equally meritorious. We do not mention this in order to censure, but only to remark the incongruity, and show how difficult it is to avoid in practice a principle, which is founded in nature. It often becomes apparent, in the very measures which we are adopting to suppress it. If then, it is right and proper to give a private testimonial, we cannot discern wherein it is wrong to award a public honor. And if the community is entitled to require the former as a condition of public service, they are no less entitled to the convenience and benefit of the latter in respect to the same service.

Nor ought the rights of the institution itself to be entirely overlooked. It has a large interest at stake. Its prosperity depends very much upon its reputation, and this again depends very much upon the character and scholarship of those who have received the benefits of its instruction, and who will be understood, in the community at large, to represent its merits as a seat of liberal education. Now the institution has, we think, some right to say who

shall be its representatives, and how far, and in what respects they shall represent its claim to public patronage. This it might be expected to do, we grant, by the degrees which it confers. But the difficulty on this point, has already been the subject of remark. The usage of conferring degrees upon slight examinations, is of too long standing, and too general, to be easily changed. If they were restricted to those who have really merited well as scholars and men, they would answer all the purposes, or nearly all the purposes, of honors and distinctions. As things are, the security of the institution must be sought in the proper distribution of the latter.

So much for the expediency of continuing the use of literary honors and distinctions, as incentives to diligence and good behaviour, in our seminaries of learning. It is easy, however, to foresee that objections will be urged against our conclusion. We will endeavour to meet them fairly.

1. The most weighty objection which to our knowledge has been urged, is, that distinctions in scholarship hold up to the pupil an improper motive to exertion. This has been anticipated, and we hope satisfactorily answered, in treating the second general question proposed.

2. The next, in point of importance, which has fallen under our notice, is, that the system necessarily leads to strife, heart-burnings, and envy, among those who ought rather to be encouraged to pursue their studies in harmony and love. As to the matter of fact, this may sometimes be so, and is certainly much to be deplored. But whence comes the necessity of it? Is any one really obliged to be envious at the success of his associates? Is it so, that generous, high-minded youth, cannot witness the reward of merit without heart-burnings and animosities? We believe that a large majority of those who are candidates for distinction, would spurn the imputation as a libel upon their characters. We have known too many instances of uninterrupted friendship and intimacy between competitors for the first honors, to believe that the evil alleged is at all a necessary one. The truth is, these are passions which disfigure the fair features of human nature. They find no peculiar nutriment in literary distinctions. It is their nature

to be awakened and inflamed by all honors, and all distinctions, which are alien to the individual in whose bosom is fixed their own dark and gloomy abode. The wealth of the merchant, the popularity of the statesman, and the office of the magistrate, are as much the subjects of envy, to some portions of the community, as the literary distinctions of the scholar. If we are to condemn and remove every thing which can become the occasion of envy, the reform of the world is but just begun. It must proceed, till radicalism, and agrarianism, have reduced society, as far as the immutable differences in things will permit, to a dead and barren level. And even then, (which shows the folly of the project,) the evil would still exist; for distinctions are inevitable, and those of nature are often as invidious as those of society. When human skill has attained such compass and perfection, as to make every tree grow to the same size, and every blossom wear the same hue, then, and not till then, may all those distinctions be removed, which rankle in the bosom of envy. We might suggest another mode of correcting the evil, which would be quite as efficacious, and much more in harmony with those just principles of moral duty, which it becomes all men to honor. We would endeavour to eradicate the venom, not depopulate the earth to prevent its mischief.

3. Another objection deserving of some notice is, that equal justice cannot be extended to all; that conferring distinctions upon some will operate to the injury of others. This, it is said, will arise in part, from the extreme difficulty, perhaps impossibility, of determining the exact claims of different candidates, and in part, from the difficulty of fixing upon a system of distinctions exactly to meet them. As to the former, we readily admit the difficulty alleged. But what is the inference? that injustice must follow a decision? We grant that it *may*, not that it *must*. And another inference from the same fact, much more important, is, that where any injustice really exists, it must, from the very nature of the case, be so small in its amount, so trivial, that its existence cannot be certainly known. It must, after the loudest complaint, really remain doubtful whether there was any just ground for it. So that practically, we cannot but think that this part of the objection, to borrow

the language of the older mathematicians, is in "a vanishing state." As to the difficulty of meeting the various claims, so as to award distinctions in the precise ratio of merit, it generally cannot be done. But in a case which admits of degrees, shall we abandon the end altogether, because we cannot attain it perfectly? The same objection in full force, lies against the enactment of penal laws, and the administration of justice throughout the world; but weighed against the benefits received, notwithstanding this defect, it sinks into insignificance. So we think it must, on mature reflection, in the case before us.

4. And finally, it is said that by encouraging numbers to hope for what few can actually obtain, many must suffer a disappointment, which will operate seriously to their disadvantage in future life. To this we reply, that the honorable appointments need not be, and generally are not, very few, compared with the number of pupils. But we cannot be supposed to be answerable for the usages of each particular institution, nor for the effect of that usage on each particular individual. But to illustrate the principle of the objection, let us select a case every way favorable to the views of the objector. One of the competitors for the first honor fails in his object, supposing the honor merely to be his object. This disappointment may occasion a temporary depression of feeling, nothing more. How is he injured by the competition? Will he come less honorably, and less advantageously before the community, for having entered the lists, and shown that he was anxious to try his ability, and reluctant to fall back into the ranks of mere mediocrity without a trial? Will his increased acquisitions, his habits of vigorous study, be the less valuable, because another has surpassed him? The very failure does him infinitely more credit, than the listlessness and apathy which would have declined the contest. We can see but very small probability of any serious injury from this source. The experience of the past, we believe, lends no support to any fears which may exist on this point.

These, so far as we have been able to ascertain them, are the objections which have been most frequently, and most strongly urged against the system of college honors. With what justice they have been urged, and how far they have now been obviated, our readers must judge.

We might here dismiss the subject; but it seems appropriate to refer more particularly to the antiquity and prevalence of the practice of conferring some mark of distinction upon successful scholarship. We have already remarked that it was as old as the Father of History, and the Olympic games. It is well known, that contests in poetry and eloquence were among the objects of attraction at those national festivals; nor is it difficult to credit the assertion, that the desire of bearing off the olive-wreath, on those splendid occasions, contributed in no small degree to the unrivalled refinement and elegance of Grecian literature; a literature, which at this moment is, and for ages has been, studied, and admired, and imitated throughout the civilized world. The history of education in modern Europe bears ample testimony to the importance of literary honors, as incentives to diligence. In the English universities, to receive a degree of Bachelor of Arts, among the *οἱ πολλοὶ*, means little more, than that three years have been passed in idleness, dissipation, and mischief. It is little more than a mere nominal affair, and holds out no motive to exertion. But it is far otherwise with the *university honors.* These (we speak now more particularly of Cambridge) belong, as is probably known to the most of our readers, to three classes, denominated *Wranglers, Senior Optimes*, and *Junior Optimes.* On the final examination in the Senate-house, from fifteen to twenty are assigned to each of these classes, and numbered in the order of scholarship. The examinations for these honors embrace all the higher and more difficult branches of classical literature and the exact sciences; and are conducted with a severity, at which, in this country, all our college fraternities would stand aghast; the student being required, for instance, with nothing but pen, ink, and paper, to translate a passage of Shakspeare, selected at pleasure, into Greek Tragic Iambics, or to solve one of the most complicated and thorny problems of the Infinitesimal Calculus. But, in proportion to the severity of the task, is the importance and honor of success. The same general system obtains at Oxford, where we are assured, on respectable authority, that "the great spring which moves and invigorates the whole is emulation." We hazard nothing in the assertion, that without this system

of honors, or something equivalent, the English universities could never have become, nor could they long remain, what they now are, the pride and boast of England. Would that the sentence of proscription against half her sons no longer stained their annals!

In the German universities, the examinations for the lowest degree conferred, that of Doctor of Philosophy, partake of the same severity and extent, as those for honors in the English. The students collected together from all parts of Europe, and we may add, the world, are entirely free from all university discipline. They enjoy all the freedom of citizens. There is no reproof for irregularity, no censure for neglect. Under this state of things, it may well be asked, and well deserves to be considered, by what means that untiring diligence, and that thorough scholarship, which characterize the great body of the German students, are secured? Is it owing to any felicitous peculiarity in the genius of German youths? Or is it owing to the inspiring example, the stirring exhortation, and personal influence of learned professors? To neither; but to the simple fact that no student is admitted to a degree, or to any employment, hardly to teach the rudiments of classical learning in the lowest Gymnasia, without sustaining the most rigid examinations on all the branches of a university education. "The chief secret," says Professor Robinson, who evidently examined the subject with much care, "lies in the direct power of government over all places of honor and profit, in the general requisition of a university education, as a *sine quâ non* preparation for every public station; and lastly, and principally, in the fact, that no one is even then admitted into any profession, nor to hold any office whatever, without being first subjected to two, and sometimes three, severe examinations. Here is the strong hold of the government upon the students, and the main secret of the diligence and good behaviour of the latter." Degrees there operate precisely as college honors do elsewhere. With no high incentives to diligence, in the form of literary honors and degrees, awarded not as a matter of course, but only on the most ample proof of real scholarship; honors and degrees, which at once introduce the recipient to the favorable notice of the public, and open before him the most eligible

walks of life; is it to be supposed, that those foreign universities could ever have achieved what they have done, with so much honor to themselves, and advantage to the world? And is it to be believed, that institutions abroad, or at home, without any such incentives, may safely rely upon the student's sense of propriety, and his love of knowledge, for the full performance of those toilsome duties which devolve upon him? The notion is utterly futile. It has no foundation in the ample history of man. Ease and enjoyment, not labor and self-denial, are congenial to his nature. Some strong incentive, something over and above a thirst for knowledge, and a sense of propriety, is absolutely necessary to summon the latent energies of his mind to action, and insure that diligence, and that vigorous concentration of effort, which lie at the foundation of all high attainments in literature and science. That necessary incentive is found, as we think, and as we have endeavoured to show, in the proper distribution of college honors and distinctions.

Such, in conclusion, are our views of the important subject which we have ventured to discuss. The principle of emulation, that is, the desire of those benefits and advantages, which naturally belong to superiority in knowledge, virtue, and abilities, is founded in nature; it is justifiable as a rule of action, being recognised and sanctioned by revealed religion, and by the whole course of God's present moral government; it is, for the reasons stated, highly expedient to resort to it, as an incentive to diligence in the discipline and government of colleges. We cannot therefore, but hope, that those, who are charged with the management of our literary institutions, will be slow to abolish a practice, which, based upon the most obvious dictates of reason and common sense, has in all former times done so much to elicit the powers of the youthful mind, and advance the interests of sound learning.

Art. IX.— *The Library of American Biography*, conducted by Jared Sparks, Vol. VI. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1836. 16mo. pp. 358.

The present volume of the "Library of American Biography" fully sustains the reputation of that very useful and popular work.

It consists of three parts. The first is a brief memoir of that eminent lawyer and orator, William Pinkney of Maryland, by Henry Wheaton, now our Minister Resident in Berlin. Its materials are chiefly drawn, as the author announces in a note, from his larger work, published in 1826, entitled "Some Account of the Life, Writings, and Speeches of William Pinkney," and from an article on that work, in the twenty-fourth volume of our Journal. Having treated the subject of Mr. Pinkney's life and genius at such length before, we have nothing now to say, except that Mr. Wheaton, in the preparation of the present sketch, has manifested his characteristic good sense and good taste, and made a valuable contribution to our means of convenient access to an acquaintance with an illustrious man.

The second part, a Life by Professor Channing of Cambridge, of his grandfather, William Ellery, member of the Continental Congress for Rhode Island, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, is a truly delightful composition. It actually practises on us the bewildering delusion of making us feel as if we had known the man. No one whom we ever did know, resembles him at all points; but he remains as perfect an idea in our minds, as if it was an idea obtained by personal familiarity, instead of reading. Every trait is individual. Every touch is graphic. The character is that of an upright, true-hearted, unpretending, energetic man; ambitious of no distinctions, but calm, prudent, and resolved in all exigencies; followed by a confidence which the silent influence of desert has won, and not any care to attract regard; and always making the very best of life, for himself and others. This it is, in a general way of description. But the phases, in which these qualities and dispositions are manifested, are all its own, and brought

out in the memoir with such nature and life, that the outline is cut, as if with steel, on the memory. We cannot, of course, follow the writer in this felicitous narration of facts that individualize a character. We must content ourselves with extracting the following beautiful paragraphs on the true dignity of old age.

"It remains to speak of him in his closing years. It may be supposed, that we are entering upon a distinct era, in which, though he may still be recognised, he must yet be materially changed; that his course must be henceforth downward; and that, with the general feeling of tenderness and veneration for the old, we have now only to observe the decay of what we may have admired in its strength. Such an anticipation, with respect to the aged, is so common, as to be thought natural. But, after all that has been written of old age, is its true value, and the character it may and ought to possess, enough considered? Some speak of a man in years as an object of condescending admiration, that he should have lived so long; and he, in turn, may be pleased with this distinction, and even live the longer for it, as if to protract and augment the honor.

"Sometimes, we make old age picturesque, with its wintry snows and reposing apathy. The harvest is ended, the earth is sealed; there is to be no more growth. Or it is a noble pile, time-honored, time-worn, and falling into slow decay. There is to be no more splendor or cheerfulness, no more of life as it has been, within those walls. Or, again, we make old age sentimental. It is passively and gratefully receiving cheerful tendance from the young; it is patiently recounting its experience, and distilling its long-treasured wisdom; and the children are gathered round the bed of the patriarch for his blessing. And are these the best lights and positions in which we may look on those, who are approaching the appointed boundaries of time?

"There is yet another view of age, in which it appears as a highly moral and intellectual state of man. It may be granted that the senses have lost much of their quickness; but the imagination, now freed from distracting excitement, is as able and disposed as ever to shape anew the materials they have supplied, either for its own solace and delight, or for the beautiful expression of thought and emotion. At the very season when mere animal existence is less a blessing, and the animal spirits have almost ceased to excite and sustain, and passion is no longer to stimulate and crave and be fed, the imagination still lives to animate the purely intellectual exercises, to preserve or restore the

early love of natural beauty, to keep the affections warm and old remembrances distinct; and, indeed, to give the mind much of the light and vivacity of youth.

"It is the period of acquisition as well as of contemplation. A long experience of life has not yet furnished all, nor the best, that can be obtained. Reflection shows that much has been falsely valued, and that the methods of pursuit have often been wrong; so that even a little that is seen and meditated upon in the latter day, may be worth more than masses of crude opinions, fancies, and purposes, which occupied the supposed vigor of life. The mind was often stationary then, from the all-surrounding pressure of outward things, which seemed to make it intensely active, because they wholly engrossed it; but now it may be truly said to be advancing by a power from within. The effort is not merely to keep what has been purchased, and not to recede from a point that has been gained. Life is better even now than a mere resistance of evils. The future is entered upon as offering higher studies, and as a corrector of the past, and with a religious feeling of the importance of the days that remain, as close-bordering on the endless pursuits of another state of action. The temper is softened and spiritualized. Active engagements are still pursued for the good of others, when the motives of self have become feeble. Intimacy with the young is cherished from sympathy with their exuberant spirits, and from a desire to be strengthened by their fresh-growing thoughts, and from a prophetic interest in the life that is before them; an intimacy of perfect equality, except that the aged bend to the young, and give more than they receive. Add to such considerations as these, the blessing of a good nervous system, and health scarcely interrupted or impaired to the end, and some idea may be formed of Mr. Ellery in his closing years." — pp. 130 – 133.

The third memoir is of Cotton Mather, a personage entitled to a place in Mr. Sparks's American Biography, by several distinct and acknowledged claims. His early reputation, and the prominent part he took in the ecclesiastical affairs of New England; the great and long-continued consideration which he enjoyed with the people at large; his literary attainments and unquestionable ability of a certain kind; the contributions he made to the materials of our early history, ample at least, if not so exact as might be desired; and last, though not least, his grievous errors of conduct, on several important occasions, give him an undoubted em-

inence above most of his contemporaries, and make him one of the most remarkable characters that belong to the early period of New England. But, though his name is familiar to every mouth, the materials of a full account of his life, are unfortunately scanty. They are sufficient, however, to give a tolerably accurate idea of his course as a public man, and of some leading qualities of his character in private. His public career is so closely connected with the history of the times, that it may be pretty well understood, and his own diaries, divulging his more private course of thought and action, are characteristic in the highest degree. We are glad that the task of collecting these materials, and illustrating Mather's life, has fallen into hands so well able to discharge the duty. Mr. Peabody has clearly used the utmost industry in bringing together all existing information pertaining to his subject. He has woven, from these scattered materials, an exceedingly graceful and lively narration. The current has been lately setting pretty strongly against the reputation of this famous divine; and possibly there has been a general disposition to underrate both his abilities and his moral excellence. Mr. Peabody is a more indulgent judge; and, while he passes a deserved censure upon Mather's bigotry and vanity, and reprobates severely his conduct during the Salem delusion, he is equally solicitous to exhibit the fairer features, that, in his view, marked the man. That he has rightly struck the balance between foibles, faults, and virtues, is more than we would venture to affirm; for, undoubtedly, Mather was one of the *oddest* men, "that ever lived in the tide of times." But his only aim has evidently been to ascertain the exact truth, and state it in the most clear and simple form. The story is told with great beauty of style. It is pleasant, polished, and animated, and occasionally diversified by touches of delightful humor. The narration is interspersed with extracts from the writings of Mather and others, skilfully selected, and tastefully introduced; and the reader's interest never flags, for the writer's spirit never fails.

Cotton Mather was born in Boston, Feb. 12th, 1662-3. His mother was the daughter of John Cotton, a man of the first celebrity in his day. He manifested early in life, a passion for books, and was educated at the free school in

Boston, by Mr. Benjamin Thompson, and by the well-known Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, who prepared him for college. He seems to have gone through an unusual preparatory course; "since we hear," says Mr. Peabody, "of his studying Homer and Isocrates, besides many Latin authors, not very familiar even to those who had taken a degree." The following particulars are interesting, and the curious speech of President Hoar is amusingly characteristic of the age, and of the estimation in which Mather's family was held.

"He entered college at the age of twelve, which was then thought very early, and certainly is too early both for the pursuits and temptations of the place. But he seems to have had a strong ambition, which aided his better principles, in securing him from moral dangers, and making him attentive to his duties. He wished and expected to be a great man; and though expectations of this kind are not often shared by others, in his case, on account of his birth, they were thought appropriate and graceful. When he became a member of the institution, Dr. Hoar, who was then president, gave him according to custom, 'this head for his initial declamation';

"'Telemacho veniet, vivat modo, fortior ætas.'

"We have little information concerning his rank in college; but, judging from its close, it must have been sufficiently high; for, when he took his first degree, President Oakes, in his Latin oration at the commencement, expressed himself in a strain, which may be thus translated.

"'Mather is named Cotton Mather. What a name! But, my hearers, I confess I am wrong; I should have said, what names! I shall say nothing of his reverend father, since I dare not praise him to his face; but should he resemble and represent his venerable grandfathers, John Cotton and Richard Mather, in piety, learning, elegance of mind, solid judgment, prudence, and wisdom, he will bear away the palm; and I trust that in this youth, Cotton and Mather will be united and flourish again.'

"Such an address, on such an occasion, would now make a considerable sensation. The effect of it was to fan the flame of Mather's ambition, and so to make him what all expected him to be. But it doubtless had another effect, which was to produce much of that jealousy in others, and that discontent in himself, which brought so much unhappiness on his later years. Some poet of the day alluded to what he called his 'ominous name';

"'Where two great names their sanctuary take,
And in a third combined a greater make.'

Being blessed, as his son informs us, 'with a modest inquisitiveness,' a gift which is said not to be uncommon in New England, he made rapid advances before taking his second degree, which he received from the hand of his father. The *Thesis*, which he then maintained, was 'the divine origin of the Hebrew points'; but he afterwards saw reason to change his mind, and held the contrary opinion to the last.

"Such a man as Increase Mather would not regard learning and intellectual accomplishments as so important as religious education. His first efforts, therefore, were directed to the formation of a Christian character in his son, who had sufficient fervor and readiness to receive impressions, and wanted the judicious counsel, which his father was well able to give. We are told, that almost as soon as he began to speak, he began to pray, and practised this duty constantly in all his earlier years. He often composed forms for his schoolmates, and recommended the duty to them. He frequently reproved them for profaneness and misconduct, and set them the example of avowing his religious principles fearlessly on all proper occasions; a kind of moral courage, which, if it were more generally found in the young, would save many from ruin; for the truth is, that many are led away, not merely against their judgment, but actually against their will, for the want of firmness to bear up under the ridicule of those, whose good opinion they would not value." — pp. 172–174.

Though Mather was destined to the clerical profession, both by his own tastes, and by hereditary influences, he occupied himself in teaching, seven years after leaving college. He had under his instruction many young men, who afterwards rose to distinction; and he used to say, that he "would give all he was worth in the world, for the measure of grace and sense, which he saw in some that were once his scholars." In 1680, he was invited by the North Church in Boston, to become his father's associate in the ministry; and in 1684, he was regularly ordained pastor. As a preacher he seems to have been highly acceptable, and found, as he expressed it, "strange respect among the people of God," to such a degree that he candidly confesses that "proud thoughts fly-blowed his best performances." The details of his professional labors are extremely interesting and characteristic, but we must refer the reader to the volume itself.

The following account of his mode of turning common incidents to matter for edification, is striking.

"The disposition to derive improvement from all circumstances, for himself and others, attended him through life; and though it was always sincere, it did not always manifest itself in the most judicious and edifying manner. He determined early in life to let no suggestion pass by him; and many, which most men would never have thought of turning to purposes of instruction, were welcomed as excitements of devotion in his soul.

"When the common business of the household was going on, he was led into spiritual meditations. If they happened to be brewing, he would say, 'Lord, let us find in a glorious Christ a provision for our thirsty souls;' when baking, 'Lord, let a glorious Christ be the bread of life unto us;' and on the washing-day, which is not apt to bring the mind into a devotional frame, he would say, 'O, wash us thoroughly from sin! O, take away our filthy garments from us.' These ejaculations were provided and used on all such occasions.

"So in all his personal actions. Late in his life he writes in his Diary, 'The snuffing of my candle is a frequent action with me. I have provided a great number of pertinent wishes and thoughts, and prayers and praises, to be formed upon the occurrences in my life, which afford occasions for them.' It must have been by an oversight that this action was so long omitted. For all his mature life he had been accustomed, when he wound up his watch, to bless God for another day, and pray that it might be spent to his glory. When he heard a clock strike, he would pray that he might so number his days, as to apply his heart unto wisdom. When he knocked at a door, he used it as an occasion for reviving the memory of the promise, 'Knock, and it shall be opened unto you.' When he mended his fire, it was with a prayer that his love and zeal might be kindled into a flame. When he put out his candle on retiring to rest at night, it was with an address to the Father of lights, that his light might not go out in darkness. When he paid a debt, he reflected, that he should owe no man any thing but love.

"He bore upon his mind a great number of ejaculatory prayers, prepared for the occasions when they were to be used. As a specimen, those which were sometimes used at table may be given. Looking on the gentlewoman that carved for the guests, he said to himself, 'Lord, carve a rich portion of thy graces and comforts to that person.' Looking on a gentlewoman stricken in years, 'Lord, adorn that person with the virtues which thou prescribest for aged women.' For one lately

married, 'Lord, marry and espouse that person to thyself in a covenant never to be forgotten.' For a gentlewoman very beautiful, 'Lord give that person an humble mind, and let her be most concerned for those ornaments that are of great price in thy sight.'

"So when he walked the streets, he implored secret blessings upon those, who passed by him. At the sight of a tall man, he said, 'Lord, give that man high attainments in Christianity.' For a lame man, 'Lord, help that man to walk uprightly.' For a negro, 'Lord, wash that poor soul; make him white by the washing of thy spirit.' For a very little man, 'Lord, bestow great blessings on that man.' For young gentlewomen, 'Lord, make them wise virgins, and as polished stones in thy temple.' For a man going by without observing him, 'Lord, I pray thee help that man to take a due notice of Christ.' For a very old man, 'Lord, make him an old disciple.' For a wicked man, 'Lord, rescue that poor man, who, it is to be feared, is possessed by Satan, who leads him captive.'

"When he had a family, he taught his children, in like manner to use the incidents of life as so many suggestions from on high. Some years after this he writes; 'Two of my children have been newly scorched with gunpowder, wherein, though they have received a merciful deliverance, yet they undergo a smart that is considerable. I must improve this occasion to inculcate lessons of piety upon them; especially with relation to their danger of everlasting burnings.'" — pp. 191 – 194.

The second chapter gives us an entertaining account of Mather's courtship and marriage, with a minute sketch of his proceedings in the business of witchcraft. The political history of the colony, upon which the Mathers exercised considerable influence at that time, is also rapidly treated. The peculiarities of Mather are perhaps more conspicuous in this portion of his life, than in any other. His curious superstition, and his formal observances, seem to have had then more occasion for their display than at other times; at any rate, the relation of them presents a strange jumble of grotesque absurdities, in the midst of scenes of ferocious bigotry and tragical delusions. We pass to Mather's affecting account of his wife's death.

"'The black day arrives! I had never seen so black a day in all the time of my pilgrimage. The desire of my eyes is this day to be taken from me. Her death is lingering and painful. All the forenoon of this day, she was in the pangs of death,

and sensible till the last minute or two before her final expiration. I cannot remember the discourse that passed between us; only her devout soul was full of satisfaction about her going to a state of blessedness with the Lord Jesus Christ. As far as my distress would permit, I studied to confirm her satisfaction and consolation. When I saw to what a point of resignation I was called of the Lord, I resolved, with his help, to glorify him. So, two hours before she expired, I kneeled by her bedside, and took into my hands that dear hand, the dearest in the world, and solemnly and sincerely gave her up to the Lord. I gently put her out of my hands and laid away her hand, resolved that I would not touch it again. She afterwards told me, that she signed and sealed my act of resignation; and before that though she had called for me continually, after it, she never asked for me any more. She conversed much until near two in the afternoon. The last sensible word that she spoke was to her weeping father; "Heaven, Heaven will make amends for all!"'" —p. 272.

Mr. Mather records a great many struggles he had with the Devil; but it strikes us that the following is the most perilous of all his encounters with the wiles of the arch enemy.

"There was a young lady, whom he describes as so remarkably accomplished, that no one in America exceeded her, abounding in wit and sense, with a comely aspect, and most winning conversation, who, after writing to him once or twice, made him a visit, and gave him to understand, that she had long felt a deep interest in his ministry, and that, since his present condition had given her more liberty to think of him, 'she had become charmed with my person to such a degree, that she could not but break in upon me with her most importunate requests, that I would make her mine.' She however declared, that the chief interest she felt in the attachment arose from her desire for religious improvement; for, if she were once connected with him, she did not doubt that her salvation would be secured.

"To a proposal so direct and flattering, it was not easy to make any other than a grateful reply. It was not altogether to his taste, but he could not say so to her. All at once, a way of escape seemed to be offered; and, nothing doubting that it would answer the purpose, he told her of his austere manner of life, and the frequent fasts and vigils, which his wife was expected to share. But, instead of being daunted by this communication, she told him that this was the very thing of all others, which she desired; for she had already weighed all those discouragements, but was prepared with faith and fortitude to encounter them all.

"'Then,' he says, 'I was in a great strait how to treat so polite a gentlewoman, thus applying herself unto me. I plainly told her I feared whether her proposal would not meet with insurmountable objections from those, who had an interest in disposing of me. However, I desired that there might be time taken to see what would be the wisest and fittest resolution. In the mean time, if I could not make her my own, I should be glad to be any way instrumental in making her the Lord's.'

"Having secured this reprieve, he seemed to breathe freely, though he was utterly unable to discover any way of escape from this affectionate persecution.

"This matter appears for some time to have oppressed his very soul, and the manner in which he treats it is too characteristic to be passed by. After a time, the Diary proceeds; 'My sore distresses and temptations I this day carried before the Lord. The chief of them lies in this. The most accomplished gentlewoman, mentioned, though not by name, in the close of the former year, one whom everybody sees with admiration, confessed to be, for her charming accomplishments, an incomparable person, addressing me to make her mine, and professing a disposition unto the most holy flights of religion to lie at the bottom of her addresses, I am in the greatest strait imaginable what course to steer. Nature itself causes in me a mighty tenderness towards a person so amiable. Breeding requires me to treat her with honor and respect, and very much of deference; but religion, above all, obliges me, instead of a rash rejecting of her conversation, to contrive rather how I may imitate the goodness of the Lord Jesus Christ in the dealing with such as are upon a conversion to him.' No contrivance could arrange the matter to his mind; for again he says, 'As for my special, soul-harassing affair, I did, some days ago, under my hand, beg, as for my life, that it might be desisted from, and that I might not be killed by hearing any more about it.' But even his written solicitations produced no effect, so desirous was she to secure the welfare of her soul." — pp. 273 – 276.

We should be glad to make further extracts from this agreeable book; but the lateness of the hour when the sheets were placed in our hands forbids. Nor is it necessary to say any thing further; the interest of the subject, and the beauty of the narrative will give it an immediate popularity and wide circulation.

Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *A Treatise on Consumption, embracing an Inquiry into the Influence exerted upon it by Journeys, Voyages, and Change of Climate, with Directions for the Consumptive visiting the South of Europe, and Remarks upon its Climate, adapted for General Readers.* By William Sweetser, M. D., A. A. & M. M. S., late Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in the University of Vermont. Boston. T. H. Carter. 1836. 8vo. pp. 254.

There are strong and well-founded objections to most of the works which have been published on medical subjects, intended for popular use. "Domestic Medicines," "Family Physicians," &c. &c., are generally composed on the presumption, that common people can, by means of them, learn to distinguish and treat all the diseases to which the human body is liable. The work before us makes no such pretension; but on the contrary, is calculated to diminish the disposition which the world has to meddle with this matter, by conveying just views of the intrinsic difficulties which these subjects present even to physicians.

The fact has been, we suppose, that these treatises have been written by men, who have no philosophical or practical knowledge of the subjects of which they treat. They are mere compilers. They have no well-founded notions of the distinctions of disease, or of the principles of treatment. In this respect the volume before us has a great advantage over them, being the production of a gentleman who has been engaged in actual practice, and a teacher of medicine in a medical school, and one who has of course been in the habit of looking at disease with a critical eye.

The introduction to the work explains briefly, but distinctly, the purpose which the author of it had in view in its preparation.

"In the first place, I shall give a brief and general history of consumption, and the climates in which it is most prevalent, its relative mortality, &c. Next, I shall introduce a general view of the lungs and their functions. Then the pathology or nature of the disease will be considered; the physical characters indicating a tendency to consumption; its relative prevalence in the two sexes, and the ages during which it is most frequent. Then a concise account will be given of hemoptysis, or bleeding from the lungs. Next, the causes of consumption, and their means of prevention, so far as known, will be examined. The history of the symptoms will next follow. Then

an account of the diet and regimen best adapted to the premonitory and declared state of the malady. And lastly, I shall particularly consider the influence exercised by sea voyages and change of climate on the disease, and the period and circumstances in which these means will be likely to exert a beneficial agency, and shall give some necessary directions in regard to them.

"I shall purposely omit the consideration of active medicines, which may be demanded in the confirmed state of the disease, being convinced that these can only be rightly and safely employed under the immediate direction of a medical attendant.

"The special designs of the present work are to make known the causes of, and best means of preventing the fatal malady under consideration; that those unfortunate individuals, especially, who bear in their physical organization its indications, or those who are their guardians in early life, may be apprized of their danger, and thus induced to a seasonable resort to those preventive measures, which have been found most effective in raising the energies of the system, and repressing its diseased tendencies; that the premonitory or threatening signs of the disease may also awaken an early solicitude, and incite a timely application for medical aid. And to communicate some little information on the question relating to sea voyages and warm climates in consumption, which is often so momentous to the sick, and so embarrassing to friends." — pp. 9–11.

There are several points, in which we consider Dr. Sweetser's work as worthy of recommendation to the public.

In the first place, it imparts correct views of the nature of the disease of which it treats. Popular ideas on this subject are very vague, and popular treatises tend not at all to correct them. From these ideas of the nature of consumption, follow expectations equally erroneous with regard to the method of treating it, and the effects which are to follow from the treatment. Dr. Sweetser does not attempt to teach more than his readers can understand. He describes clearly the history, causes, and phenomena of the disease, but does not enter into such details concerning its treatment, as can be only understood and carried into effect by professional men. In short, his management of the subject is such, as to produce an effect entirely the opposite of that ordinarily produced by reading popular medical treatises. Their readers are constantly tempted, by what they are taught, to be tampering with drugs, and taking the medical treatment of their diseases into their own hands. His readers, on the contrary, imbibe an opposite disposition, and rise from the perusal of his book less inclined than before to any such fool-hardy experiment.

In the next place, Dr. Sweetser places on just grounds the relative value of the remedial and preventive measures of the disease of which he treats. He distinctly teaches the intractabil-

ity of its confirmed stages, and the consequent importance of preventing its approach, or resisting its first advances. He does not lead astray, by sanguine promises of the amendment, which may be produced by this or that method of treatment. Even with regard to travelling and residing in milder climates, although he gives ample advice, and offers us also the result of his own observations on some of the places most celebrated as residences for the consumptive, he by no means encourages that restless hope of relief, which so often allures the dying consumptive from his home, its comforts, and its friends, to breathe his last breath on the ocean, or at best to die among strangers and be laid in a foreign grave.

This work is also free from exaggeration and extravagance, in its views upon all points. Its tone is moderate. It confines itself to the probable, and does not, like most medical works, run constantly into the plausible. That it does not, upon some occasions, state things too strongly, which are founded only on conjecture, would be saying more than can be said of any other medical book, and more than can justly be said of this. It is, however, but little open to objection in this respect ; and what it teaches may be safely considered as being as near the truth, as we have at present arrived, on the subjects of which it treats. It is a book from which all may learn something, and which very many may consult with advantage to health and life.

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2. — *A Lecture on German Literature, being a Sketch of its History from its Origin to the Present Day, &c.* By George H. Calvert. Baltimore. 8vo. pp. 23.

The author of this Lecture has been favorably known by his contributions to our periodical literature, and by his general scholarship, for several years. His translation of Schiller's " Don Carlos " shows an accurate knowledge of the German language, and an uncommon power of rendering German poetry faithfully into English. In some passages that translation is rather stiff, but it is always true to the original. It sometimes fails of being idiomatic English, but never of giving the sense of the German.

This Lecture shows a wide acquaintance with German literature, and an enthusiastic love of it. The author begins from the earliest German poetry, which he characterizes in a brief but satisfactory manner, and then follows its course down to the present times, diversifying the general views he presents to us with short biographical notes, and criticisms of particular works, which show a minute knowledge of the subject.

In point of style, this Lecture is liable to objection. The sentences are occasionally long and involved; the constructions are sometimes harsh; and there are many compound words used, which the genius of our language forbids. But with all these drawbacks, the Lecture is highly creditable to the learning and ability of its author.

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3. — 1. *An Elementary Treatise on Plane Trigonometry, with its Application to Heights and Distances, Navigation, and Surveying.* By Benjamin Peirce, A. M., University Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard University, Cambridge. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1836. 12mo. pp. 90.

2. *First Part of an Elementary Treatise on Spherical Trigonometry.* By Benjamin Peirce, A. M., &c. &c. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 71.

The manufacture of text-books in elementary mathematics has flourished greatly of late, at least so far as quantity is concerned. The excellent treatises of Bézout, Lacroix, Bourdon, and some other eminent French elementary writers, have been translated and re-translated, abridged, copied, compiled from, and arranged in every possible variety of method. Sometimes they appear entire, well or ill translated as the case may be. Sometimes their "*disjecta membra*" are fastened together, perhaps in decent arrangement, perhaps in the most slovenly disorder. The instructer who turns over the pages of these manufactured books, in the hope of finding some improvement in the materials or in the method of communicating knowledge, holds up his hands in amazement as he recognises one after another the same old things continually recurring, annoyed as much as was the poor Frenchman in Taylor's witty ballad, at the endless reäppearances of Monsieur Tonson.

Mr. Peirce belongs to no such class of book-makers. His two works, of which we give the titles above, are part of a course of elementary mathematics, which he has given notice that he intends to publish. They show, throughout, the marks of an original thinker. In the present state of the science of Trigonometry, we cannot expect to find much that is actually new in any text-book on the subject. But in these works there is a unity and homogeneousness, which shows that they are not mere compilations, but that they have passed through and been reproduced by the author's own mind. The analysis is conducted throughout in the most finished and elegant manner.

The "Plane Trigonometry" contains the demonstration of the Trigonometrical formulas, which are of most frequent use in analysis, and their application to the solution of plane triangles. The second volume contains the applications of Plane Trigonometry to Heights and Distances, Navigation and Surveying.

The Spherical Trigonometry is, with the exception of the last chapter, entirely devoted to the solution of Spherical triangles. The author first demonstrates Napier's rules for the solution of Right Triangles, and illustrates their application. Mr. Bowditch's rules for the application of Napier's invention to the solution of Oblique Spherical Triangles, which, together with the principle that the sines of the sides are proportional to the sines of the opposite angles, furnish a complete solution for all the cases except two, are next explained. The demonstration of these last rules is extremely elegant and concise. The formulas for the two remaining cases, namely, when the three sides or three angles are given, are next demonstrated. The four formulas known as Napier's Analogies, which are useful when two sides and the included angle, or two angles and the included side are known, are also exhibited.

The expediency of using Napier's rules at all, has been questioned by Delambre, whose memory was probably so correct and tenacious as to make him independent of any artificial helps. A more recent writer, Mr. De Morgan, in the article "Spherical Trigonometry" in the "Library of Useful Knowledge," page 6. says, "We do not give them because we are convinced that they only create confusion instead of assisting the memory." In a note he adds, "We carry this opinion to the extent of thinking that they have been, to many, a serious impediment to the ready knowledge of applications to plane astronomy."

We confess we are not able to see the force of Mr. De Morgan's objection, and believe it to be groundless. We think Mr. Peirce has acted wisely in making such constant use of these rules throughout his book.

The doubtful cases, which arise from the circumstance that the sine of any angle and the sine of its supplement have the same numerical value, and the same algebraical sign, are fully and satisfactorily treated.

Both these works are remarkable for brevity and simplicity (qualities which instructers will know how to prize); and we believe they will be found fully equal, if not superior, to any works now in use, for the purpose for which they were designed.

4. — *Traits of American Life.* By Mrs. Sarah J. Hale.

The number and variety of Mrs. Hale's writings have given her a place among the foremost of our female authors. This little volume is an agreeable addition to the light reading of the day; indeed it answers a much higher purpose than that sort of reading commonly aspires to. The sketches are lively and true. They are founded on close observation, and bear on their face the impress of reality. The peculiar humor of the New England character is understood by no one better than by Mrs. Hale; its virtues and excellencies she delineates with a hearty love and home-felt delight. In point of style, these little sketches are deserving of much praise. They are simply and even gracefully written. The choice of words is guided by an excellent taste, and the structure of sentences is pure idiomatic English; no small praise in these times, when our language seems likely to be overrun by Gothic and Vandal hordes of barbarisms, let loose upon it by the author of "Sartor Resartus" and his imitators. If we were disposed to complain of Mrs. Hale, we should select as the most assailable point in her literary works, the excess of her patriotism. We must say, that her American feelings are too prominently brought before the reader's attention; that they are too frequently and too broadly expressed; that she is too ready to seize upon opportunities for uttering them, and what is more objectionable, to make opportunities, when they do not present themselves. An American writer must of course write from the dictates of an American heart. He should never shrink from the defence of those principles, on which his country's well-being rests, when such defence is called for. But, it is unpleasant to have a work of literature overloaded with national comparisons, and pugnacious challenges to foreigners to beat this or that if they can. After all, there is good meaning in the old phrase, "the republic of letters"; and it is not well for a citizen of the said republic to be at swords' points with others his fellow citizens, because he happens to live under the political administration of General Jackson, and they under that of William the Fourth, or Louis Philippe.

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5. — *The Three Eras in Woman's Life.* By Elizabeth Elton Smith. 12mo. 2 vols. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1836.

This is among the best novels of the day. The "Three Eras of Woman's Life," described by a woman who has passed them all, and described with infinite spirit, cannot be other-

wise than interesting. Mrs. Smith writes in a beautiful and brilliant style. She delineates the feelings, sufferings, and errors belonging to each of the periods, with a searching hand; and the picture of human life, which she sketches in connexion with her subject, is drawn and colored with the truth of long and keen observation. The moral she teaches and illustrates by two or three most exciting tales, is an important one, though perhaps not wholly in accordance with the sentiments of some romantic young people. We will not attempt to state it at large; it amounts, however, to the startling doctrine, that a young lady's first love, especially if the object of it prove to be unworthy, is not likely, under some circumstances, to last for ever. We have no intention of going into so abstruse a subject in a critical notice, or of defending our author's thesis in a paragraph, but must refer those who take an interest in the matter, (and who does not?) to the book itself, where it is amply treated, and adorned with all the graces of polished style and lively imagination. Our author's narrative is conducted with skill, and the plot is gradually wrought out, without any thing forced or awkward. Her characters, especially the ladies, are drawn with delicacy, and made to conduct themselves with propriety, through a great variety of difficult situations. She has a remarkable talent in making them distinct and individual. Her dialogues are generally very well managed; their only fault is one exceedingly common to dialogues in print, that the interlocutors sometimes make speeches too long to be submitted to in real conversation, and so methodical and philosophical, that a hearer might possibly suspect himself to be under the operation of a *bore*. But the style of them, and of the rest of the book, is elegant and animated. The scenes of fashionable life are free from the exaggerated coloring, that most of the late writers of novels of high life, are rather fond of spreading over objects, which they have probably contemplated only at a very respectful distance. The author shows a highly cultivated taste in literature, and considerable knowledge of art, as well as the power of appreciating its beauties with a discriminating judgment. The book may be safely commended as possessing all the interest of romance, and the instructiveness of truth.

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6. — *A Compendious History of Italy, translated from the original Italian.* By Nathaniel Greene. New York. Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 319.

This is an excellent outline of Italian History, from the foundation of Rome to the present age. In a neatly written pre-

face, the translator states that Signor Sforzosi's work, which he uses, is a compilation from the histories by Bossi and Botta, two authors of the highest repute, the latter of whom is well known in the United States. This compendium is divided into five epochs, the first ending with the Battle of Actium, B. C. 31; the second with the fall of the Western Roman Empire, A. D. 476; the third with the pontificate of Gregory VII., A. D. 1065; the fourth with the pontificate of Julius II., A. D. 1503; and the fifth with the beginning of the year 1831.

The arrangement of events in this little work is clear, and the narrative conducted with skill. The style is flowing and simple, and the proportions of the several parts are judiciously arranged. Mr. Greene has done a good service by giving us this work in an English dress. The translation is evidently faithful to the original, and generally well executed in point of literary taste; we say generally, for there are some violations of English idiom, which, in a translation, it is not perhaps easy to avoid; and there are some inelegant sentences, which a slight alteration in the structure or arrangement of the members, would greatly improve. Take, for example, the following sentence, on page 291. "The Austrians were dragging a heavy piece of artillery through the streets, whose enormous weight caused it to break up by the way, which stopped its conductors," &c. This is obscure and awkward. The following is an example of inappropriate phraseology; "A single spark would have been sufficient to produce a vast conflagration. Nor was that spark wanting; *it burst out* by means of the brutality of the Germans." A spark can hardly be said *to burst out.* Again, "It is proper, natural, and inevitable to all human institutions to begin to decline the moment they have attained their highest *susceptible* point of elevation." This use of *susceptible*, we apprehend to be unauthorized; it is certainly harsh, and so is the whole sentence.

We allude to these little faults of style, merely to call the translator's attention to them when the work goes to another edition. It is not surprising that they exist; the surprise is that Mr. Greene could find time, in the midst of laborious and important official duties, to execute the work at all. Political engagements do not generally leave much time or inclination in our country, for the cultivation of so elegant a pursuit as the study of Italian literature; and when we find that study successfully prosecuted, in the leisure snatched from the all but incessant toils of a responsible station, we must infer the existence of an uncommon devotion to letters. We hope Mr. Greene will enrich the "Family Library" with other treasures from the abundant stores of Italian Historical Literature.

7. — *The History of Rehoboth, Bristol County, Massachusetts; comprising a History of the present Towns of Rehoboth, Seekonk, and Pawtucket, from their Settlement to the Present Time; together with Sketches of Attleborough, Cumberland, and a Part of Swansey and Barrington, to the Time that they were severally separated from the Original Town.* By Leonard Bliss, Jr. 8vo. pp. 294. Boston. Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1836.

Our local histories have of late years become so numerous, and enlisted in their behalf so much talent and acquirement, that they now constitute a distinct and very important department of our literature. And yet it seems but yesterday, since this field of inquiry was entered upon. It is but one of the many benefits conferred on the country by the Massachusetts Historical Society, that it first pointed out and led the way in this branch of historical investigation. In 1791, the very year of its incorporation, that Society issued a circular letter, addressed extensively to gentlemen of science in the continent and islands of America, requesting a topographical and historical account of the cities and towns in which they respectively resided. This appeal was responded to on all hands, particularly in our own State, and the twenty-five volumes of the Society's Collections contain a vast number of histories thus furnished. The field, too, has in the mean time been cultivated by many voluntary laborers; so that now there is hardly any considerable town in Massachusetts, we had almost said in New England, that has not its map accurately drawn, and its history fully and faithfully related. Some of these histories, such as Snow's Boston, Felt's Salem and Ipswich, Willis's Portland, Shattuck's Concord, Deane's Scituate, and Thacher's Plymouth, are large and sightly volumes, occupying from three to five hundred pages each. We are happy to be able to announce, that to this class an important addition is soon to be made, by the publication of a history of Worcester, from the pen of that erudite antiquarian, William Lincoln, Esq.

However some may be tempted to smile at the laborious researches of these village chroniclers, yet they furnish invaluable aid to the geographer and the historian. Their very particularity is a guarantee for their general fidelity and accuracy. We can well conceive, with what delight Ebeling would have welcomed the publication of some of these later histories, and what essential service they would have rendered him in the compilation of his great work on the geography of America. They em-

body and preserve many incidents and adventures, which being too minute and local for the general historian, would, but for such a record, be inevitably lost. Yet many of these details exhibit and illustrate the peculiar character of our fathers, and "show the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure." They are the points which will hereafter be taken up by the poet and novelist, and made the themes by which our hill-tops and river-sides will be rendered classic ground. There is hardly one of our ancient towns, that has not its local tradition or romantic legend, its tale of Indian massacre or revolutionary heroism. There is hardly one, that has not produced some distinguished character, or harboured some eccentric personage like Robert the Hermit, mentioned on page 249 of the History of Rehoboth. All these vanishing traditions and romantic stories are gathered up by the village chronicler, and preserved as materials for the higher branches of literature; and we doubt not that many of them will hereafter reäppear in more elegant forms, and furnish instruction and delight to unborn generations.

With this estimate of their value and use, we are glad to see any addition made to the list of our town histories; and we accordingly give a cordial welcome to the volume which has occasioned this notice, and congratulate the author on the success with which he has delineated the fortunes and fates of his native town. He has investigated its history with remarkable perseverance and fidelity, and has produced a work full of interest, and highly creditable to his talents and taste.

It may not be generally known, that Rehoboth is one of the oldest towns in the Commonwealth, and has many strong and peculiar claims to remembrance. The settlement dates as far back as 1641, when a tract of eight miles square was purchased of the famous Massasoit, the early and steadfast friend of the Pilgrims. The first occupant of the soil was William Blackstone, a clergyman of the Church of England, who, when Governor Winthrop and his company arrived at Charlestown in 1630, was found by them in quiet possession of the peninsula on which Boston now stands. After having cultivated the first garden, and planted the first orchard in Massachusetts, he sold his lands on the peninsula in 1634, and retired into the wilderness, where he took up his solitary abode, and lived in entire seclusion, as he had before done at Boston. He appears to have been a studious and contemplative man, calling his house Study Hall, and a knoll not far from it, which was his favorite place of retirement, Study Hill. Books were the cherished companions of his lonely retreat; and his library of one hundred and eighty volumes, must have been a large one for those days in the wilds of America.

Among these were six Latin books, three in folio, and three in quarto. He died in 1675, near his favorite Study Hill, where two rude stones mark his grave. His name is perpetuated by the river which winds through the beautiful valley and rolls past the site of his lonely dwelling. To every Bostonian these scenes must be classic spots, and his grave may hereafter become a place of pilgrimage. We thank Mr. Bliss for preserving these particulars of our venerable townsman, the first settler and proprietor of Shawmut. His account of Blackstone is remarkably beautiful and touching, and had we space, we should be glad to transfer the whole of it to our pages.

Next after Blackstone, came the celebrated Roger Williams, and pitched his tent for a while at Rehoboth. This was in 1636, after his banishment by the magistrates of Massachusetts. His flight was by water, in the depth of winter. Being soon informed, however, by Governor Winslow of Plymouth, that he was within their jurisdiction, he removed to the other side of the river, and settled on the spot to which he gave the name of Providence.

But the first permanent settler, and the real founder of Rehoboth, was the Rev. Samuel Newman. He was educated at the University of Oxford, and a place is assigned him by Antony Wood among Oxford writers, in his "Athenæ Oxonienses." Having been the minister of seven different churches in the land of his nativity, he came over to New-England in 1636 or 1638. After residing some time at Dorchester, and four or five years at Weymouth, where he preached, he emigrated with a majority of his congregation in 1643 to Rehoboth, and lived there the rest of his days. The most remarkable circumstance in the life of Mr. Newman was his spending the long winter evenings, in the American wilderness, in making or revising his celebrated Concordance of the Scriptures, by the light of pine-knots. This Concordance was the third in English, and far surpassed either of its predecessors. It was published in London in 1650, and passed through several editions during his life-time. After his death, an edition of it was published at Cambridge, in England, under the name of the "Cambridge Concordance," which title it has ever since borne. Previous to the publication of Cruden's, Newman's was esteemed the best Concordance in the English language.

A town that can reckon among its first settlers three such men as Blackstone, Roger Williams, and Newman, has reason to be proud of its origin. We break off with regret from any further notice of this interesting volume; and while we thank Mr. Bliss for the information and pleasure he has afforded us, and cordially

recommend his work to the notice of our readers, we assure him that we shall be glad to meet him again in a field in which he seems so well qualified to labor.

8.—1. *Report of the Managers of the Port Society of the City of Boston and its Vicinity, at its Seventh Annual Meeting, held on the First of February,* 1836. Boston. John H. Eastburn. 8vo. pp. 23.

2. *Third Annual Report of the Seaman's Aid Society, of the City of Boston.* Written by Mrs. Sarah J. Hale. Boston. James B. Dow. 12mo. pp. 32.

The first of these documents is an exceedingly able and interesting pamphlet. It contains a history of the doings in which the Boston Port Society has been directly or indirectly engaged; a consideration of the success which has attended them; an account of the present condition of the seamen of Boston, and an outline of the best methods to be hereafter taken for their improvement.

The following important institutions have been established for the benefit of seamen; the Seamen's Bethel in North Square; the Bethel Reading Room; the Bethel Union; the Bethel Temperance Society; the Bethel Nautical School; the Seaman's Aid Society; and the Savings Bank for Seamen.

These institutions are obviously suited to the exigency of the case, and the managers give us a detail of facts, which show that they have gone into successful operation. The account of the religious services, principally under the direction of the eloquent Mr. Taylor, at the Seamen's Bethel, is beautiful and affecting. It is stated that the Bethel Temperance Society has ninety-three members, and the Bethel Union one hundred and forty-five; and the Savings Bank for Seamen had in January last, $24,600, deposited for seamen only. These are cheering facts, about which there can be no mistake.

The Report proceeds to consider the present condition of seamen in the port of Boston, which it represents as still deplorably low. The causes of the fact are fully stated. In this part of the discussion a number of startling particulars are produced, and a system of horrible wickedness is unfolded. The facts exhibited in relation to the infamous frauds practised upon seamen by shipping masters and landlords, and the whole crew of atrocious villains, five hundred or more, banded with them, are such as to defy belief, if they were not too well authenticated. The clearness, the cogency, the eloquence of this admirable Report,

place the subject in its proper light. The appeal has been made, and we are confident that it will not be disregarded. The magnitude of the evil has been described in the language of feeling and truth; the remedies have been pointed out, and there will not be wanting an energetic and liberal public spirit to apply them. The merchants and citizens of Boston are awake on the subject.

The Report of the Seaman's Aid Society is from the pen of Mrs. Sarah J. Hale. It gives us an interesting account of the measures adopted and executed by ladies of Boston, in aid of the general objects of the Boston Port Society. Their efforts have been chiefly directed to the wives and daughters of seamen. The means of the Society have not been very abundant; but the good they have done, by the admirable judgment with which their operations have been conducted, is truly delightful to witness or hear of. The charity they have bestowed has been in the most unexceptionable form; the furnishing of employment, for which good wages have been paid; the preserving the self-respect of the poor, and guarding their virtue by promoting their industry, while their wants are effectually supplied. Many poor females, connected with seamen, have been employed by them in making sailors' clothes, for which a store has been provided. This answers the double purpose of giving employment to the women, for which they are well paid, and furnishing the sailors with a convenient mode of supplying themselves with well-made clothes, at a reasonable price, and safe from the harpies of the *slop-shops*. The Society was also desirous of establishing a free school for the daughters of seamen. It is stated that two hundred dollars would defray all the expenses of such a school for six months. We understand that they have fully succeeded in accomplishing this noble object.

It is evident that the subject of these two reports is one of deep interest to the city of Boston; it has attracted much attention, and is going to attract more. The press should be unceasing in its calls upon the good feelings of the public, to see to it that the mischief go no further, and exist no longer. Our gallant tars, whose bravery protects our rights on the sea, ought not to be left a prey to "the harpies of the shore."

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9. — *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha. Nueva Edicion Clásica, emendada y corregida.* Por Francisco Sales, A. M. Boston. 1836. 2 vols. 12mo.

Mr. Sales is entitled to the thanks of the lovers of Spanish literature, for this accurate and beautiful edition of the immortal Don Quixote. It is well printed in two neat volumes, adorned

with a fine engraving of the Portrait of Cervantes, and a series of ten excellent illustrations. Seven of them are copied from Cruikshank's illustrations of an edition of Smollett's translation, published in London in 1833, and the remaining three are original designs, by Mr. D. C. Johnston, whose comic powers are well known. He is the engraver also of the portrait of Cervantes. The edition of the royal Spanish Academy, published in 1819, has been followed by Mr. Sales, who has introduced into the text the corrections and improvements found in the Academy's notes, judiciously omitting various readings as unnecessary for general readers. The editor has also consulted the edition of Pellecer, published at Madrid in 1797; that of Arrieta, in Paris in 1826; and lastly, the "First Part," published by Clemencin, with an invaluable commentary, in 1833. In preparing the notes, Mr. Sales has made use of all these sources freely, but with much judgment. The orthography has been carefully attended to, and the principles laid down by the Academy have been carried out. This edition is also accompanied by a map of that part of Spain, over which the travels of the renowned knight extended. The notes at the end of each volume, are brief and pertinent; they are just what a common reader needs, to clear up difficult idioms and obscure allusions, both of which abound in Don Quixote. Mr. Sales has displayed much judgment and good taste both in selection and expression. His long experience as an instructor, his well known habits of laborious accuracy, and his extensive knowledge of Spanish literature, of themselves inspire a confidence in the value and excellence of this first American edition, which a careful scrutiny will be found to justify.

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10. — *Three Lectures on Liberal Education.* By John Snelling Popkin, D. D. Cambridge. Folsom, Wells, & Thurston. 1836. 8vo. pp. 72.

No book of the day will be read with more eagerness and pleasure, than these lectures of Dr. Popkin. They are the introduction to his course on Greek Literature, and treat of the general subject of liberal education. We know not where that important theme has been handled with more vigor, more manly sense, more just discrimination, than in this remarkable pamphlet. Dr. Popkin's style is full of the old English strength. It is copious, racy, and hearty. The glittering ornaments of the fine writing now so much in vogue, find no acceptance at his hands; but his language has all the native robustness that belonged to the best ages of our literature. Indeed, as we read page after page of these discourses, we seem to be holding communion with

some ancient scholar, whose temperate wisdom is uttered in a style of quaint eloquence that is irresistibly attractive. The seriousness of the discourses is enlivened by a vein of genuine and peculiar wit, which keeps the reader in constant good humor with the author and the subject. Here and there, Dr. Popkin indulges in a sly sally of satire upon the whims and follies of the day; but always does it with such mingled humor and benevolence, that the most extravagant admirer of the age cannot take offence. But an extract will do much better than any comments of ours. We hardly know what to select, when all is so good; but perhaps the following passage is as much to the purpose as any.

"The approved good sense and good taste of the Ancients might operate to correct the affectation, and extravagance, and obscurity, and spasmodic violence, which result from an excessive desire of novelty, and impression, and excitement. We would not recommend a humble and servile imitation of the best models; but when the mind is taught to think and feel justly, it may the more safely and surely proceed in its own operations. What is said of the benefit to be derived to our own language and literature from a knowledge of others, is preëminently true of these under consideration, for their acknowledged preëminence. Further, though our Saxon English is derived from the German stock, yet very great accessions have accrued from the ancient classics. The Latin abounds in current use, and more so in public discourse and writing; and the Greek has become the nomenclator of almost all the arts and sciences. The very show-bills are decorated or "bristled with Greek," and harder Greek too, than ever I found in Longinus or Apollonius. How are we to know what is to be seen or heard, unless we can go to the lexicon? And even there perhaps we shall be puzzled, for the artists have outstripped the learned. But seriously, an acquaintance with these ancient sources is allowed to be very useful, if not necessary, for acquiring a correct and elegant use of our own language, especially in writing and public speaking; and so, it must also be allowed, is an acquaintance with the German, and French, and other sources, if it can be obtained, and for similar reasons. Doubtless, a man confined to the English, by attention to the best authors and usage, may learn to write it with propriety and elegance. And one immured in antiquity may so far neglect his mother tongue, as to speak and write it in a stiff, uncouth, barren, or uncommon style. Still, I believe, it is confessed, that the very best and finest writers of English are those, who have combined ancient and modern and general cultivation. And in respectable writers of more limited preparation, I think we may sometimes observe spots, which appear hardly classical in the ancient or modern sense of the term, particularly in the use or abuse of words. Shakspeare is an exception. Yet I have imagined, that I could observe passages, which indicate more learning than is commonly allowed him; allusions, resemblances, or, at least, coincidences of genius. "The man that hath no music in himself," — how like the thought of Pindar: "Whom Jupiter hath not loved, shudder when they hear the song of the Muses." In fine, there is no small

advantage in knowing the original sense, the gradual changes, and the present use of words, and their just and happy application. And there is no less advantage in knowing the varieties of thought and expression, that may be gathered and garnered in various and extensive reading."

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11. — *A Discourse at the Funeral of the Rev. John Prince, LL. D., Senior Pastor of the First Church in Salem, on the 9th of June*, 1836, by Charles W. Upham, Surviving Pastor. Salem. 1836. 8vo. pp. 31.

Dr. Prince was born in Boston, July 22d, 1751. He was graduated at Cambridge in 1776, was ordained November 10th, 1779, over the parent church of Massachusetts, and died June 7th of the present year. When he was about to be settled in Salem, there was some hesitation evinced on account of his apparently feeble health. But he outlived all of the society, who had any part in that transaction; and only two individuals are known, who remember the solemnities of his ordination.

Dr. Prince filled, with distinguished honor, his place of professional duty. He had qualities which made him the object of warm personal attachment, and, in extent of theological learning, he was hardly surpassed among the clergy of his time. In his large and valuable library (which he bequeathed to his congregation) there was no book which he had not read; and, such was his retentiveness of memory, that for him to read a book, was to make it his own. In the private sphere where he moved, his lot was singularly fortunate. He sustained the pastoral relation (confirming ties of intimate friendship) to some of our most distinguished men in the walks of public life and of learning. His health, during most of his life, was firm, and his mental constitution always cheerful and placid. They, to whom his mature strength had been given, provided with a most praiseworthy liberality for the comfort of his age; and, of late years, devolving the cares of his office, for the most part, on a colleague with whom he was connected in the happiest association, he had no anxieties to disturb the quiet which failing nature required and had deserved.

It is in the history of physical science, that Dr. Prince will be most remembered, though a singular facility of temper led him to such a carelessness about appropriating the credit of his labors in this department, that very inadequate justice will probably be done him. By the invention, when he was thirty-two years of age, of the apparatus since known by the name of the *American Air-Pump*, (communicated in the first volume of Memoirs of the American Academy,) "his name was at once en-

rolled among the benefactors and ornaments of modern science." The selection of its figure, to represent a constellation in the heavens, is a striking testimony to the sense entertained by the scientific world of its importance. The department of optics made a favorite study with him. As fast as he had made an improvement, without taking pains to identify himself with it in any public way, it was his practice to introduce it at once to usefulness, by communicating it to the mathematical instrument makers in England. His correspondence to this end with the Messrs. Adams, Messrs. Jones, and others, was voluminous. His last work of the kind was a stand for a telescope, on which it rests in a solid bed, with perfect firmness, and is at the same time movable in every direction, and by the slightest touch of the finger. He ends his description of the contrivance, as published by the American Academy, thus; "I made the brass work myself, and finished it on my birth-day, — eighty years old."

Our exhausted space forbids further particulars. The scientific journals will do better justice to this man of equal genius and modesty. Mr. Upham's notice of him is such as might be expected from the biographer of Vane, writing with the advantages of personal intimacy.

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12. — *Characteristics of the Present Century. A Baccalaureate Address, &c.* By the Rev. J. Adams, President of the College of Charleston, South Carolina. Charleston, South Carolina. 8vo. pp. 11.

This is a very appropriate address, from the head of a College to a class of young men, just completing their academic career. It is on the characteristics of the present century, which the author describes with force and eloquence. The theme is obviously suited to the time, the occasion, and the persons. After some happy allusions to the ceremonies by which the transition from youth to manhood has been observed among different nations, Dr. Adams passes directly to the discussion of his subject. The first characteristic of the age, which he considers, is the success which has attended our efforts for the enlargement of man's dominion over physical nature. In this connexion he gives a glowing sketch of the changes introduced by the power of steam, and anticipates improvements more wonderful than any yet made. The second prominent characteristic, which he discusses, is the cultivation and advancement of the sciences, by which our age is rendered illustrious. In treating

this topic, he touches upon the great leading discoveries in Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, and the Pure Mathematics, forming an assemblage of the triumphs of human intellect, which no past age can rival or approach in splendor. The third characteristic, is the system of foreign Colonization pursued by the maritime nations, especially Great Britain. The consequences of this system are delineated with sagacity and power. The fourth characteristic is the impulse given to the great cause of civil and religious freedom in this age. The fifth and last characteristic that is illustrated, is the increased attention devoted to the spiritual wants of mankind. These are the topics which Dr. Adams selected for the consideration of the young men he was about to send forth from his charge, to take their part in the duties and responsibilities of life. The spirit in which this address is written, cannot be too much commended. The author of it takes a wide and philosophic view of the blessings by which this age is pre-eminently distinguished; and the tone of feeling, which animates him, is religious and liberal. The style is easy, flowing, and in some passages eloquent. It is a discourse calculated in every respect to leave upon the mind of its hearers very favorable and useful impressions.

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13. — *Literary Remains of the late* William Hazlitt, with *a Notice of his Life,* by his Son, and *Thoughts on his Genius and Writings,* by E. L. Bulwer, Esq. M. P. and Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, M. P. New York. Saunders and Otley. 1836. 8vo.

William Hazlitt is an author who has acquired notoriety, but not fame. His various contributions to the miscellaneous literature of the age, have been widely read, and by some vehemently applauded. They have been thought worthy to be collected into a volume, and printed, accompanied by a biographical sketch by his son, "Some Thoughts on the Genius (?) of William Hazlitt," by Mr. Bulwer, further thoughts by Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, a letter by Charles Lamb, and six sonnets to Hazlitt's memory, by a lady. This formidable introduction ought perhaps to awe into silence every doubt of Hazlitt's supereminent excellence; and yet, after reading the volume carefully through, we cannot help feeling some surprise, at the manner in which its contents are spoken of, by those who have lent it the sanction of their names. The judgment of Mr. Bulwer is not, however, very surprising; neither would it be surprising, if it were precisely the reverse. But that a man of Mr. Talfourd's exquisite genius, could have written what he has written about

Hazlitt, is perfectly incomprehensible. This essay is marked by the choicest graces of style. Easy, fluent, delicate, abounding with the most delightful imagery, fanciful almost to excess, it steals upon our thoughts with a captivating sweetness; but when we pass from its delicious pages to the writings of the man whom it has celebrated, we step, at one single bound, from Arabia Felix to Arabia Deserta.

To say that Mr. Hazlitt has been overestimated, would be to understate the case. He has been praised for qualities, which are precisely the opposite of those he actually possessed. His unflinching love of truth has been earnestly applauded: yet it is impossible to read any one of his essays without feeling that he was a whimsical, prejudiced, fickle-minded man; in short, that he was any thing but a lover of truth; destitute of the power of appreciating truth, having none of that calmness of mind which is necessary to a successful search after it; that he was jealous, suspicious, and irritable. His style has but few merits. He was never content to say any thing in a simple and natural way; his sentences betray a perpetual strife after brilliant and pointed expression. Antithesis is his bane. His never-ending effort to shine, is wearisome in the extreme. We are conscious at every sentence of the author's toil; and we sympathize with him, so far at least as to feel that we too are toiling, and to but little purpose. It would be strange if so much labor did not strike out here and there something good; there is an occasional felicity of expression, an occasional happy thought well uttered, in these essays. But there is not a single whole piece, which can be read through without anger at the writer's affectation and vanity. In the letter "on the conduct of life," there is much good advice, tersely expressed; but it is all spoiled by some pages of nonsense about women, which would disgrace, if possible, any whiskered dandy who "switches his cane" in Washington street. It is impossible that Hazlitt should ever take his place among the classics of English Literature. At best he will occupy a debatable ground, where his name will be but little heard, if so fortunate as to be not quite forgotten.

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14. — *Discours prononcé devant la Cour royale d'Aix,* par M. Borély, Procureur-Général, *à l'Audience Solennelle du 3 Novembre,* 1835.

This discourse, delivered by a law officer of Aix, last year, contains a pretty thorough discussion of the political and legal condition of France. The inquiry into which M. Borély enters, is, what is the actual condition of the French people, and what are the means of improving it; what are the errors to be avoided

in all ranks of society, what are the qualities to be encouraged, and what are the virtues to be unfolded.

The discourse abounds in enlightened views of the public good, and the best means of guarding national liberty against the licentiousness of popular will, as well as the encroachments of despotism. M. Borély is a warm defender of the revolution of July, 1830, the doctrines of which he considers the foundation of the liberties of France. He very justly eulogizes the moderation of the French, during and after that great political event, and shows, by their strict observance of "*les bienséances publiques*," on that as well as other occasions, that a new era of the French character has begun. "The French nation," he proceeds, "at the height of civilization to which it has arrived, requires of us that the laws and the fundamental compact should be observed, as well as all else which regard to the national honor prescribes; that is to say, that all hostile attacks, however violent and annoying they may be, should always find us invariably calm, free from passion, seeking nothing but the repressing of disorder by the manifestation of truth, and the application of the laws alone." — p. 8.

The spirit of this discourse is wise and calm. If such sentiments as M. Borély advances have gained a permanent footing in France, the days of bloody revolutions have gone by. The style of M. Borély, though generally simple, here and there displays a touch of Gallic bombast. Common-place ideas, at least ideas that have become common-place in a country that has long enjoyed constitutional liberty, are exhibited occasionally with the pomp and circumstance of important novelties. But it is a refreshing thing to fall in with French political speculations, which can be reconciled to the dictates of common sense, a love of liberty, and the support of order, after we have been wearied with the disgusting details of the game of assassination and political reform, attempted to be played by such wretched miscreants as Fieschi and Alibeau.

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15. — *Ups and Downs in the Life of a Distressed Gentleman*, by the Author of "Tales and Sketches such as they are." New York. Leavitt, Lord, & Co. 12mo. pp. 225.

This little book is written in a hasty and careless, but otherwise very agreeable style. It is the history of an unfortunate dunce, whose parents were also foolish enough to send him to the University, under the influence of a not uncommon ambition, of giving their son a liberal education. His preparation for College, and his career through the four years of academic life, are described not only with humor but with truth. After being gradu-

ated with as high honors as could be expected, our hero betakes himself to the study of medicine. He was as dull and indolent over the pestle and mortar, as over the Dictionary and Grammar. Finding at last that his genius did not lie in that direction, he betook himself to trade. In this new line of exertion, or rather of inaction, he made a brilliant figure so long as his capital lasted, and then did as many greater men have done before, failed. After this genteel catastrophe, our hero showed a wonderful versatility of genius, not in getting out of difficulty, but in getting still deeper in. He made a grand speculation with a steamboat, the steamboat took fire, and the Doctor was obliged to escape *in puris naturalibus*. He tried a speculation in the matrimonial line, from which he did not escape quite so well. The profession of teaching youth held out its attractions, but it is lamentable to say, that even here the Doctor's evil genius closely dogged his heels, and blighted all his golden hopes. An unfortunate fit of swearing, to which the Doctor's amiable lady was subject, having come on in school hours, broke up the establishment, and threw him again upon the resources of his genius, which as usual did not forsake him. Thus Mr. Wheelwright went on from bad to worse, now in prison, now in want, always in trouble, with an increasing family, and an increasing probability of starvation. We cannot follow him through all his "ups and downs," the latter of which were somewhat more numerous than the former, but it is enough that the end was more prosperous than the beginning. The Doctor got rid of his wife, and became a respectable coachmaker, a termination of a literary career much more fortunate and brilliant than some we have known.

The moral of this story is a very important one, especially in our country.

NOTE.

In the last Number (page 226), we referred to representations, in the newspapers of the day, respecting the errand of the sloop-of-war Vincennes to the Pelew Islands, which we expressed our unwillingness to credit, till the orders to her commander, and his report to the Navy Department, should be produced. It gives us pleasure to state, that we have seen extracts from those documents, manifesting that no violation of faith was intended or committed on the part of the government or its officers. Captain Aulick had no instructions founded on the fact of a ransom having been agreed for by the crew of the Mentor, nor was the department, at the time of issuing his orders, in possession of information to that effect.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

The Token and Atlantic Souvenir, a Christmas and New Year's Present. Edited by S. G. Goodrich. With twelve Engravings. 12mo. pp. 348. Boston. Charles Bowen.

The American Almanac & Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1837. 12mo. pp. 324. Boston. Charles Bowen.

The Pearl, or Affection's Gift, for 1837. Philadelphia. Ash & Anners.

The Violet, a Christmas Present, for 1837. By Miss Leslie. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart.

The Christmas Box, and New Year's Gift, for 1837. Philadelphia. Ash & Anners.

The Gift, a Christmas and New Year's Present, for 1837. By Miss Leslie. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Thirty Years Ago, or the Memoirs of a Water Drinker. By the Author of the "Life of George Frederick Cooke," &c. &c. 2 vols. New York. Bancroft & Holley.

Memoir of George Dana Boardman, late Missionary to Burmah, with a Portrait. Boston. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln.

Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph Sanford, Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church. 12mo. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins.

Six Years in the Monasteries of Italy, and Two Years and a Half in the Mediterranean. By the Rev. S. I. Mahony, late a Capuchin Friar in the Convent of the Immaculate Conception at Rome. 12mo. New York. Hall & Voorhies.

The History of Virgil A. Stewart, and his Adventures in Capturing and Exposing "the great Western Land Pirate," &c. &c. New York. Harper & Brothers.

A History of the Detection, Conviction, Life, and Designs of John A. Murel, the great Western Land Pirate, with a Biographical Sketch of N. A. Stewart, one of his victims. By A. Q. Walton, Esq. 12mo. Kay and Brother.

Crockett's Adventures and Exploits in Texas. 18mo. Philadelphia. S. K. & T. G. Collins.

EDUCATION.

Latin Phrase-Book. Boston. J. Munroe & Co.

The Art of Speaking the French Language in a Short Time, &c. &c. By J. Mouls, late Professor in the French University. New York. Collins, Keese, & Co.

A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee. Translated from the Latin of William Gesenius. By Edward Robinson, D. D. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 8vo.

Of this work, we have as yet only seen the few pages of the Preface. We have no doubt that it is destined to a wide circulation and great usefulness. There is no man in the country who could be better relied on for its successful execution, than Professor Robinson. The translation is made from Gesenius's publication in 1832. The convenient manual which has been hitherto in general use, is a translation by the learned Professor Gibbs of New Haven, from an earlier work of the same scholar, acknowledged to be in his department of Hebrew philology, of all who live or have lived, *facilè princeps*.

Lecture on Public Instruction in Prussia, read before the American Institute, by George S. Hillard, Esq. Boston. E. C. Biddle.

Manual of Classical Literature. From the German of S. S. Eschenburgh, Professor in the Carolinum at Brunswick; with Additions by N. W. Fiske, Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages in Amherst College. Philadelphia. Key & Biddle. pp. 664.

An Address delivered before the Albany Institute, April, 1836, by Daniel D. Barnard.

Elements of Analytical Geometry, &c. &c. By Charles Davies, Professor of Mathematics in the Military Academy, &c. &c. New York. Wiley & Long.

ENGINEERING.

Treatise on Field Fortifications. By D. H. Mahan. New York. Wiley & Long.

A Practical Treatise on Locomotive Engines on Railroads. By F. M. G. De Pambour. 8vo. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart.

HISTORY.

History of Texas, by David B. Edward, with a Map, &c. Kay & Brother.

LAW.

Elements of International Law, with a Sketch of the History of the Science. By Henry Wheaton, L L. D., Resident Minister from the U. S. of America to the Court of Berlin, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 375. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

General Therapeutics, or Principles of Medical Practice; with tables of the chief Remedial Agents and their Preparations, and of the different Poisons and their Antidotes. By Robley Dunglison, M. D. 8vo. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

Surgery Illustrated; compiled from the works of Cutler, Hind, Velpeau, and Blasius, with 52 Plates, by A. Sidney Doane, A. M., M. D. New York. Harper & Brothers.

Treatise on the Radical Cure of Hernia, by Instruments, with numerous Illustrations. By Heber Chase, M. D. 8vo. Philadelphia. J. G. Auner.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Works of Benjamin Franklin; with Notes, a Life of the Author, &c. By Jared Sparks. Vol. II. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co.

Open Convents; or Nunneries and Popish Seminaries dangerous to the Morals, and degrading to the Character, of a Republican Community. By T. Dwight. New York. Van Nostrand & Dwight.

Awful Exposure of the Atrocious Plot formed by Maria Monk. New York. S. Adams.

Slavery, and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States, in a series of Letters. By Professor E. A. Andrews. Boston. Light & Stearns.

American Oratory, or Selections from the Speeches of Eminent Americans. 8vo. Philadelphia. Desilver, Thomas, & Co.

Cattle, their Breeds, Management, and Diseases. 8vo. Philadelphia. Grigg & Elliott.

Parley's Book of Books. New York. Mahlon Day.

The Philadelphia Book, or Specimens of Metropolitan Literature. 12mo. Key & Biddle.

Prose and Verse, from the Port Folio of an Editor. By Isaac C. Pray, Jr. Boston. Russell, Shattuck, & Co.

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